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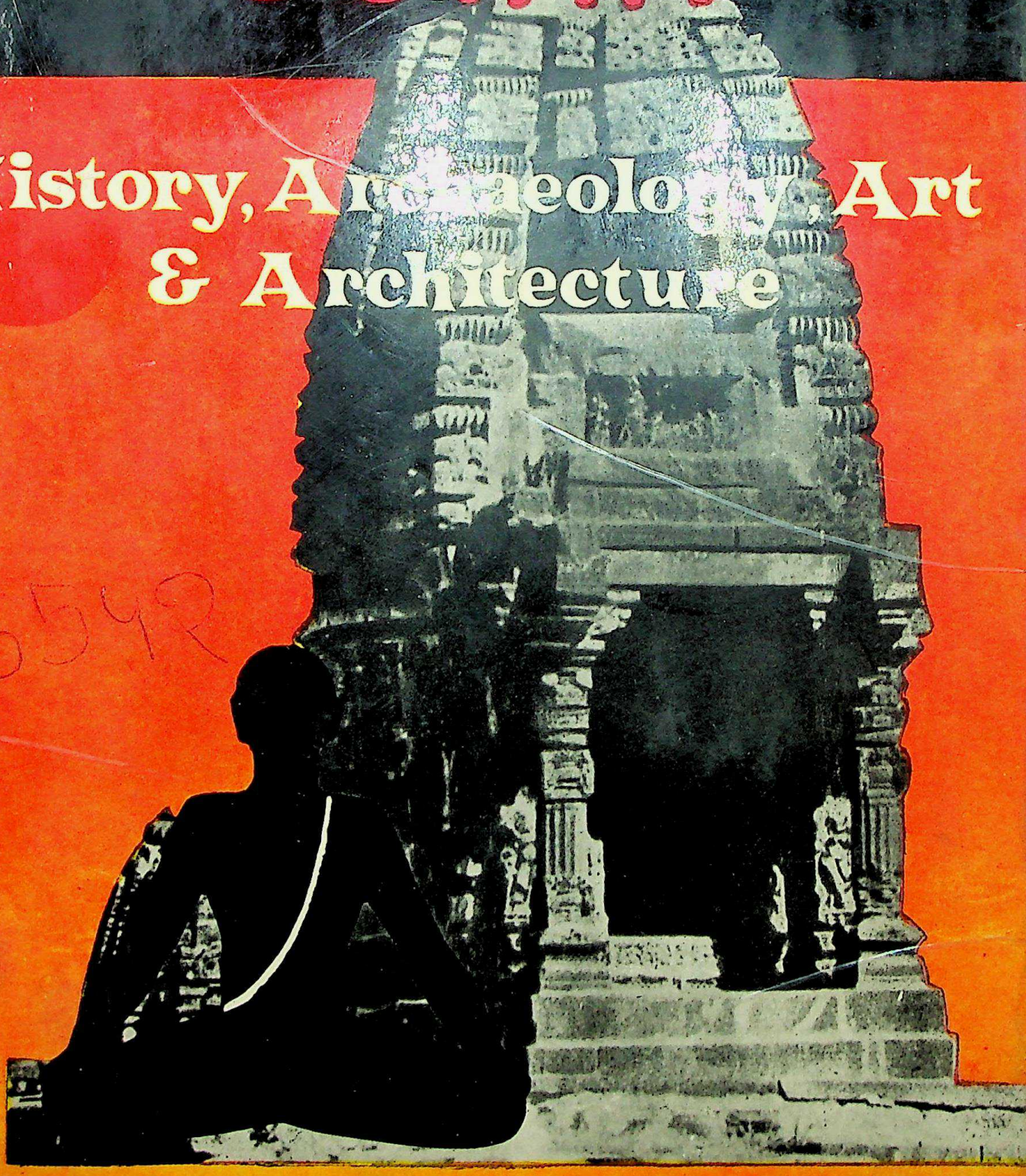

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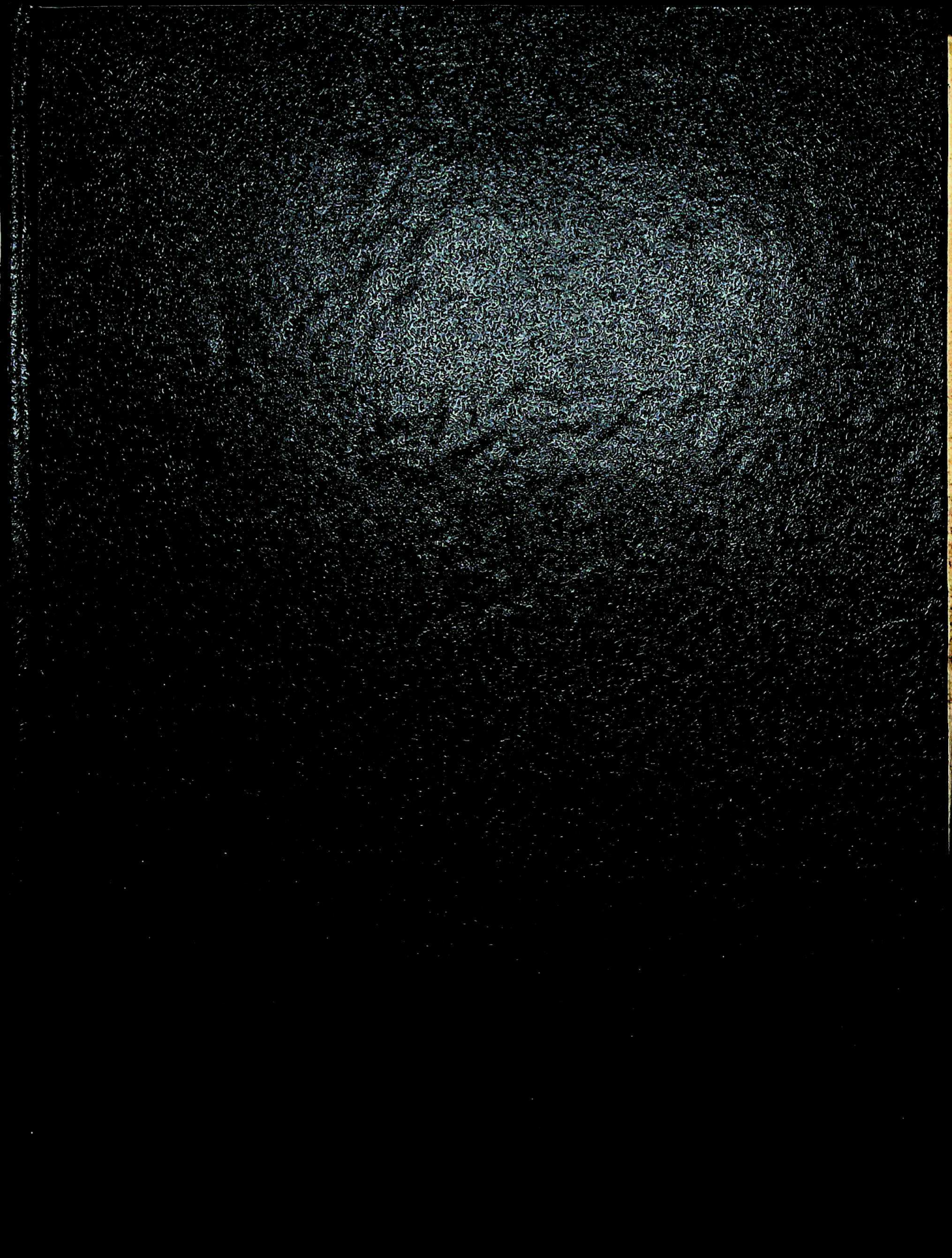

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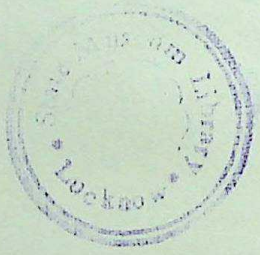

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To
KANAK MAL DUGAR
Who Inspired this Study

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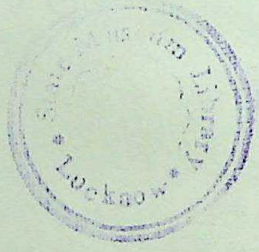

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Preface

Osian is the Khajuraho of Rajasthan. Located in the western part of the state, though now it is a small town with a population of a little more than ten thousand souls, yet the traditions tell us that it was a very extensive city in ancient times with lakhs of inhabitants. The extant old temples, monuments and other remains bear testimony to its pristine glory and importance. Regarded as the cradle of the Oswals, it is an important pilgrimage. It is visited by thousands of votaries every year. Enlightened tourists and scholars, both Indian and alien, also keep trickling in throughout the year. The antiquity and history of the place and its monuments, its association with the Oswals, the true nature of their tutelary deity Saciyā etc., however, are the subjects which itch the minds of the laity and the pundits alike.

Rajasthan witnessed the early evolution of the *Nāgara* style of temple architecture from its genesis to the archaic *śikhara* temples of the post-Gupta period. Osian provides the earliest examples of the emergence of the *Nāgara* style in its distinctive shape and characteristics. *Pañcaratha* on plan and elevation, the early fanes here have curvilinear spires comparable to those of the early Orissan temples. The main Sun Temple at Osian "is an illustration of the supreme, almost loving care bestowed by the craftsmen on their handiwork" and has been regarded as *Chef-d'aeuvre*. The Saciyā and Mahāvīra Temples provide evidence of the stylistic development over a number of centuries and show the transition from the Mahā-Māru to Mahā-Gurjara idiom.

Osian temples are small in size as compared to the gigantic South Indian or even Khajuraho temples. The smallness of their structure, however, is compensated for by the elegance of their architecture, variety of design, individuality of conception and originality of composition. No two temples are exactly alike. Some of them are the real little gems of architecture. Though in contrast to the exuberance of the Khajuraho temples, the Osian examples are more sober and restrained, yet they are not as severe, austere and limited in decorative repertoire as the Gujarat shrines. They are thus the intermediary link between the too severe and the too exuberant and are remarkable for their poise and pageantry.

The rhythmic accentuation of these shrines is characterised by a harmonious integration of sculpture with architecture. With a balanced array of beautiful images, the texture of Osian temples vibrates with seemly poise and gargantuan

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grace, not common elsewhere. The sculptures still preserved on the temples show some very remarkable specimens of medieval Indian art.

James Burgess was the first modern scholar to draw our attention to the rich cultural heritage of Osian in 1897. Thereafter, D.R. Bhandarkar surveyed its remains during 1908-09 and has left us a vivid account of its history, traditions, temples and sculptures. His sixteen-page report has been dwelt upon by most of the subsequent writers. Percy Brown, Stella Kramrisch, G.S. Ghurye, S.K. Sarasvati, K.V. Soundara Rajan and many others have also dealt with the architectural peculiarities of the Osian temples but their accounts are succinct and sketchy and generally follow Bhandarkar. In recent year, M.A. Dhaky and Krishna Deva have surveyed Osian to assess the architectural importance of its temples. The former has given us an excellent and detailed description of the Mahāvīra Temple but has left out other fanes. Though Krishna Deva's views are available in brief in his *Temples of North India* and in *Jaina Art And Architecture*, yet the detailed description from his erudite pen is not yet available. The latest study of the architectural peculiarities of Osian temp'es in a wider context of central and western Indian shrines is that of Odette Viennot, but her account, too, is very succinct and mathematical. Moreoever, it is in French and not in English.

As far as sculptures are concerned Hermann Goetz, U.P. Shah, Dhaky, Pupul Jayakar, B.N. Sharma, Michael Meister, R.C. Agrawal and some others have written stray papers some of which are very remarkable indeed. The most exhaustive treatment, however, is available in the *Art of Osian Temples* by Asha Kalia. Though a nice production, yet it does not take into consideration even the already published material. The sociological aspects of the sculptures have been studied somewhat carefully but it neglects some beautiful examples. The description of the temples is hackneyed and borrowed besides being sketchy. Moreover, the iconographical importance and contribution of the Osian sculptures has not been brought out adequately. So what has been done till now is only partial and sporadic. A fresh and systematic study of all the remains at Osian has been a great desideratum.

An attempt has been made in the present work, to present an account of the traditions and trace out the history and antiquity of the site; to ascertain its connection with the Oswals who trace their origin from Osian and to determine the true nature of their tutelary deity; to describe its temples, analpse their peculiarities and determine their chronology; to bring to light its sculptural wealth and point out their iconographical importance; to enlist the epigraphs most of which have remained hitherto neglected; to bring to light all other remains which are significant to know the history and importance of the place and finally to glean the way of life of the people from its relics.

I have availed myself of the writings of all the earlier writers on the subject, studied the remains on the site during several visits and analysed the problems

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making use of the available literary works and epigraphs most of which I have studied afresh and even discovered myself. How far have I succeeded in my objective of presenting a systematic, comprehensive and analytical study of the site and its remains is to be judged by the savants.

I am aware of the valuable help received from different quarters without which it would not have been possible for me to present the work in its present form. I have no adequate words to express my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. V.C. Pandey under whose affectionate care I had the privilege to prepare the present dissertation. I am also thankful to Dr. S.N. Chopra for providing facilities conducive to my research work. My heartiest thanks are also due to Dr. K.V. Sarma, Sh. R.C. Agrawal and Prof. A.M. Shastri for their fraternal advices and encouragements. My friend Shri O.P. Bharadwaj, I.A.S., Director, Higher Education, Haryana, Chandigarh and my elder brother Shri Banarsi Dass Handa, too, have ever been a source of inspiration and encouragement for me.

Words fail to express adequately my gratitude to my friend Shri Kanak Mal Dugar, Chairman of the Saciyā Mātā Trust, who inspired and left no stone unturned to help and facilitate this study which is affectionately dedicated to him. Shri M.L. Varshney, Honorary Manager of the Jain Trust, Shri Jugraj, the Chief-Priest of the Saciyā and Mahāvīra Temples at Osian, and of course all the members of his family, have been of multifarious help and succour. I thank them all. The photographs, which speak for themselves, are the work of my friend Shri S.M. Gandhi who twice accompanied me to the site sparing time from his busy schedules. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not record gratefully the help I have obtained from Shri P.L. Chakravarty, Director, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan, Jaipur and his colleagues Sarvashri V.S. Srivastave, Prakash Bapna, B.M.S. Parmar, Prakash Bhargava and the curators of the Jodhpur and Mandor Museums. I feel beholden to the authorities of Gandhi Vidya Mandir, Sardarshahr (Rajasthan) also for providing me certain facilities. Mrs. Vijaya Ghanekar translated some Gujarati passages into Hindi for me. Shri M.A. Dhaky put me under gratitude by kindly sending me an off-print of his learned paper on 'The Genesis and Development of the Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture'. My friends Drs. K.V. Ramesh, (Chief Epigraphist, ASI) and Ram Sharma helped me in reading some of the inscriptions. I have also benefitted from the help I received from friends like Dr. D.D. Sharma, Chairman, Deptt. of Sanskrit; Dr. K.K. Shah, Deptt. of History; Shri Lalman, Deptt. of Geology, Panjab University, Chandigarh; Dr. S.V. Verma, Govt. College, Sri Ganganagar; Shri Govind Agrawal, Nagar-Shri, Churu and Shri Ram Vallabh Somani, Jaipur. (Late) Shri Agar Chand Nahta made available to me some rare books. To all these scholars, I express my gratitude.

My work was faciliated by a financial grant for which I thank the U.G.C. I am grateful to all those scholars also whose writings I have utilized in my study. It will, however, be mere formality if I thank my wife Avinash who freed me of all the onerous domestic duties to work on my project.

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I also take this opportunity to record my sincere thanks to Shri Swadesh Prasad Singhal, the Publisher and Shri Swapan K. Mukherjee, Managing Editor for the special attention bestowed on the production of this book.

It is regretted that in spite of the utmost care taken in the correction of proofs, if a few errors have crept in, under the circumstances beyond my control, for these I crave the indulgence of the intelligent readers.

Chandigarh
Gaṇeśa Caturthī, V.S. 2040.

Devendra Handa

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Transliteration Table

अ	a	क्	k	ढ्	ḍh	य्	y
आ	ā	ख्	kh	ण्	ṇ	र्	r
इ	i	ग्	g	त्	t	ल्	l
ई	ī	घ्	gh	थ्	th	व्	v
उ	u	ङ्	ṅ	द्	d	श्	ś
ऊ	ū	च्	c	ध्	dh	ष्	ṣ
ऋ	ṛ	छ्	ch	न्	n	स्	s
ए	e	ज्	j	प्	p	ह्	h
ऐ	ai	झ्	jh	फ्	ph	क्ष्	kṣ
ओ	o	ञ्	ñ	ब्	b	त्र्	tr
औ	au	ट्	ṭ	भ्	bh	ज्ञ्	jñ
अं	ṁ	ठ्	ṭh	म्	m		
अः	aḥ	ड्	ḍ				

Common words and modern names are usually written without diacritical marks.

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Abbreviations

ACTOR	*Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan* by K.C. Jain
AI	*Ancient India*, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India
AMB	*Aṁśumadbhedāgama*
AOT	*Art of Osian Temples* by Asha Kalia
ARASI	*Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*
ASI	*Archaeological Survey of India*
ASS	*Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*
AV	*Atharvaveda*
Bh.	D.R. Bhandarkar, "Temples of Osia", *ARASI*, 1908-09, pp. 100-115.
BPWM	*Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay
BS	*Bṛhatsaṁhitā*
BV	*Bharatiya Vidya*, Bombay
c	*circa*
CASR	*Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report*
CII	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*
CVC	*Caturvargacintāmaṇi*
DHI	*Development of Hindu Iconography* by J.N. Banerjea
DMT	*Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*
EHI	*Elements of Hindu Iconography* by T.A.G. Rao
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
EW	*East and West*, Rome
GOS	*Gaikwad Oriental Series*
IA	*Indian Antiquary*
IAR	*Indian Archaeology—A Review*
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
IV	*Iconography of Viṣṇu by* Kalpana Desai

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JAINS	*Journal of Ancient Indian Numismatic and Sigillography, Indore*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Calcutta
JIH	*Journal of Indian History*
JIM	*Journal of Indian Museums*
JJM	*Jaina Jāti Mahodaya* of Muni Gyanasunderji
JISOA	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*
JLS	*Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha* by Nahar
JNSI	*Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*
JOI	*Journal of the OrientaI Institute,* Baroda
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London
MASI	*Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India*
MB	*Maru-Bhāratī,* Pillani
Mbh.	*Mahābhārata*
ME	*Man and Environment, Ahmedabad*
NJP	*Nābhinandanajinoddhāra Prabandha*
OJKI	*Oswāl Jāti Kā Itihāsa* by Bhandari *et al*
P	*Purāṇa*
PKA	*Pūrvakāraṇāgama*
PP	*Padma Purāṇa*
Rām.	*Rāmāyaṇa*
RL	*Roopa-Lekha*
RM	*Rūpa-Maṇḍana*
RTA	*Rajasthan Through the Ages* Ed. by Dasharatha Sharma
RV	*Ṛgveda*
ŚB	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East*
ŚP	*Śodha-Patrikā,* Udaipur
SPB	*Suprabhedāgama*
SR	*Śilparatna*
TS	*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*
UGP	*Upakeśagaccha-Paṭṭāvali*
VDP	*Viṣṇudharmaottara Purāṇa*
VIJ	*Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*
VKB	*Vaiśya-Kula-Bhūṣana* by Maheshwari
VSMRS	*Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* by R.G. Bhandarkar
YV	*Yajurveda*

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List of Figures

I. Lay out of Temples at Osian :

(1-3: HH-1 to 3, 4: VT-1, 5: Siva T. -1, 6: ST-1, 7: ST-2, 8: Siva T.-2,9: PDT, 10: VT-2, 11: MT, 12-18: DK- 1 to 7, 19: SMT, 20: ST-3, 21-23: VT-3 to 5, 24: SMT, 25: Wrecked T., 26-30: Smaller Shrines).

II. Plan of HH-1

III. Plan of HH-2

IV. Plan of HH-3

V. Plan of VT-1

VI. Plan of ST-1

VII. Plan of ST-2

VIII. Plan of VT-2

IX. Plan of MT

X. Plan of SMT and ST-3

XI. Plans of Small Shrines

XII. Dresses

XIII. Ornaments

XIV. Hair styles

XV. Weapons

XVI. Furniture

XVII. Utensils

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List of Plates

1. SMT and old Osian town
2. HH-1 from NE
3. HH-1, *Mūlaprāsāda*, front view
4. HH-1, doorframe
5. HH-1, SW subsidiary shrine
6. HH-2 from SE
7. HH-2, E and S walls
8. HH-3 from W
9. HH-3, *Sabhāmaṇḍapa*, ceiling and pillars
10. VT-1 from NW
11. VT-1 from S
12. ST-1 from NW
13. ST-1 from S with SMT in the background
14. ST-2 from NW
15. Śiva Temple No. 2 from SW
16. PDT from NE
17. VT-2 from SE
18. MT complex
19. MT, *śikhara*
20. MT, part of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*
21. MT, *valānka*, ceiling with *apasarases*
22. DK-1 N wall
23. DK-2 front view
24. DK-3, front view
25. DK-3, doorframe
26. DK-4, front view

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27. DK-5 from S
28. SMT, stairs and side entry
29. SMT and VT-5 from NW
30. SMT from SE
31. SMT, *śikhara*, back view
32. SMT, *raṅgamaṇḍapa, toraṇa*
33. ST-3, back view
34. ST-3, doorframe
35. ST-3, ceiling of the porch
36. ST-3, pilaster with ostuary and Saṁkaraṣaṇa
37. VT-3 from W
38. VT-3, doorframe
39. VT-4, ceiling of the porch
40. VT-5, socle
41. VT-5, doorfame, upper part
42. Group of small temples
43. *Saparikara* Viṣṇu, Kunj Behari Temple
44. *Sthānaka* Viṣṇu
45. *Garuḍāsana* Viṣṇu, HH-1, NE corner shrine
46. Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu, SMT complex
47. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, VT-4
48. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, VT-5
49. Samudramanthana, VT-5
50. Varāha, ST-2
51. Varāha, VT-5
52. Nṛsiṁha, ST-2
53. Nṛsiṁha, VT-3
54. Vāmana-Trivikarma, HH-3
55. Vāmana-Trivikrama, VT-5
56. Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes, ST-3
57. Kṛṣṇa-līlā scene, HH-2
58. Balarāma embracing Revatī, HH-1, SE corner shrine
59. Balarāma, ST-2

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60. Buddha, HH-1
61. Sūrya, ST-3
62. Sūrya, ST-2
63. Sūrya, HH-3
64. Śiva-Naṭarāja, ST-3
65. Kalyāṇa-Sundara, HH-2, NW corner shrine
66. Śiva-Pārvatī, VT-5
67. Bhairava, SMT
68. Nandī, MT complex
69. Pārvatī, ST-2
70. Durgā-Siṁhavāhinī, SMT complex
71. Gaja-Lakṣmī, SMT complex
72. Durgā-Siṁhavahinī, SMT complex
73. Durgā-Siṁhavāhinī, HH-2
74. Kśemaṅkarī, SMT
75. Śṛṅgāra-Durgā, HH-1, SW subsidiary shrine
76. Mahiṣamardinī, HH-1
77. Mahiṣamardinī, HH-2
78. Mahiṣamardinī, ST-2
79. Mahiṣamardinī, PDT, sanctum sanctorum
80. Mahiṣamardinī, PDT, E wall
81. Mahiṣamardinī, SMT, sanctum sanctorum
82. Mahiṣamardinī, SMT, *raṅgamaṇḍapa*
83. Caṇḍikā, SMT
84. Śītalā, SMT
85. Vārāhī and Aindrī, SMT
86. Cāmuṇḍā, SMT
87. Gaka-Lakṣmī, Jodhpur Museum
88. Nirṛti (Śakti?), VT-5
89. Gaṇeśa, SMT store
90. Geṇeśa, MT complex
91. Nṛtta Gaṇeśa, SMT store
92. *Āsana* Geṇeśa, ST-3

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93. Sthānaka Gaṇeśa, HH-1
94. Ardhanārīśvara, ST-3
95. Hari-Hara, HH-3
96. Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha, VT-5
97. Brahmā, HH-1
98. Brahmā, ST -2
99. Kārttikeya, ST-3
100. Candra, HH-1
101. Candra, HH-2
102. Candra, HH-3
103. Āśvins, VT-4
104. Indra, VT-5
105. Agni, HH-1
106. Agni, VT-2
107. Yama, HH-1
108. Yama, DK-2
109. Nirṛti, HH-1
110. Nirṛti, VT-5
111. Nirṛti, DK-5
112 .Varuṇa, HH-1
113. Varuṇa, DK-5
114. Varuṇa, VT-4
115. Vāyu, HH-1
116. Kubera, HH-1
117. Kubera, VT-4
118. Īśāna, HH-1
119. Īśāna, MT
120. *Gandharva* couple, Step Well No. 2
121. Yawning Līlāvatī, VT-4
122. Śubhāṅginī, VT-5
123. Nūpuravādikā, VT-4
124. Putravallabhā, VT-4
125. Kaśagumphinī, HH-1

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126. Śukasārikā, DK-1
127. Māninī, VT-5
128. Kandukī, DK-2
129. Cāpavatī (or Rati ?), HH-1
130. Peacock motif, HH-1
131. Mythical motif, HH-1
132. Bestiality, ST-2
133. Orgiastic Group, VT-4
134. Plural Intercourse, VT-5
135. Amorous couple, VT-4
136. Mahāvīra, MT, sanctum sanctorum
137. Jina Head, Jodhpur Museum
138. Pārśvanātha, MT, architrave
139. Pārśvanātha, Jodhpur Museum
140. Pārśvanātha, ST-3
141. Ādinātha, MT, *bhadra*-balcopy of the sanctum
142. Jina Images on *toraṇa*, MT
143. Caturviṁśati Jina-Paṭa, MT complex
144. Pārśva *Yakṣa*, MT
145. Pātāla *Yakṣa*, MT
146. Sarasvatī, MT
147. Acchuptā, MT
148. Cakreśvarī, MT
149. Cakreśvarī, DK-4
150. Gaurī, Vairoṭyā and Mānasī, MT, *mukhamaṇḍapa-phāṁsanā*
151. Jīvantasvāmi, MT complex
152. Storage Jar Inscription, MT complex
153. Storage Jar Inscription, Jodhpur Museum
154. Inscriptions dated V.S. 812
155. Inscription dated V.S. 885
156. MT *Praśasti* of V.S. 1013
157. *Toraṇa* Pillar Inscription of V.S. 1035
158. Pārśvanātha Image Inscription of V.S. 1035

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159. SMT Inscription of V.S. 1234
160. SMT Pillar Inscription of V.S. 1245
161. Dadabari Foot-Prints Inscription of V.S. 1246
162. SMT Pillar Inscription of V.S. 1247
163. MT Inscription of V.S. 1734
164. Step Well No. 2
165. Dadabari
166. Dadabari Foot-Prints and Inscriptions
167. Coins of the Arab Governor Ahmad
168. *Mātṛpaṭṭa*, MT
169. *Parikara*, MT
170. Bust of a Śālabhañjikā, MT
171. Govardhana Pillar.

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Contents

Preface vii
Transliteration Table xi
Abbreviations xiii
List of Figures xv
List of Plates xvii

CHAPTER I
Introduction 1

CHAPTER II
Temples 27

CHAPTER III
Hindu Sculptures : Cult Deities 75

CHAPTER IV
Hindu Sculptures : Syncretistic and Miscellaneous Icons 129

CHAPTER V
Jaina Sculptures 175

CHAPTER VI
Other Remains 209

CHAPTER VII
Life of the People 241

Select Bibliography 261
Index 271

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Introduction

Osian—Location, Topography and Climate

Brief History of the Region

Nomenclature

(*A*) *Traditions*

(*B*) *Antiquity of the Site*

Osian and Oswals

Saciya and her Temple

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

OSIAN : LOCATION, TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Osian[1] (26°18'N, 73°1'E) is situated at a distance of about sixty-six kilometres north-north-west of Jodhpur in Western Rajasthan. Once an important cultural and commercial centre of Marwar, it is only a straggling town now. It can be approached by a metre-guage train or bus from Jodhpur and by road from Bikaner *via* Phalodi. A rugged road connects it with Nagaur also.

Osian is located almost in the centre of Jodhpur district which lies between 25°51' and 27°40' North Latitude and 71°44" and 72°30" East Longitude spread over an area of 22,860 square kilometres. The Luni and its tributaries, which are ephemeral and intermittent in nature, drain the south-eastern part of the district. Sand dunes form a spectacular feature particularly in the central and south-western parts as well as the north-western fringes of the district. Some dead streams, interspersed hills and pediments[2] break the monotony of the vast arid expanses.

The dunes of different types and shapes are both stabilized and active. The distribution of these dunes, an analysis of their sand samples and a study of their morphometric characteristic reveal that they were formed under different climatic phases during the late Quaternary period[3]. Dunes of the old system have different morphological characteristics and were stabilized after the end of a major arid phase. Dunes of the new system, of smaller size and different character, were formed under the second arid phase by renewed aeolian activity[4].

Hills and pediments surround Osian. The celebrated Saciyā Mātā Temple (SMT) here is located on the top of a spur (*Pl. I*). So also is the Dadabari to its south-east. If one travels from Jodhpur to Osian by road, flat-surfaced hills showing horizontal lines, which appear to be water-marks, and some dead streams are sure to catch one's attention. One such dead stream exists to the south of the present Osian town also. It flows from between the SMT and Dadabari hill in the east-west direction. The dead streams of the district still await intensive scientific study. The rhyolite pediments of the area have however been studied geomorphologically and it has been presumed that the process of pedimentation was in progress before the accumulation of the sandy layer (which exists between two layers of rhyolite fragments). This band of fine sand was the result of intense dune building acti-

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vity which was followed by a humid phase when the dune sand became compact and the weathering and erosion of the hills became accelerated.[5]

The area around Osian is dominantly made up of the late Pleistocene light textured alluvial plain with the characteristic aeolian sheets of the subsequent highly arid phase(s).[6] Thick calcareous deposits have also been noticed below the aeolian formations at some places. A number af sections in the wells dug for salt extraction in the Malhar *rin* near Bap,[7] 3 to 5 metres thick deposits of alternating sands and clays were noticed, clearly showing periodic flooding and drying up of the lake.[8] Presence of dead drains[9] and an alluvial blanket at different places in the district indicate massive alluvial activity during the late Quaternary. The disorganisation of drainage, onset of aridity and aeolian activity seem to have started sometime around 2000 years before present.[10] Some scholars think that the severe dry phase began sometime before 8000 B.C. when the dunes covered lake basins in Rajasthan.[11] Singh *et al*[12] have worked out a complete climatic sequence in the area and express the view that the pollen analysis from Rajasthan lakes indicates a moist phase with 240 mm. more rain than now during *c.* 8000–7500 B.C.; a drier phase, but not as dry as at present during *c.* 7500–3000 B.C., a moist phase with 500 mm. higher rainfall than at present during *c.* 3000–2000 B.C., i.e., the Harappan phase. It was during this phase that obstacle dunes got deeply dissected and parabolic dunes developed from the sands washed away from the sand shields. The onset of aridity in the present day arid belt seems to have occurred around 2000 B.C. when the Lunkaransar lake in Western Rajasthan began drying up. During *c.* 1800–1400 B.C., aridity spread eastward, fresh water species disappeared and the Sambhar lake began turning saline.[14] After a slight amelioration in climate during *c.* 1400–1000 B.C., aridity seems to have spread further as indicated by the drying up of lakes and the formation of barchan dunes.[13] It may thus be concluded that the rainfall may have fluctuated, though not substantially in terms of length of rainy season, during the protohistoric and historic periods and even earlier, but the general aridity seems to have prevailed since a very long time.[15] The annual mean rainfall in the eastern parts of Jodhpur district is 360 mm. It goes on decreasing as we proceed westward. The mean maximum and minimum temperature varies from 42.3°C to 26.5°C in summer and 27.2°C to 6.7°C in winter.[16] High velocity winds blow during the summer, particularly in the month of June. With its gorgeous cultural remains, however, Osian stands as an oasis in the vast sandy tracts of the Great Indian Thar.

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE REGION

Some geologists believe that the Tethys Sea existed in place of the Thar desert some 225 to 228 million years ago.[17] Whether the great desert was a sea or not is still an unresolved controversy[18] but the discovery of fossilized shells, conches, etc.,[19] hills bearing flat surfaces and horizontal water-marks and mythological stories in our great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa*[20] (*Rām.*) and the *Mahābhārata* (*Mbh.*),[21] do indicate the existence of large water bodies here.[22] A very large number of silicified tree-trunks, some of them as long as seven metres, fossilized fruits resembling gooseberry,

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coconut, mango and almonds discovered near Jaisalmer[23] and elsewhere[24] suggest a warm humid climate in which forests flourished here (bordering on sea ?) about 180 to 200 million years ago. Human activity in the area, however, seems to have begun much later during the early Holocene after a major dry phase towards the end of the Quaternary which caused the formation of dunes. Middle stone Age tools have been discovered from Pokaran[25] in Jaisalmer district, Baridhani[26] and Khirwa[27] near Bap in Jodhpur district and some other places in the desert[28]. Microliths obtained from Pokaran and from Chamu, Lordia, Phalodi, Bujawar[29] and Umednagar[30] in the arid region of district Jodhpur, from the surface of lime-stone outcrops, fields of intensely dissected and vegetation covered dunes and from over other high dunes do indicate that in spite of the severe aridity, human activity continued in the area to about 10000 years before present. Thereafter, we have no evidence of the occupation of this area till the historical times.[31]

The *Rām.* refers to the Ābhīras and other forest tribes as living in the Maru (Marwar) region[32]. Megasthenes has left us a vivid description of the tribes and aborigines occupying the area during the last quarter of the fourth century B.C.[33] but it is difficult to pin-point their location. It is, however, evident that this region formed part of the dominions of Candragupta Maurya and his successors.[34] It passed into the hands of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga who assasinated the last Mauryan emperor Bṛhadratha and usurped power in *c.* 185 B.C. The Indo-Greek king Menander is generally believed to have invaded India during Puṣyamitra's reign and sacked Sāketa (Ayodhya) in U.P. and Mādhyamikā near Chittor in Rajasthan.[35] There is, however, no evidence that he entered Marwar. Many of the republican tribes of Punjab like the Mālavas, Kṣudrakas, Śibis, Rājanyas, Yaudheyas etc. had taken refuge in Rajasthan when they were pressed hard by the Bactrians, but no evidence has come forth as yet regarding the occupation of the Marwar region by any of them.

Western India came under the suzerainty of the Kuṣāṇa emperors from about the middle of the first century A.D. The Kuṣāṇas had conquered Kābul, Gandhāra, Sind and large parts of Rajputana when they entered India from Afghanistan. Kaṇiṣka's dominions extended from the Vindhyas in central India to central Asia. Though direct evidence is lacking yet it will not be unreasonable to hold that Marwar too formed part of the Kuṣāṇa empire.

In the beginning of the second century A.D., we find the Kṣaharātas, the Śaka satraps, ruling over parts of western India. Though not much is known about their antecedents, yet there is sufficient numismatic and epigraphic evidence regarding Bhūmaka and his successor Nahapāna as having influence over the area lying between Pune and Śūrpāraka (modern Sopara in northern Konkan) in Maharashtra and over Prabhāsa (Pāṭana, i.e. Somanātha) in Kathiawar, Mandsaur and Ujjain in Malwa and Pushkar near Ajmer in Rajasthan.[36] Nasik inscription of Nahapāna refers to the donations of his son-in-law Uṣavadāta (Ṛṣabhadatta) at Pushkar.[37] Nahapāna and his allies Uttamabhadras[38] were under pressure of the Sātavāhanas in the south and the Mālayas (Mālavas) in the north. The Mālava incursion was checked by Uṣavadāta but Nahapāna could not withstand the onslaught of the

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Āndhra king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. The Sātavāhanas may have annexed southern parts of Marwar for some time but direct evidence is lacking to prove it.[39] That the *Maru* region was possessed by Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman alongwith Ākarāvantī (Malwa), Anūpa (Maheśvara), Ānartta (northern Kathiawar), Surāṣṭra (southern Kathiawar), Śvabhra (northern Gujarat), Kaccha, Sindhu and Sauvīra (east of the lower Indus), is known from his Junagarh inscription of (Śaka) year 72 (=A.D. 150)[40]. Around A.D. 240, however, the Yaudheyas, Mālavās, Ārjunāyanas, Rājanyas, Ābhiras and other tribes extirpated the Kusāṇas and the Śaka Kṣatrapas not only from Marwar but also from other parts of Rajasthan.[41] The Ābhiras may have remained in occupation of the Osian region.[42] During the fourth century, Samudragupta and Candragupta Vikramāditya annexed the area after having vanquished the republican tribes and the western kṣatrapas.[43] Gupta sway over Jodhpur region is indicated by two *toraṇa*-pillars found from the dilapidated fort of Mandor (ancient Māṇḍavyapura) which was the capital of the land in ancient times. These pillars depict scenes from Kṛṣṇa's life (Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*). Traces of Gupta Brāhmi characters have been noticed on one of these pillars. Names of some individuals engraved in the Brāhmi characters of early Gupta period have also been found near the cave of Nāhaḍarāo at Mandor[44]. An inscription dated (Gupta) Saṁvat 298 (= A.D. 617)[45] discovered in the Dadhimatī Devī Temple[46] from the precincts of the villages Goṭha and Māṅgaloda in the north-north-east of Osian also bears testimony to Gupta impact in the area.

Ephthalites or the White Hūṇas, a branch of the nomadic barbarian tribe that originally lived near China in the second century B.C., had grown quite powerful on their westward march when they reached the valley of the Oxus in Afghanistan during the middle of the fifth century A.D. From there, they began making inroads in India. Bhitari Stone Pillar inscription of Skandagupta describes how the Gupta emperor faced the Hūṇas bravely and vanquished them : "*Hūṇairyyasya samāgatasya samare dorbhyāṁ dharā kampitā*"[47]. But the Hūṇa power could not be kept under check for long. Inscriptions of Toramāṇa (A.D. 500-515) and Mihirakula (A.D. 515-545) reveal that the Hūṇas had wrested from the Guptas the western parts of their dominions and their influence spread as far as Eran in Madhya Pradesh. Silver and copper coins of the Hūṇas have been found in large numbers from various sites in Rajasthan—Abaneri, Buchawas, Chohtan, Desuri, Jalor, Junakhera, Khejroli, Khoh, Losal, Nagaur, Nohar, Piplaj, Ranakpur Road, Raniawas, Sambhar, Sardargarh etc.[48] Evidently, the region of Osian too was under their sway. Mandsaur inscription of Yaśodharman reveals that he defeated Mihirakula—"...*Mihirakula-nṛpeṇārccitaṁ pādayugmaṁ*"[49]. Yaśodharman's dominions extended from the river Brahmaputra in the east to the western sea and from the Himalayas in the north to Mahendrācala in the south.[50] Such a vast empire was administered with the help of the feudatories.[51] Possibly the Hūṇas too accepted Yaśodharman's suzerainty. References to the Hūṇas in later literature and inscriptions indicate their continued existence in north-western India including Rajasthan.[52] The Gurjaras are classed with the Hūṇas who are also recognised as one of the thirty-six *gotras* of the Rajputs.[53] The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang mentions Bhinmal as the metropolis of Gurjaratra, i.e., Gujarat.[54] A Copper Plate

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Grant of V.S. 900 (=A.D. 843) belonging to king Bhoja of the Pratihāra dynasty describes Didwana as a province (*viṣaya*) of the Gurjara State[55]. Celebrated Sanskrit poet Māgha and mathematician Brahmagupta were the residents of Bhinmal. Brahmagupta has referred to the rule of king Vyāghramukha of the Cāvaḍā (Cāpotkaṭa) dynasty in Bhinmal in his book '*Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta*' (V.S. 685=A.D. 628).[56] While describing his genealogy in his *Mahākāvya* '*Śiśupāla-vadha*', Māgha tells us that his grandfather Suprabhadeva was the chief minister (*Sarvādhikārī*) of king Varmalāta.[57] An inscription of Varmalāta dated V.S. 682 (=A.D. 625) is known to us from Vasantgarh near Sirohi.[58] Possibly southern Marwar had come under the sway of the Cāvaḍās after the Gurjaras.[59]

In the beginning of eighth century, when during the time of Caliph Hasham the Saṁdhava, Kacchela, Saurashtra, Cāpotkaṭa, Maurya, Gurjara and other rulers were destroyed by Junaid, the Arab governor of Sind, the prestige of the country was saved by Pulakeśī, the governor of Gujarat, belonging to the Cālukya dynasty[60]. The Arabs invaded Marwar and Bhinmal and put their rulers to sword. They might have attacked Osian also which was then an important town of the region. A hoard of diminutive silver coins of the Arab governor Ahmad has been discovered from Osian;[61] similar small silver issues of the Arab governors have been obtained in very large numbers from Mandor and Chohtan.[62]

The Arab incursions prepared the ground for the rise of the Pratihāras in north India.[63] The following branches of the Pratihāras are well-known in history[64] :—

(1) The Imperial Pratihāras of Jalor and Kannauj

(2) The *Kṣatriya* and *Brāhmaṇa* Pratihāras of Mandor

(3) Pratihāras of Siyaḍoṇī

(4) The Gurjara Pratihāras of Rajorgarh, and

(5) The Bāraḍ Pratihāras of Īḍar.

Though definite evidence is lacking to prove it, yet it seems probable that the first two branches were collateral.[65]

The Imperial Pratihāras ruled over extensive territories in north India. The rulers of this branch have also been designated as the Gurjaras by some contemporary kings because originally they hailed from the Gurjara province. Initially the term Gurjara may have applied to the members of the Gurjara clan but in the eighth century it denoted all denizens of the Gurjara land—*Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Rajputs, Vaiśyas,* cattle-grazers etc. It is evident from the available evidence that all Pratihāras did not belong to the Gurjara clan nor they thought themselves as connected with each other.[66]

The Pratihāras of Mandor and Kānyakubja (Kannauj) traced their descent from Lakṣmaṇa who had served Rāma as a door-keeper.[67] Not much is known authentically about the antecedents of Nāgābhaṭṭa (*I*), the first ruler of this dynasty. Probably he began his career as a feudatory of the Cāpas of Bhillamāla (Bhinmal)

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and organised a resistence against the Arabs. When the glory of the Cāpa empire waned, he rose as an independent ruler and established his capital at Jalor.[68] Nāgabhaṭṭa I had given patronage to a Jaina-scholar Yakṣadeva who is believed to be Kṣmāśramaṇa Yakṣadatta of Udyotana Sūri's *Kuvalayamālā* (A.D. 778). His disciple had adorned the Gurjara country with many a Jaina shrine.[69] After Nāgabhaṭṭa I his sons Kakkuka and Devaraja ruled for some time. We do not know about the events of their reign as much as we know about Vatsarāja, son of Devarāja from Bhūyikādevī. When *Kuvalayamālā* was composed at Jalor in Śaka 700, Raṇahastin Vatsarāja was the ruling sovereign, Vatsarāja's title Raṇahastin is met with on a number of coins also obtained from U.P., Rajasthan and Saurashtra.[70] The Jaina *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* refers to Vatsarāja's rule in Śaka year 705 (=A.D. 783).[71] He must have held sway over Upakeśapura, i.e., Osian also as an inscription of V.S. 1013 (=A.D. 956) found from there refers to this place.[72] In *Nābhinandanajinoddhāra Prabandha* (henceforth *NJP*), Upakeśapura has been described as the '*Svastika*' (a mystical mark denoting good luck) of the earth, an ornament of the desert endowed with natural beauty where the groves are full of trees and the noble ascetics are wifeless (*adārā*), but amongst the citizens none are like that; where the beautiful damsels and the peacocks educate each other without formal instructions merely by observing each other's graceful gait; where the tanks are replete with fully blossomed lotuses and the nocturnal darkness is dispelled by the light emanating from the luminous gems and where the rays of moon entering during the night through latticed windows in the houses of fair ladies, separated from their spouses, appear like the silver-arrows hurled by Cupid.[73] Shorn of its usual literary exaggerations, the description does indicate that Osian was an important flourishing town then.

NOMENCLATURE

(*a*) *Traditions* : According to a local tradition,[74] Osian was known as Melpur Paṭṭan[75] first. An ascetic called Dhundli Mall lived about a mile and a half to the north-west [*sic.*] (actually south-east) of the village where there is a tumulus with foot-prints carved on the top and containing his relics. One day, as the tradition goes, he sent his pupil to the village for alms, but nobody gave him anything to eat and he returned empty-handed. Dhundli Mall got so enraged that he cursed the village whereupon the old Melpur Paṭṭan became *ḍaṭṭan*, i.e., buried underground. The town was reopened afterwards by Uppal De, a Paramāra prince, who being hard pressed by his enemies, sought refuge with a king of the Paḍiār (i.e., Pratihāra) dynasty which then reigned supreme in Marwar. "The Paḍiār sovereign assigned the ruins of Melpur Paṭṭan to the Paramāra king and asked him to take shelter there. The latter re-peopled the desolated village, and named it Navanerī Nagarī. But the village was called Osiā because Uppaladeva took *oslā* there, the word signifying "refuge, shelter" in Mārwārī language".[76] Uppaladeva also built a temple of Saciyā Mātā, the tutelary goddess of the Sāṁkhala Paramāras in the refounded town.[77]

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There is another tradition regarding the name and foundation of Osian.[78] A Jaina king Jayasena ruled over the city of Śrīmāla. From his two queens, he begot two sons named Bhīmasena and Candrasena, respectively. Because of their Śaivite and Jaina propensities, the two brothers did not see eye to eye with each other. Jayasena wanted to appoint his younger son Candrasena as the heir-apparent. After Jayasena's death, when the struggle for succession reached a stage to be decided by force, Candrasena withdrew his claim to the throne. Having gained power, Bhīmasena began maltreating the Jainas who ultimately left the city under Candrasena's leadership. They founded Candrāvatī[79] near Mount Abu, after their leader's name. Bhīmasena got constructed in his city three fortifications for the *crore-patis*, *lakh-patis* and the common people. The city thus came to be known as Bhinnamāla (Bhinmal).[80] During the reign of Bhīmasena, Bhinmal became a centre of the Śaivas and the *Vāma-mārgīs*.

Bhīmasena had two sons—Śrī Puñja and Upala Deva.[81] Because of difference of opinion, the two brothers had an altercation and Śrī Puñja sarcastically remarked that Upala Deva should establish his own kingdom by the prowess of his arms. On this, Upala Deva vowed to do so and left the place. He was accompanied by Ūhaḍa, who was angry with his elder brother Suvaḍa, a *mahāmātya* 'chief minister' of Śrī Puñja and of the lunar race.[82] On the way, they met Saṁgrāma Siṁha, king of Vairāṭa, who having been impressed by Upala Deva's resolution, courage and bravery, betrothed his daughter to him. Upala Deva reached Ḍhelīpura (Delhi) from Vairāṭa. On the way, he purchased some horses[83] from horse-traders on the condition that the payment will be made to them after he established his own state. A king named Sādhu ruled over Delhi then. He used to enjoy and regale in his harem for six months and then look after the state administration for the rest of the year. Upala Deva used to go to the royal court and present a horse everyday. Ultimately when the king came to know this, he summoned Upala Deva. Having known the latter's determination to establish a new state for himself, he gave him a mare and asked him to found a new town wherever he saw barren land. An augur who was sitting there at that time advised Upala Deva to found his new town where the mare made water. Upala Deva, accompanied by Ūhaḍa, set off from there and stopped next morning where the mare made water in the barren land ahead of Mandor[84]. He devoted himself to the work of the foundation of the town. Because of the dewey (*osīlī*) land, he christened the new town as 'Uesa Paṭṭana'. In due course, many people from Bhinmal also came and settled here and it spread in an area of twelve *yojanas*[85]. It is said that when Osian was at the acme of its glory and prosperity, "its grain market was the village of Mathāniā, sixteen miles to the south-south-east, its oil men's quarter was Tīvarī (Teori), thirteen miles south-south-west, and one of its principal gates was in Ghaṭiyālā, twenty-eight miles in the same direction."[86]

The traditions cited above agree in two points—the town was founded (or refounded) by a Paramāra prince Upala Deva and its ancient name was Upakeśa or Uesa Paṭṭana. These points seem to contain some historical substance too.

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The present name Osian is evidently derived from Upakeśa Paṭṭana,[87] the old name of the town found also in inscriptions and literature. Sometimes, it has been referred to as Upakeśapura[88] and Upakeśanagara[89] also. Upakeśa has in the course of centuries, changed to 'Os' through Upakeśa,[90] Uvaesa,[91] Uesa[92] etc. and 'Paṭṭana' has provided the nasalized suffix 'iāṁ' (*Paṭṭana> Vaṭṭana> Vaana> Vāna> Vāṁ> Uāṁ> iāṁ*).[93]

(b) *Antiquity of the site* :—We have seen above that Upala Deva, a Paramāra prince of Bhinmal, is credited with the foundation of Osian. Three theories have been propounded so far regarding the foundation and antiquity of the place.[94]

1. According to Jaina texts and teachers (*ācāryas*), Osian was founded by Upala Deva in Vīra *Saṁvat* 70, i.e., about 400 years before the beginning of the Vikrama era.[95]

2. According to the genealogies of the bards and the Bhojakas[96] it was during the reign of Upala Deva in V.S. 222 (*Bīye bāīsā*) that the eighteen original *gotras* of the Oswals[97] were consecrated at Osian by Ratnaprabha Sūri.[98]

3. Some 'modern historians' believe that neither the Oswals nor Osian was in existence before V.S. 900. The Bhinmal prince Upala Deva had sought refuge with the Pratihāra king of Mandor and it was with his help and succour that the former founded Osian, some time after V.S. 900.

If we examine these theories critically, the first one can easily be rejected as there is no evidence of the existence of Osian and the impact of Jainism in Rajasthan in the fifth century B.C.[99] Neither Bhinmal had come into existence then[100] nor the Paramāras.[101] How could then a prince of the Paramāra dynasty of Bhinmal found Osian in the fifth century B.C. ? Moreover, according to the Jaina tradition cited above, Candrāvatī was founded by Upala Deva's uncle Candrasena. It must have thus been older than Osian. But its antiquity goes back only to the tenth century A.D.[102] If we put any reliance on the Jaina traditions, Osian must be regarded as having been founded later than Candrāvatī.

As far as the second theory is concerned, the genealogies of the bards and the Bhojakas too cannot be accepted at their face value, for we know it for certain that there was neither any Paramāra prince of the name of Upala Deva nor the eighteen original *gotras* of the Oswals extant in V.S. 222 (=A.D. 165). Since Jainism had not reached Rajasthan at such an early date, the event of the consecration of the eighteen *gotras* at Osian by Ratnaprabha Sūri cannot be taken to be an historical fact. The exact date of Ratnaprabha Sūri is not known. A prominent figure of this name flourished in twelfth century A.D. according to Jaina sources.[103] The dates of his two works—*Neminātha-Caritra* (in Prakrit) and *Upadeśamālāvṛtti*—are A.D. 1177 and 1182, respectively. These dates are significantly very close to the date of the construction of the new fane of Saciyā at Osian.[104] Available evidence renders even the third theory 'which has been found to be more probable, acceptable and conforming to historical facts[105] as untenable'.

Traditions concur that it was a prince of Bhinmal who had founded Osian. Early history of Bhinmal, however, is somewhat doubtful; but there is little doubt regarding its existence in the seventh century A.D. or even somewhat earlier. It

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was ruled over in about A.D. 625 by king Varmalāta, known from Vasantgarh inscription[106] and the *Śiśupāla-vadha* of Māgha (*c.* A.D. 680) whose grandfather Suprabhadeva served as the Prime Minister of Varmalāta.[107] *Bhillamālakācārya* Brahmagupta who wrote his great work *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta* in A.D. 628[108] and Yuan Chwang's description of Bhillamala (*pi—lo—ma—lo*) as the capital of the Gurjara country[109] furnish corroborative evidence regarding Bhinmal as a flourishing town then. But the Paramāra prince Upala Deva (Utpala/Vākpati Muñja ?) associated with Bhinmal flourished during the tenth century A.D.[110] Upala Deva is said to have taken refuge with the Pratiharā king of Mandor and founded Osian with his help. There is an historical incongruency involved in the statement. We do not know the name of the Pratihāra king of Mandor. Nothing is known about the Pratihāras of Mandor after Kakkuka's Ghaṭiyālā Inscription of V.S. 918 (=A.D. 861)[111] which together with Bāuka's Jodhpur Inscription of V.S. 894 (=A.D. 837)[112] traces the descent of the family from a *Brāhmaṇa* Hariścandra and his *Kṣatriyā* wife Bhadrā.[113] Bāuka was separated from Hariścandra by eleven generations and it has been surmised that the latter may have flourished during the third quarter of the sixth century A.D.[114] There is, thus, no evidence of the contemporaneity of any of the Pratihāra king of Mandor and the Paramāra prince Upala Deva of Bhinmal. The tradition probably originated after the tenth century A.D.

According to the Mahāvīra Jaina Temple inscription of Osian, a shrine dedicated to Sun (*Tapaneśvarasya bhavanaṁ*) and not the Mahāvīra Temple as believed popularly, existed here during the reign of Pratihāra king Vatsarāja.[115] His name occurs in the colophon of the Jaina *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* of Jinasena —"*Pūrvāṁ Śrīmad = Avanti-bhūbhṛti nṛpe Vatsarāje*"[116] Udyotana Sūri's *Kuvalayamālā*, composed one day before the close of the Śaka year 700 (=A.D. 778) at Jābālipura (modern Jalor) refers to Vatsarāja as the paramount sovereign—

Parabhaḍabhiuḍībhaṁgo Paṇaīyaṇa Rohiṇī Kalā-cando /
Siri Vaccharāya ṇāmo raṇahatthi pattīvojaiā //[117]

The cumulative evidence of the Bhore State Museum Copper Plates of Dhārāvarṣa Dhruvarāja of Śaka year 702 (=A.D. 780)[118] the Radhanpura Plates and the Wani Grants of Govind III,[119] the Baroda Plates of Karkarāja[120] and the *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*[121] indicates that Vatsarāja ceased to rule over Wadhwan (ancient Vardhamānapura) and Jalor (Jābālipura) sometime between A.D. 780 and 783.[122] The said temple of Osian must have thus been built before A.D. 780 and the city of Osian must have been in a flourishing state then.[123] Some other temples of Osian also belong to the eighth century A.D.[124] Osian, thus, was founded quite some time before that.

A memorial inscription in the compound of Harihara Temple No. 2 of Osian further pushes back slightly the antiquity of the town. It was inscribed in V.S. 803 (=A.D. 746) and records the death of Nara(ma)nai, the son of Bharada of Ādityapura.[125] There are other records of V.S. 812, 8(4)0, 885, 891, 895 etc.[126] These *satī*-memorials record the death of some person, belonging generally to the

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Dharkaṭa-*jāti*.[127] It is interesting to note that Dharkaṭa—*jāti* belongs to the *Śrīmālagotra* of the Oswals. These records at Osian, the earliest ones to refer to the Dharkaṭa-*jāti*, thus lend some support to the tradition that a sizable part of the population of Bhinmal settled at Osian.

We have, however, come across more definitive evidence regarding the antiquity of Osian. The Mahāvīra Temple *Praśati* of V.S. 1013 states that the Sun Temple was located in the heart of the city.[128] A search for old remains resulted in the discovery of a low mound to the north-west of the Mahāvīra Temple. This mound is now occupied by the building and play-grounds of Śrī Vardhamāna Jaina Higher Secondary School, Osian. Some old potshreds can still be picked up from the peripheries of this mound on its western side. Enquiries revealed that while digging the foundations of the said school, old relics were recovered from the site.[129] Interesting evidence came forth in the form of an earthen vase[130] which contained a large number of diminutive silver coins of which 373 pieces are still preserved with the Seth Shri Mangal Singh Ratan Singh Deo Ki Pedi Trust.[131] All the coins belong to the Arab governor Ahmad and most of them are in mint condition.[132] The Arab historians inform us that during the first half of the eighth century A.D., the invasions of the Arabs were checked in the east by a new power near Ujjain. Scholars believe that this new power was no other than the Pratihāra kings of Avanti.[133] This indicates that the Pratihāras were the masters of Malwa and had also established their sway over parts of western India including Marwar in the beginning of the eighth century A.D.[134] The discovery of the hoard of silver coins of Ahmad from the mound furnishes evidence of the existence of Osian, probably as an important trade centre in the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

There is, however, still more definitive evidence regarding the antiquity of Osian obtained from the site. Five large globular storage jars were exhumed while digging the foundations of the Jaina School. Four of them are now preserved with the above-mentioned Trust and one is on display in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. Probably all these jars bore small inscription on their rims. Unfortunately the rims of two of them are broken. The Jodhpur Museum jar is completely preserved and bears the name of 'Nāge(ṁ)dra' in the characters of the Gupta period. Of the four jars in the custody of the Jaina Temple Trust at Osian two bear small denominational inscriptions on their rims, in the Brāhmī script of *circa* third-fourth century A.D. The discovery of these storage jars proves beyond doubt that Osian was in existence, and perhaps in a flourishing state, during the Gupta period. Systematic excavation of the site is sure to shed more welcome light on the antiquity and life-history of the town.

OSIAN AND OSWALS

Osian is regarded 'the cradle of a class of *baniās* called Oswals'.[135] According to the *Upakeśagacchapaṭṭāvalī* (henceforth *UGP*) No. 1,[136] Keśī, a disciple of Śubhadatta, who was a *gaṇadhara* of the 23rd *tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha, was instructed by the lord of the land (*deśī-rājā*). Once his disciple Svayamprabha Sūri was in the city of Śrīmala when he was approached by Mānaratna, the king of

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the *vidyādharas*. Mānaratna renounced the world and got initiated alongwith 500 *vidyādharas*.[137] In the 52nd year after the death (*Nirvāṇa*) of Mahāvīra having been consecrated as an *Ācārya*, he descended on the earth as Ratnaprabha Sūri alongwith five hundred monks and reached Ukeśa which had been founded by a prince of the king of Śrīmala.[139] The new town of Ukeśa was spread over land measuring twelve *yojanas* in length and nine *yojanas* in breadth[138] and was inhabited by eighteen thousand *baniās*, one-half of this number of *brāhmaṇas* and innumerable other people. The tutelary deity of the people was Cāmuṇḍā. The Sūri stayed in a grove but nobody paid any respect to him. The *Śāsanadevī* (Cāmuṇḍā) planned it.

Ūhaḍa, the minister of the king, was getting constructed a temple of Kṛṣṇa.[140] The *Śāsanadevī* began preparing a new image of Vīraprabhu (Mahāvīra) for being established therein with the milk of his cow which used to lactate on the mount Lāvaṇya-hṛada[141] every evening while grazing there. Naturally, the cow did not yield any milk at home and Ūhaḍa grew suspicious. To get his suspicion removed, he approached the Sūri who told him of the icon of Vīraprabhu being prepared by the cow's milk. The Sūri also informed him that the icon will be ready by a specific time. The impatient noble, however, got the image dug out before time but it had lemon like knots on the chest. The *muhūrta* for the installation of this image of Vīraprabhu was fixed up on Thursday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Māgha, in the 70th year after Mahāvīra. At that very moment, the *Śrāvakas* (Jaina lay disciples) of Koraṇṭaka[142] came to the Sūri for establishing the image of Vīraprabhu in a new temple there on the same *muhūrta*.[143] The Sūri is said to have installed the images of Mahāvīra on the specified moment simultaneously both at Osian and Koraṇṭaka.[144] In the 70th year after Mahāvīra, the converted Ūhaḍa alongwith his family and followers to Jainism.[145]

The *dvijāti-brāhmaṇas*[146] did not pay homage to the Sūri and even disrespected him. A cobra bit the son of a multi-millionaire *brāhmaṇa* and he was almost dead.[147] When the poison could not be removed by various methods adopted by the people, the Sūri went to his father and asked him as to what will he do if the poison was removed. The *brāhmaṇa* responded that he will live like his servant if the Sūri could do so. The *ācārya* sprinkled the water with which he had washed his own feet on the son of the *brāhmaṇa* whereupon the boy got up. The *brāhmaṇa*, alongwith others, adored him and joined the *śrāvakas*. Eighteen thousand merchants (*baniās*) were also converted to Jainism.[148] In *UGP* No. 2, it is Ūhaḍa's son who was bitten by a snake and revived by the Sūri who also converted a lakh and a quarter people.[149] Elsewhere, the person bitten by the cobra is stated to be king's own son and the cobra nothing but Sūri's ruse.[150] Any way, the event shorn off its mythicization, points to the fact that the people of Osian were converted to Jainism by Ratnaprabha Sūri who may have impressed the populace by his supernatural powers also. Another point worthy of note is that a niche in the Mahāvīra Jaina Temple at Osian contains the figures of two intertwined snakes which are worshipped by the Oswals as their *adhiṣṭhātṛ-devatās*. A sizable part of the populace of Osian converted to Jainism may have belonged to *Nāga* extraction. This is further supported by the fact that Mandor still has places like Nāgādri, Nāgakuṇḍa

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etc. and the spur on which the fort was built was called Bhogiśaila, i.e., hill of the *Nāgas*.[151] Nāgabhaṭṭa is the name of a Pratihāra ruler of Mandor as well as of Imperial Pratihāra rulers. It is said that Nāgabhaṭṭa or his forefathers must have defeated the *Nāgas* and so he must have been given the name Nāgabhaṭṭa which means 'the master of the *Nāgas*.' Nāgabhaṭṭa, son of Narabhaṭṭa (Pellāpellī) of the Mandor line established his capital at Merta near Nagaur whose old name was Nāgapura. The Pratihāras may have conquered these areas from the *Nāgas*.[152] *Nāgapurīya-gaccha* of the Jainas also indicates in the same direction. These *Nāgas* of Osian and the surrounding region, thus, seem to have continued serpent worship even after their conversion to Jainism. We have its parallel in the Saccikā (Mahiṣamardinī) worship by the Oswals.

The tradition of designating the denizens of a place after its name is very old in India.[153] Even now there are so many castes and communities connected with places of the same name. Agrawals trace their origin from Agroha (the ancient Agrodaka, in district Hissar of Haryana),[154] Khandelwāls from Khandela, Śrīmālīs from Śrīmāla, Narainvālas from Naraina, Baghervālas from Baghera etc.[155] So the derivation of the caste name Oswal from Osian (Upakeśa >Uvaesa >Uesa >Os) seems quite probable, logical and corroborated by tradition.[156]

According to the *UGP*, *NJP*, and the Jaina *ācāryas*,[157] the conversion of the Oswals took place in Vīra *Nirvāṇa Saṁvat* 70, i.e., *c.* 457 B.C. The bardic traditions and genealogies place the event in *Saṁvat* 222 (*bīye bāīsā*).[158] While discussing the antiquity of Osian, we have seen the untenability of these views. Equally unacceptable is the opinion of the "so-called historians" who place the origin of the Oswals after V.S. 900.[159] We have noted above that Osian has yielded some of the earliest *satī*-memorial inscription belonging to the Dharkaṭa-*jāti* of the Śrīmāla-*gotra*. These inscriptions date from *Saṁvat* 812 (=A.D. 755) onwards. Since the proliferation of castes from the original *gotras* may have taken quite some time, the origin of the Oswals should be placed earlier than this date, probably in the seventh century A.D.[160]

SACIYĀ AND HER TEMPLE

Saciyā-mātā was the tutelary deity of the Sāṁkhalā Paramāras and Upala Deva is said to have built her temple after having founded Osian.[161] According to the Brāhmaṇical legend recorded by Bhandarkar, when Ratnaprabha Sūri converted the king and all his subjects to Jainism, Saciyā-mātā got enraged as she could no longer obtain non-vegetarian food and oblations. "She cursed the people, and defied them to stay there under pain of themselves and their posterity being destroyed. The Oswals, i.e., the original residents of Osia, had to flee headlong in all directions. But they prayed to the goddess, and propitiated her to the extent of allowing them to present offerings to her after the performance of marriage rites. And no Oswal now passes at Osia the night of the day on which he pays his homage to the *mātā* for fear of being overtaken by some calamity or another."[162]

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UGP names the tutelary deity of the people of Osian as Caṇḍikā and Cāmuṇḍā.[163] Animal sacrifices to her were stopped by Ratnaprabha Sūri who also exhorted her to be non-violent.[164] It is said that Caṇḍikā, having been enraged at the stoppage of animal sacrifices, caused eyesore to the Sūri. The latter tied (*akīlayat*) her and explained to her the creed of compassion over beings. Being thus awakened, she agreed to her worship with saffron, eatables, flowers etc. and swore not to accept meat, wine and even any red flower. True to her vow, she was named 'Satyakā'.[165] In course of time, the name 'Satyakā' changed to Saccikā and Saciyā. A similar account of Cāmuṇḍā's conversion to a non-vegetarian and non-ferocious deity has been recorded in the *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvalī* also.[166]

The above-mentioned accounts thus indicate that the patron deity of the Paramāra prince who founded Osian, and by implication of the people in general also, was a violent, non-vegetarian and ferocious goddess Caṇḍikā or Cāmuṇḍā, at whose altar were performed bloody rites which were stopped at Ratnaprabha Sūri's intervention. Though traditions seem to have been mixed up later yet the deduction that the inhabitants of Osian before the advent of Jainism were worshippers of Śakti may be an historical fact.

Osian finds mention as a holy place in the twelfth century A.D. in Siddhasena Sūri's *Sakalatīrtha-stotra*.[167] Saints and pilgrims visited it from time to time. A rich merchant of Ābhānagarī (modern Abaneri), Jagā by name, is stated to have led a *saṁgha* to Osian where he worshipped at the Mahāvīra and the Saccikā-devī temples.[168]

Saccikā's sanctuary still exists atop a spur to the east of Osian (*Pl. I*) and the goddess is worshipped as a tutelary deity by the Oswals who particularly came to Osian to pay their obeisance to propitiate the goddess after marriage or at the time of the tonsures of their children. Her worship during the *navarātras* is specially popular.

Saciyā's fane faces west. On the north-eastern corner of the back wall of this shrine is an inscription carved on Thursday, the 10th of the lunar fortnight of Caitra, *saṁvat* 1234 (=A.D. 1177) recording the decoration of the sanctum of this sanctuary by a banker (*sādhu*) Gayapāla of the Ghobaḍāṁśu family, with the images of Caṇḍikā, Śītalā, Saccikā, Kṣemaṅkarī and Kṣetrapāla.[169] Another inscription in the south-eastern corner of the circumambulatory of this very temple, carved on Wednesday, the first day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, *saṁvat* 1236 (= A.D. 1179) also refers to the goddess as Saccikā, Saṁcikā and Sañcikā.[170]

The original temple may have been quite old, but it has undergone many changes and renovations. As it stands now, it cannot be dated earlier than mid-twelfth century A.D.[171] The niches of the present temple, however, contain all the images referred to in the above-mentioned inscription of V.S. 1234 in the very order they have been named in the epigraph. The main back niche near which the said inscription has been carved, contains an image of Mahiṣamardinī corresponding to Saccikā of the epigraph. Caṇḍikā and Śītalā exist on the northern wall and

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Kṣemaṅkarī and Kṣetrapāla on the southern one, all in pillared niches. Evidently, Saccikā of the inscription is Mahiṣamardinī of the principal back niche. But we have seen above that Saccikā has been called Caṇḍikā and Cāmuṇḍā also in the Jaina texts.[172] In the *Padma Purāṇa* (*PP*) [173] Kṣemaṅkarī is described as another form of Mahiṣamardinī, the fiercest of all great energies (*sarvasattva-balotkaṭā*) and '*Sāttvikī paramā śaktiḥ*'. M.A. Dhaky has suggested that the original Saciyā temple at Osian may have been dedicated to Kṣemaṅkarī.[174] So the problem before us now is as to with which deity should Saccikā be identified—Caṇḍikā, Cāmuṇḍā, Kṣemaṅkarī or Mahiṣamardinī ?

It is to be noted that Cāṇḍika, Cāmuṇḍā, Kṣemaṅkarī and Mahiṣamardinī are all manifestations of Devī (Durgā).[175] The struggle between Durgā and Mahiṣāsura is one of the main themes of the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*.[176] Mahiṣamardinī is thus the most popular manifestation of Devī. In the later adaptations of the episode in Book V of the *Devībhāgavata*, Caṇḍikā is said to have killed Mahiṣāsura.[177] The *Agni Purāṇa* also describes Caṇḍikā's fight with the demon Mahiṣa.[178]

Cāmuṇḍā is another terrific form of Devī. In sculptures, she is invariably shown emaciated and with pendulous breasts. Interestingly enough, an unique image of the emaciated goddess Cāmuṇḍā is carved as killing the demon Mahiṣa with a trident on the southern wall of a subsidiary shrine of Harihara Temple No.1 (HH-1) at Osian.[179] We thus see that Caṇḍikā and Cāmuṇḍā are but only different forms of Mahiṣamardini. And so also is Kṣemaṅkarī. In the *Devībhāgavata*,[180] she is identified with primaeval force and appears before the gods when requested by them to kill the demon Subala who had troubled them. She is described as having terrible form—appearing as an old emaciated lady whose veins were visible, body was without flesh, eyes in pits, ears half decorated, who was worried, open-mouthed, trampling, frightening the world and equipped with hundreds of weapons. In the *Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa* of the *PP* she is described as the supreme Vaiṣṇavī energy (*Sā Śaktiḥ paramā devī Vaiṣṇavī lokadhāriṇī*) who killed the demon Mahiṣa[181]. Evidently, Caṇḍikā, Cāmuṇḍā and Kṣemaṅkarī are the different manifestations of Durgā Mahiṣamardinī.

All available evidence thus indicates that Saccīkā is to be identified with Durgā Mahiṣamardinī.[182] We have already noted that the principal back niche of the SMT contains an image of Mahiṣamardinī which corresponds to the name Saccikā of the epigraph. The present cult-icon in this temple, though a late one, is also of Mahiṣamardinī. The depiction of Mahiṣamardinī on the eastern (back) side of the pinnacle and the fronton of this sanctuary further confirms our conclusion.

It is evident from the foregoing accounts that Saccikā was related to the tāntric deities like Caṇḍikā, Cāmuṇḍā etc. Tāntric influence seems to have existed in Rajasthan from Gupta period onwards as is indicated by the Gaṅgadhāra Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta I.[183] The absorption of tāntric deities in Jainism has been amply proved by the discoveries already made.[184] And there remains little doubt now regarding Saccikā's identity with Mahiṣamardinī as R.C. Agrawal has

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brought to light an image of Mahiśamardinī, recovered from the village Ravāḍā (or Harsavāḍā) in the Jaswantpura *parganā* of Marwar, bearing an inscription of V.S. 1237, which names the diety as Saccikā.[185] A similar inscription exists in the temple of Saciyā at Juna (Marwar) also.[186] Another inscription of V.S. 1337 (=A.D. 1280) carved on the pedestal of a Gaṇeśa image in the old temple of Pārśvanātha at Lodrava near Jaisalmer also refers to the installation of Jaina images, including those of Saccikā and Gaṇeśa at Ajmer: "*Ajayamerudurge gatvā dvipañcāśata Jina-bimbāni Saccikādevi-Gaṇapati-Sahitāni Kāritāni Pratiṣṭhitāni.*"[187]

On mount Śatruñjaya also there exists a beautiful twelve-armed Mahiṣamardinī figure in bold relief, with a miniature Jina atop, bearing an inscription on the pedestal recording that "*Saṅghapati sādhu* Desala. . . belonging to Vesaṭa *gotra* of Ukeśa lineage . . . set up this image of the family deity Saccikādevī in the year 1371 V.S."[188] Full of vigour and a beautiful piece of art, this image of Mahiṣamardinī in *pratyālīḍha* pose trampling on the buffalo demon and thrusting a trident in his body has been named as Saccikādevī in the pedestal inscription.[189] The Saciyā Temple of Rajaldesar (district Churu, Rajasthan)[190] originally erected on the first lunar day of Āśvin, V.S. 1422 (=A.D. 1365)[191] has also got a beautiful image of eight-armed Mahiṣamardinī. The Saciyā Temple of Churu, built in V.S. 1985 (=A.D. 1928), too, contains a bronze image of eight-armed Mahiṣamardinī.[192] We thus see that even now there are various Jaina shrines in which Mahiṣamardinī is worshipped as Saciyā.

As far as the name Saciyā is concerned, we have its variants like Saccikā, Saṁcikā, Sañcikā and Sañciyā also. *NJP*, as evinced above, explains the derivation of the name thus:

> *Satyapratijñā jāteti Caṇḍikā pāpakhaṇḍikā |*
> *Satyaketi tato nāmnā viditaṁ bhuvane' bhavat* // (II. 215).

i.e., when (on Ratnaprabha Sūri's instance) Caṇḍikā, the destroyer of sins, became true to her vow, she became known in the world by the name of Satyakā. Since the verity of any vow takes time to be ascertained, the naming of the deity as Satyakā instantaneously seems to be a later attempt to explain the name. *Ācāradinakara and Pratiṣṭhā Vidhi* mention Satyakā as a *Kuladevī* or tāntric goddess alongwith Caṇḍī, Cāmuṇḍā, Kaṇṭheśvarī etc.[193] To us the name seems to have been derived from 'Sāttvikā' which may have been given to the ferocious, violent and non-vegetarian deity after her conversion to Jainism. It may be stated here that just like the supreme God who manifests himself in three forms, Devī (Durgā), too, is described in the *PP* in her triple manifestations symbolizing the *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamasa guṇas*.[194] In her *Sāttvikī* (*Sāttvikā*) form she is described as Mahiṣamardinī. *Sāttvikā* Mahiṣamardinī seems to have been abbreviated as *Sāttvikā* only, a name which degenerated later as Saccikā. The tendency of nasalization may have given birth to its variant Saṁcikā, Sañcikā and Sañciyā.[195]

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4. *Ibid.*, Goudie *et al.*, however, think that the geomorphological/palaeopolynological evidence indicates that major dune formation took place during the major dry phase towards the close of the Quaternary period. Pronounced aridity prevailed during the early Holocene when huge sand 'shields' were deposited to the windward of the hills. A humid phase followed wherein began human activity in the area and a deep weathering took place. For details, see A.S. Goudie, B. Allchin and K.M.T. Hegde, "The Former Extension of the Great India Sand Desert", *Geographical Journal*, 139(2), 1973, pp. 243-57.
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12. Singh *et al.*, (1971), *loc. cit.* Also see Gurdip Singh, "The Indus Valley Culture seen in the context of Post-glacial climatic and ecological studies in north-west India", *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania*, Vol. 2, 1971, pp. 177-89.
13. *Ibid.*, Salinity of dried up lakes is not peculiar to India alone but a world-wide phenomenon. See Subrata Sinha, "*Origin of Salinity of Rajasthan Salt Lakes*", in *Ecology and Archaeology of Western India*, Eds., D. P. Agrawal and B. M. Pande, Delhi, 1977, pp. 147-56. Also *supra* fn. 9.
14. *Ibid.*
15. V. M. Meher-Homji, "The Thar Desert : Its Climatic History," *ME*, Vol. IV, pp. 1-7.
16. S. Singh (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 7,
17. Dr. A. K. Dey, *Geology of India*, Delhi, 1968, p. 76.
18. *Bulletin of the National Institute of Sciences of India*, No. 1, 1952 (various articles : Rajputana Desert—A Symposium).

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19. Pt. Vishveshvara Nath Reu, *Marwar Kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Part I, Jodhpur, 1938, p. 3.
20. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki (Gita Press Ed., *Yuddha Kāṇḍa*, XXII, 29-39) this area came into existence as a result of the throwing away of the igneous missile (*āgneyāstra*) here by Rāma. As the myth goes, Rāma wanted to build a bridge over the southern sea to attack Laṅkā. The 'Sea' did not let him do so. Thereupon Rāma took out his unfailing igneous missile seeing which the 'Sea' relented and agreed to give passage. The unfailing missile, however, had to be released. So the 'Sea' requested Rāma to throw it towards Drumakulya in the north. The latter acceded and the sequel was drying up of the waters of Drumakulya and the appearance of the desert in its place.
21. An episode in the *Mahābhārata* (XIII. 139, 22-26) tells us that when Varuṇa, the Lord of Waters, refused to return Utathya's bride Bhadrā whom he had abducted forcibly, Utathya drank the entire water of the Ocean and it was reduced to a desert. The sage implored the sacred Sarasvatī river which flowed into this ocean to go invisible, so that, forsaken by her, the resultant desert became inauspicious.
22. The salinity may also be a factor indicating the existence of a sea here, but as noted above (fn. 13) the salinity may be the result of even the endorheic nature of drainage, 'accumulation of sediments and enrichment of the salts which are debouched into the lakes by the streams and subterranean groundwater flow'.
23. *The Hindustan Times* dated 10-12-1977 and 25-12-1978.
24. Some of these fossils are now housed in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. Some fossils were found from the area by Mr. Prakash Bapna, Registering Officer, Jodhpur also (personal communication).
25. Rhyolite implements, mainly flakes belonging to the Middle Stone Age and three microliths were recovered by the author from a weathered horizon about two kilometers east of Pokaran during a visit to the site on September 11, 1978. For details see Devendra Handa, "Discovery of Lithic Remains from the Thar Desert," *Rājasthānica*, Jaipur, Vol. I (1981), pp. 1ff.
26. Mohapatra *et al.*, *loc. cit.*
27. D. P. Agrawal (1978), *loc. cit.*
28. Bridget Allchin, "Observations on the Nature and Development of Middle and Upper Palaeolithic Industries in the Thar Desert during the Last Pleistocene Humid Phase", *ME*, Vol. IV, pp. 13-18.
29. D. P. Agrawal (1978), *loc. cit.*
30. Dr. Dashratha Sharma (Gen. Ed.), *Rajasthan through The Ages* (*RTA*), Bikaner, 1966, pp. 35 and 47.
31. *Amarakośa* mentions two words for desert—'*samānau marudhanvānau*' (*Kāṇḍa* II, *Bhūmivarga*, *v.* 5), '*Dhanva*' finds mention at various places in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 186, ix; V, 83, x; VI, 34, iv; X, 86, xx etc.), *Atharvaveda* (I.6. iv; V. 13; vi; VI. 34, iii; VII. 41, i, XIX. 2, ii etc.) and Vedic Aryans knew well about the paucity and importance of water in the desert (*Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 389-90). Pāṇini has also referred to the desert as '*dhanva*' (*Aṣṭādhyayī* IV. 2, 121; V. S. Agrawal, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 48). The use of the word '*maru*' for desert begins from the period of *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (V. 1, i.). Later, this waterless region was known variously as Marusthala, Marusthalī, Marumedinī, Maru-maṇḍala, Mārava, Maru-deśa, Maru-Kāntāra, Maru-dhara, Marwar etc. For detailed references, see G. H. Ojha, *History of Rajputana* (Hindi), Vol. IV, Part I, Ajmer, 1938, p. 2. It is easy to guess that because of the paucity of water, the population too must have been very scarce here. Excepting the river valleys, protohistoric remains resembling those of Bagor, Ahar and Noh and early historic relics like those of Rang Mahal have not been found from a single site in the desert region.
32. *Rām.*, *Yuddha Kāṇḍa*, XXII, 30.
33. J. W. McGrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, London, 1877, pp. 142-43.
34. A pillar—edict of the Mauryan emperor Aśoka has been discovered from Bairat near Jaipur.

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Osian and the surrounding region has not yielded any Mauryan relics. Possibly, the area was underdeveloped then.

35. *'Aruṇadyavanaḥ Sāketamaruṇadyavano Mādhyamikām*, (*Mahābhāṣya* III. 2, iii). The discovery of a Brāhmī inscription on a Śiva-linga from Reh near Allahabad mentioning Menander's name, indicates that it was he who attacked India and sacked Sāketa. For a different opinion see B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and Its Society : The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*, Calcutta, 1981, Appendix IV, pp. 245-60. Mādhyamikā is generally identified with Majjhamikā of Śibi coins, i.e., modern Nagarī (Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. VI, pp. 200 ff. and Vol. XIV, pp. 145-47). P.L. Gupta, however, identifies Mādhyamikā with the Amritsar-Taran-Taran belt in the riverine plains of Punjab ("Geographical Distribution of the Tribal Coins,' in *Seminar Papers on the Tribal coins of Ancient India*, Eds. Jai Prakash Singh & Nisar Ahmad, Varanasi, 1977, pp. 56-57).
36. Hemachandra Raychaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 484.
37. D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions* (*SI*), Vol. I, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 167-69.
38. The Uttamabhadras were probably a branch of the Bhadras who occupied the Nohar-Bhadra region in district Sri Ganganagar of Rajasthan. They have been mentioned along with the Rohitakas, Āgreyas and Mālavas in The *Mbh.* (III. 25, 320). At another place, the *Mbh.* (II.50, 47) connects the Prabhadras with the Dāserakas who were located in the desert of Rajasthan.
39. It is not known whether the Sātavāhanas or the Uttamabhadras held sway over Osian region.
40. *SI*, p. 178 : "*Sva-vīryyārjitānāmanurakta-sarvvaprakṛtināṁ Pūrvvāparākarāvantyanūpanīvṛdānarta-Saurāṣṭra-Śvabhra-Maru-Kaccha-Sindhu-Sauvīra-Kukurāparāṁta-Niṣādādināṁ samagrāṇāṁ tatprabhāvādyathāvatprāpta-dhārmartha-Kāmaviṣayāṇāṁ viṣayāṇaṁ patinā...*"
41. *RTA*, pp. 54-55.
42. We have already referred to the location of the Ābhīras in the desert area during the *Rāmāyaṇa* age (*Supra* fn. 32). Manu refers to the Ābhīras as occupying the region near Vinaśana, the western limit of the Madhyadeśa where the sacred Sarasvatī river is stated to have gone underground (*Manu Smṛti* II. 17-20). For the location of Vinaśana, see O. P. Bhardwaj's paper "Vinaśana" (read at the) *30th Session of All India Oriental Conference*, Śāntiniketana, 1980, *Summaries of Papers*, Part I, No. V-25, pp. 22-23. Bhardwaj has tried to identify Vinaśana with Kalibangam, the famous protohistoric site.

    In the ninth century, we find the Ābhīras in the vicinity of Ghaṭiyālā where Kakkuka, the last well-known Pratihāra potentate of Mandor, defeated them [*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1895, pp. 513 ff; *Epigraphia Indica* (*EI*), IX, pp. 279-81).
43. R.C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, Banaras, 1954, p. 154.
44. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey, Western Circle*, 1906, p. 32; R.C. Agrawal, "Mandor, The Ancient Capital of Jodhpur", *March of India*, Delhi, Vol. VIII, No. 4 (Feb. 1956).
45. *Ibid.*, *EI*, pp. 299-304.
46. For a description of this temple see V.S. Srivastava, "The Dadhimata Temple, Nagpur", *Rajasthan Anushilan Journal*, Jodhpur, Vol. I (1974-75), pp. 9-12.
47. *SI*, p. 323; J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their successors, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (*CII*), Vol. III, p. 54.
48. B.M.S. Parmar, "Yuga-Yugoṁ meṁ Rājasthāna : Sikkoṁ Ke Mādhyama Se", (Hindi), *Researcher*, Vols. XII-XIII (1972-73), pp. 12-13. Also see *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (*JNSI*), Vol. XVII, pp. 64-82 and *Avagāhana*, Sardarshahr, Vol. I, No. 1 (Oct. 1976), pp. 85-88.
49. *CII*, III, p. 146.
50. *Ibid.*, *line* 5 : "*Ā Lauhi tyopakaṇṭhāttalavana-gahanopatyakādā Mahendrādā Gaṅgāśliṣṭasānostuhina-śikhariṇaḥ paścimādā payodheḥ.*"
51. *Ibid.*, "*Sāmantairyyasya-bahu-draviṇa-hṛta-ma(dai)ḥ pādayorānamradbhiśeūḍā-ratnāṅśu-rājivyatikara-śabalā bhūmi-bhāgāḥ kriyante*". Also see V. V. Mirashi, "Further Light on Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. XVIII, 1980, pp. 405-26.

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52. Bāṇa has described Rājyavardhana as 'fighting against the Hūṇas somewhere north of Thanesar (*Harṣacarita*, Ed. by K. P. Parab, Bombay, 1937, ch. V, p. 150). The discovery of a large number of Hūṇa coins, seals and sealings from Sanghol on the Chandigarh-Ludhiana highway indicates that the Hūṇas were located there. See G. B. Sharma and Manmohan Kumar, "Huna Coins from Sanghol", *The Journal of Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography*, Indore, Vol. II, pp. 15-21, pl. II. 1-13.

Yuan Chwang, however, refers to the establishment of Sākala (modern Sialkot in Pakistan) as the capital city by Mihirakula (Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Ist Indian ed., Delhi, 1961, p. 288. *Kuvalayamālā* also refers to the rule of Toramāṇa in the *Uttarāpatha*. Jaina writer Somadeva (10th century) has made a reference to a tradition regarding the conquest of Citrakūṭa (Chittor) by a Hūṇa King. The Hūṇas find mention in the Ahar inscription of V. S. 1034 of Śakti Kumāra, a Guhila King (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191); Khaira (near Rewa in Madhya Pradesh) inscription (*EI*, Vol. XII, p. 210) and the Bheraghat inscription (*Ibid.*, p. 9).

53. *Kāṇhaḍade Prabandha, Sarga* 3, *vv*, 38ff.
54. Samuel Beal, *Records of Western Countries*, Vol. II, 269-70. For an historical account of Bhinmal, see Kailash Chand Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan*, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1972 (*ACTOR*), pp. 155-63.
55. *EI*, Vol. V, p. 211 : "*Gurjjarā bhūmau Deṇḍvāṇakaviṣaya.*" Cf. "*Śrīmad-Gurjjarattrāmaṇḍalāmitaḥ pāti Mañgalaṇaka...*" *Ibid.*, p. 210, fn. 3.
56. Brahmagupta's *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*, Ed. Ram Swarup Sharma, Vol. I, Delhi, 1966, ch. 24, vv. 7-9.
57. *Śiśupālavadham*, ed. Pt. Haragovinda Śāstrī, Banaras, 1955, *Kavivaṁśa-varṇanam* (*vv.* 1 ff., pp. 805 ff. For Varmala's (Varmalāta's ?) coins, see *JNSI*, XXIV, 142-43.
58. Reu, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.
59. *Ibid.*, *RTA*, pp. 106-07.
60. *Ibid.*
61. See *infra*, ch. VI.
62. B.N. Reu, *Coins of Marwar*, Jodhpur, 1946, p. 4.
63. *RTA*, p. 107.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 120 ff.
65. J.N.Asopa, *Origin of The Rajputs*, Delhi, 1976, pp. 58-86.
66. *RTA*, pp. 108-19. Cf. Asopa, *loc. cit.*
67. *EI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 97 ff. Cf. Bīuka's Jodhpur *Praśasti*, *v.* 4 : *Svabhrāttrā Rāmabhadrasya prātihāryaṁ Kṛtaṁ yataḥ | Śrī-Pratihāra-vaṁśo'yamataśconnatimapnuyāt ||*
and Osian Jaina Temple Inscription of V.S.1013, *vv.* 5-6. For text see P. C. Nahar, *Jaina Lekha Saṁgraha*, Part I, Vīra *Saṁvat* 2444, Calcutta (*JLS*), pp. 192-93. Cf. Asopa, *loc. cit.*
68. Dasharatha Sharma, "The Original Capital of The Pratiharas" *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 396 and "The Original Capital of the Pratihāras, A Revised Study", *Bharatiya Vidya*, Vol. XVIII, IV, pp. 74-80.
69. *RTA*, p. 121.
70. Dasharatha Sharma, "Identification of Raṇahastin with Vatsarāja Pratihāra", *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 222-23.
71. *RTA*, pp. 124-25.
72. Osian Jaina Temple Inscription of V. S. 1013, *Supra* fn. 67.
73. *NJP*, I, *vv*. 18-22.
74. *Annual Progress Report, Western Circle*, 1906-07, p. 36.
75. Mālapurapaṭṭana according to *ACTOR*, p. 76.
76. D.R.Bhandarkar, "The Temples of Osiā," *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1908-09 (*Bh.*), p. 100.
77. *Ibid.*
78. Muni Sri Gyanasunderji, *Jaina Jātimahodaya* (*JJM*), Pt. I, Phalodhi, V. S. 1986, *Prakaṇa* 3, pp. 42 ff. Cf. *Paṭṭāvalī Samuccaya* (Ed. Muni Darśana Vijaya), Viramgam, 1933 (It was translated into English by Hoernle in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, 1890, pp. 233ff.).

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79. For a detailed account of Candrāvatī see *ACTOR*, pp. 341-47.
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-62.
81. In *Paṭṭāvalī* No. 3, he is said to be Śrī Puñja's son. According to *Paṭṭāvalī* No. 1, Śrī Puñja's prince Sura-Sundara founded the city having left Śrīmāla proudly with eighteen thousand *baniās* (*vaṇiks*), nine thousand *brāhmaṇas* and numerous other people. K. C. Jain (*ACTOR* p. 180) takes Sura Sundara's son Srī Puñja to be the founder of Osian.
82. Bhīmasena had got three fortifications constructed in the city for *crore-patis*, *lakha-patis* and the lay people. Suvaḍa being a *crore-pati* lived in the first fortification and Ūhaḍa in the second because he was short of a crore by one lakh. Once being unwell, the latter thought that the two brothers could not help each other because they lived in separate fortifications. So he thought of going to the first fortification by borrowing one lakh from his brother. Thereupon Suvaḍa (his wife according to another *Paṭṭāvalī*) remarked that the (first) fortification was not empty without him and that he should not try to become a *crore-pati* by borrowing.
83. 55 or 180 horses according to different *Paṭṭāvalīs*.
84. The distance between Delhi and Osian is about 625 km. Obviously it is much more than what a mare can cover in one night or so.
85. An obvious exaggeration.
86. *Bh., loc. cit.*, Khetar at a distance of ten kilometers is said to be the Kṣatrīpurā and Lohavat nearly 40 km. north of it, an iron-market of Osian. See *JJM*, III, p. 49. According to *UGP*, the city was twelve by nine *yojanas* in area.
87. *JJM*, III, p. 42.
88. *JLS*, p. 193; *NJP*, II, pp. 185 & 187.
89. Mohanlal Dalichand Desai (Ed.), *Jaina Gurjara Kavi* (Gujarati), Vol. III, Part 2, Bombay, V.S.2000, pp. 2254 ff.
90. *JLS*, No. 11.
91. *Ibid.*, No. 95.
92. *Ibid.*, Nos. 123 and 400.
93. Cf. Nundo Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of ancient and Mediaeval India*, New Delhi, 1971, 3rd ed., Preface, pp. i-vi.
94. Sukhasampat Rai Bhandari *et al.*, *Oswāl Jāti Kā Itihāsa*, (Hindi), Bhanpura, 1934 (*OJKI*), pp. 1-20.
95 Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 2255.
96. Bhojakas are the *Śākadvīpīya brāhmaṇas*—the Magas of Iran, who according to the *Bhaviṣyat Purāṇa* came to India as Sun-worshippers during the time of Sāmba, a scion of Śrī Kṛṣṇa. For a detailed account of the Bhojakas see Chandan Mal Mahatma, "Sūryopāsaka Bhojaka jāti kā Vikāsakrama" (Hindi), *Maru-Śrī*, Churu, Vol. II, No. 4, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 39-42.
97. These *gotras* are : (1) Paramāra (2) Sosodiā (3) Rāṭhor (4) Solaṅkī (5) Chauhan (6) Sāṅkhalā (7) Parihār (8) Borā (9) Dahiyā (10) Bhāṭī (11) Moyal (12) Goyal (13) Makwānā (14) Kachwāhā (15) Gaur (16) Kharwar (17) Berar and (18) Saunkh. Cf. S. K. R. D. Maheshwari, *Vaiśya Kula Bhūṣana* (*Hindi*), Bombay, V. S. 1980 (*VKB*), p. 121 :
Prathama sākha Paṁvāra sesa Sīsoda Siṁgālā ||
Raṇathṁbhā Rāṭhauḍa vaṁśa Caṁvāla bacālā ||
Dayā Bhāṭī Saunagara Kachāwā dhana Gauḍa Kahīje ||
Jādama Jhālājinda lāja marjāda lahījaī ||
Kharadarā pāṭa aupekharā leṇāṁ paṭā jalā kharā ||
Eka divasa itā Mahājana huvā sūra baḍā bhiḍa sākharā ||
98. *OJKI*, p. 8.
99. K. C. Jain, *Jainism in Rajasthan*, Sholapur, 1963.
100. *ACTOR*, p. 156.
101. Pratipal Bhatia, *The Paramāras*, New Delhi, 1970, pp. 8 ff.
102. *ACTOR*, pp. 341ff.

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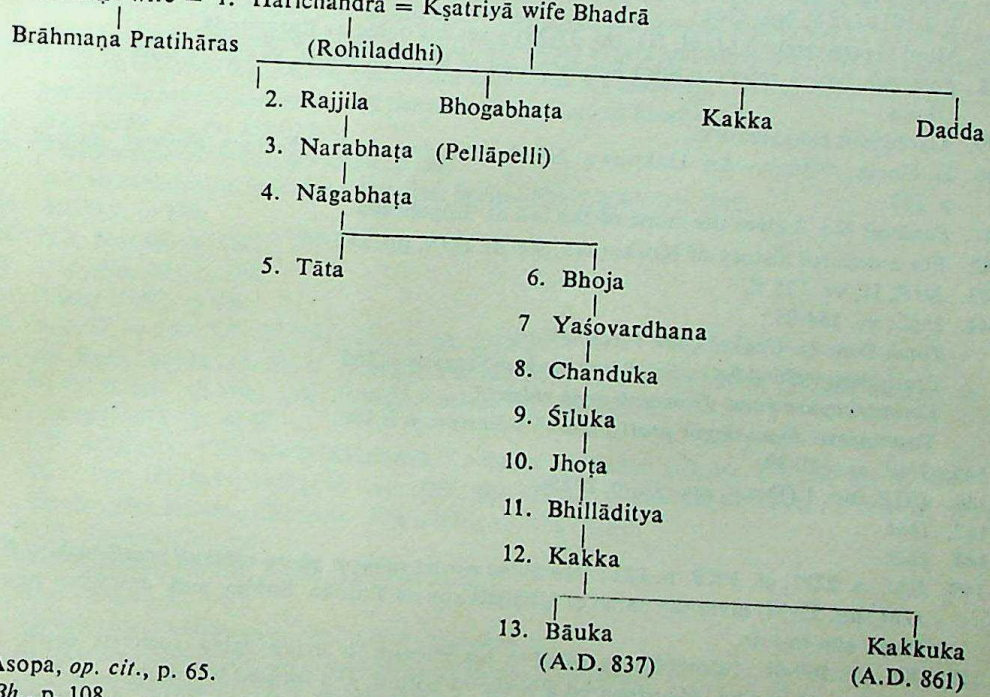
103. A. N. Upadhye, Udyotana-Sūri's *Kuvalayamālā*, Part I, Bombay, 1959, p. 11.
104. M. A. Dhaky, "The Iconography of Sacciya Devi", *Bābū Chotelāla Jaina Smṛti Granṭha* (Ed. A. N. Upadhya *et al*), Calcutta, 1967, p. 68.
105. *OJKI*, pp. 18 ff.
106. *EI*, IX, p. 189.
107. *Prabandha Cintāmaṇi*, Trans. by Hazari Prasad Dvivedi, Bombay, 1940, pp. xiv & 56.
108. *Brahmasphuṭasiddhānta*, Ch. XXIV, *vv.* 7-8.
109. Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
110. Cf. Bhatia, *op. cit.* pp. 74 ff.
111. *JRAS* (1895), pp. 513-21 and *EI*, Vol. IX, pp. 279-81.
112. *JRAS* (1894), pp. 4-9.
113. The geneaology of the Pratihāras of Mandor as given by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma (*RTA*, p. 541) is as follows—



114. Asopa, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
115. *Bh.*, p. 108.
116. *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa* of Jinasena, Ed. by Pt. Darbarilal Nyāyatīrtha, Bombay, 1930, p. 806, v. 52.
117. Udyotana-Sūri's *Kuvalayamālā Kathā*, p. 283, *v.* 1.
118. *EI*, Vol. XXII, No. 28, v. 21.
119. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 248.
120. *IA*, Vol. XIV, pp. 156 ff.
121. *Harivāṁśa Purāṇa*, *op. cit.*
122. Dr. Gulab Chandra Choudhary, *Political History of Northern India from Jaina Sources*, Amritsar, 1963, p. 41.
123. This is also indicated by other early temples of Osian.
124. M.A.Dhaky, "The Genesis and Development of Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture", in *Studies in Indian Architecture* (Ed. Pramod Chandra), American Institute of Indian Studies, 1975, p. 145.
125. Noticed by Dr. K. V. Ramesh (now Chief Epigraphist), A.S.I., Mysore *vide* a typed-copy (received through the courtesy of Sh. R. C. Agrawal) of 'Inscriptions on Stone and Other Materials, 1972-73, No. 214. See also *IAR* 1972-73, pp. 43-44.

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126. *Ibid.*
127. Cf. K. C. Jain, "A Study of Castes of Rajasthan : A.D. 700-1200," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 40th Session, Waltair, 1979, pp. 144-49.
128. *Bh.*, pp. 108.
129. Grateful thanks are due to Sh. M. L. Varshneya, Headmaster of the Jain School, who was particularly helpful in the task.
130. Unfortunately this vase has not been preserved by the finders.
131. The coins were studied and photographed through the courtesy of Sh. M. L. Varshneya.
132. See for details *infra*, chapter VI.
133. Choudhary, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
134. Elliot, *History of India*, pp. 126 & 442, as quoted by Choudhary, *loc. cit.*
135. *Ibid.*
136. Desai, *op. cit.*, p, 2254 ff. The earliest epigraphic reference to Upakeśagaccha goes back to V.S.1011 (*JLS*, No. 134).
137. Muni Gyanasunderji (*JJM*, III, pp. 37-38) gives his name as Ratnacūḍa.
138. *Paṭṭāvalī* No. 1 refers to Sura Sundara, son of king Śrī Puñja, as the founder of the town of Ukeśa.
139. An obvious exaggeration.
140. H. Goetz, "Osian—An Unknown Jewel of Indian Art", *Western Railway Annual*, 1953, p. 127.
141. *Paṭṭāvalī* No. 2 gives the name of the hill as 'Lūṇahrada'.
142. For a detailed history of Koraṇṭaka, see *ACTOR*, pp. 284-86.
143. *NJP*, II, vv. 175 ff.
144. *Ibid.*, vv. 184-85 :
Tataḥ Śrīmaty-Upakeśapure Vīrajineśituḥ |
Pratiṣṭhāṁ vidhināḍhāya Śrī-Ratna prabha-Sūrayaḥ || 185
Koraṇṭakapure gatvā vyomamārgeṇa vidyayā |
Tasminneva dhanurlagne pratiṣṭhāṁ vidadhurvaram ll 186
145. *Ibid., vv.* 187-89.
146. *UGP*, No. 1 (Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 2255).
147. *Ibid.*
148. *Ibid.*
149. *Ibid.*, p. 2277, cf. *VKB*, p. 123 : '*Ika lākha corāsī sahasra ghara rājakulī pratibaudhiyā ll*'.
JJM (pp. 53-54) gives the name of Uhaḍa's son as Triloka Siṁha and describes him to be king's son-in-law.
150. *Bh.*, pp. 100-01 : "Completely foiled in his attempt to make Jaina converts there, he had recourse to a ruse. He prepared a snake of cotton, and infused life into it. At his orders the snake crept stealthily into the palace, and bit the only son of the king. All remedies were tried but to no purpose, and the prince was on the verge of death. The king avowed that he would give anything to see his son restored to health. Ratan Prabhu approached, and bade the snake suck out the poison. This was done, and the prince forthwith regained his health and strength. Ratan Prabhu insisted upon the king and all his subjects to embrace Jainism. So they had to become Jainas..." Cf. *JJM*, pp. 53-55.
151. Asopa, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
152. *Ibid.*
153. E.g., Rohitakas, Yugandharas, Kulūtas, Trigartas etc.
154. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1974, p.2; Bela Lahiri, *Indigenous States of Northern India*; Calcutta, 1974, pp. 247-48.
155. *ACTOR*, p. 78.
156. A question may be posed here as to why only the Jainas are known as Oswals after Osia and why not the *brāhmaṇas* and others like the Śrīmālīs, Khandelwals etc. It is, however, to be noted in this connection that after their conversion, they were led by circumstances to leave the place and were called Oswals, i.e., belonging to Osian, by others, Subsequently,

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their descendants and ultimately perhaps all *Kṣatriyas* who embraced Jainism were also designated as Oswals.

157. *NJP*, p.6; *OJKI*, pp. 4 ff.
158. *Ibid.*, cf. *VKB*, p. 124 : '*Samata dauya bāvīsake Ausavāla Kṣatrī huvā*'.
159. *Ibid.*
160. Cf. *OJKI*, pp.17-18.
161. *Bh.*, p.100, cf. *VKB*, p.121 :
"Rājā Upala de Paṁvāra nagara Auśiyā nareśvara ll
Rāja-rīta-bhaugave sagata Saciyā dīni haum vara ll"
162. *Bh.*, p. 101. Now, however, some Oswals have begun staying at Osian for some days.
163. *UGP*, No. 1 (Desai, *op. cit.*, pp. 2254-55).
164. *Ibid.*, pp. 2255-56. Also *UGP*, No. 2, p. 2278. It is stated that Ratnaprabha Sūri preached the people not to enter the blood-stained fane of the ferocious, sinister goddess who devoured buffaloes and other animals. The goddess appeared before the Sūri and asked for the oblations. Ratnaprabha Sūri offered her sweet meats and other things but she insisted on a living sacrifice whereupon the former expressed his inability. The goddess then reno unced her terrific aspect and embraced the non-violent cult of Jainism.
165. *Ibid.*, *NJP*, II, vv. 195-215.
166. *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvvāvalī*, p. 91.
167. *Sakalatīrtha-stotra*, Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. LXXVI, p. 395.
168. *ACTOR*, p. 277.
169. *JLS*, No. 805, p. 198.
170. *Ibid.*, No. 804, p. 198.
171. Dhaky (1967), p. 66.
172. *NJP*, II, *vv.* 192, 205-15, *UGP*, No. 1, pp. 2254-56.
173. *PP. Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa*, ch. 30, cf. *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Uttara Parva*, ch. 61, *v.* 15; *Devi Purāṇa*, ch. 39, *vv.* 121 ff. and ch.118, *v.* 4; *Skanda Purāṇa*, VI,115,1-31 etc.
174. Dhaky (1967); pp. 63 ff.
175. V.S. Aggrawal, "The Devī-Māhātmya," *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum (*JIH*), Vol. XLII, Part III (Dec., 1964), S. No. 126, pp. 823-32; J.N.Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1956 (*DHI*), p. 500, fn. 1.
176. V. S. Agrawal, *loc. cit.*
177. *Devībhāgavata Purāṇa*, V. 20. Also see X.12.
178. *Agni Purāṇa*, 50, 3-6 :
Tadadho mahiṣaśchinna-mūrdhā pātita-mastakaḥ ll
śastr-odyata-karaḥ kruddhas=tad-grīvā-sambhavaḥ pumān l
śūla-hasto vāmadrakto rakto sran-mūrdhaj=ekṣaṇaḥ ll
siṁhen=āsvādyamānastu pāśa-baddho gale bhṛśam l
yāmy=aṅghry=ākrānta-siṁhā ca savy=āṅghrir=nīcag=āsure ||
Caṇḍik-eyaṁ tri-netrā ca sa-śastrā ripu-mardinī l
Also see ch. 52.
179. B. N. Sharma, "Unpublished Pāla and Sena Sculptures in the National Museum, New Delhi", *East and West* (*EW*), XIX, 3-4, Sept-Dec., 1969, p. 421, fig. 14.
180. *Devībhāgavata* 39, 121 ff.
181. *PP., loc. cit.*
182. R.C.Agrawal, "Rājasthan meṁ Jain-Devī Saccikā Pūjana", (Hindi) *Jaina Siddhānta-Bhāskara*, June 1954, pp. 1-5; "Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Saccikā", *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. XXI, No. 1, pp. 13-20.
183. *CII*, III, pp. 72-78.
184. B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, Delhi, 1974 (*JI*), pp. 128-29, 170-71, 180-81 etc.
185. R. C. Agrawal, *loc. cit.*
186. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
187. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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188. Ambalal Premchand Shah, "Some Inscriptions and Images on Mount Śatruñjaya," *Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, (*MJV*), 1968, p.166. For Vesaṭa's philanthropic nature, his differences with the city chiefs of Osian and immigration to Kirātakūpa, see *NJP*, I, *vv.* 32 ff.
189. *MJV*, p. 165, fig. 3.
190. Rajaldesar is located on the Ratangarh-Bikaner section of the Northern Railway, nearly 18 km. west of Ratangarh.
191. This temple was renovated in V.S. 2027 (=A.D. 1970) by Sh. Kanhaiya Lal Dugar of Sardarshahr (district Churu, Rajasthan). The priests of this temple are the *Śākadvīpīya brāhmaṇas*, i.e., the Bhojakas.
192. Information kindly received from Sh. Govind Agrawal of Nagara-Śrī, Churu.
193. "*Kuladevayaḥ Caṇḍī Cāmuṇḍā Kaṇṭheśvarī Sari-Satyakā* (?) *Suśayanā Vyāghrarājī prabhṛtayaḥ*" as quoted in *JI*, p. 16 fn. 1.
194. Cf. *PP Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa*, ch. 30, *vv.* 176-77 :
Eṣā Jñānātmikā sarvā sāttvikī Brahmasaṁjñitā l
Eṣaiva raktā rājasī Vaiṣṇavī pari-kīrtitā ll
Eṣaiva kṛṣṇā tāmasī Raudrī devī prakīrtitā |
Paramātmā yathā deva eka eva tridhā sthitā ||
195. For the tendency of nasalization to repair the loss of some consonant see P.D. Gune, "*An Introduction to Comparative Philology*, Poona, 1958, p. 205. Sometimes the word 'Saciyāya' is also met with (e.g. Sacīyāya Mandira). It seems to have been the genetive singular of 'Saciyā'.

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Temples

Description of the Temples

Mahāvīra Group of Temples

Saciya Group of Temple

Peculiarities

Chronology

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CHAPTER II

Temples

Osian is studded with the ruins of many old temples[1] (*Fig. I*). As has already been noted, the celebrated shrine of Saciyā Mātā, surrounded by five other fanes, is situated atop a spur to the east of Osian and the Mahāvīra Temple with seven subsidiary shrines is located to the west of the old town. Others lie scattered on the outskirts, all in the south-eastern, southern or western portions of the old habitation and none in the north. Architectural fragments of some of the old fanes utilized in modern tenements[2] and sculptures housed in the temple complexes, studded in the walls, lying scattered here and there or removed elsewhere,[3] indicate the existence of some more temples, but it is difficult to ascertain their exact number and location. Of all the extant temples, however, those lying to the east of the road approaching Osian from Jodhpur, are said to be the earliest and have been designated by Bhandarkar as Harihara Temples, Nos. 1 to 3.[4]

DESCRIPTION OF THE TEMPLES

1. *Harihara Temple No. 1* (*HH-1*) :—The eastern most of the early group of temples is called Harihara Temple No.1 (*Pl.2*). This temple, like others, stands on a *jagatī* (terrace) which elevates the structure from its environs and provides an open promenade and perambulatory round the temple. Its top moulding is adorned with "spiral ornament, the cornice with horse-shoe arches and the flat band beneath with floral scroll work."[5] This last band shows some very exquisitely carved avian, aquatic and grotesque figures with foliated backs. The walls of the terrace are broken up into niches surmounted by small spires and look like miniature shrines. There are in all thirteen niches,one on either side of the flight of steps in front, three at the back and four each on the sides. The order of the deities in the niches of the terrace, from the north-western corner on the proper right of the stairs, clockwise is : 1.Gaṇeśa, 2.Durgā, 3.Balarāma, 4.(missing), 5.Gaja-Lakṣmī, 6.Sūrya, 7.(broken), 8.Garuḍārūḍha Viṣṇu, 9.Buddha, 10.(broken), 11.Kārttikeya,12. Varāha, and 13.Kubera. All these basement sculptures, placed in pillared niches as they are, are very much worn out indicating water action. The plinth measures 11.20×8.40 m. with a 1.95 m. projection of the stairway on the western side and is 1.80 m. high.

The temple is of *Pañcāyatana* (quincunx) type, i.e., it consists of a larger central shrine, the *mūlaprāsāda*, and four subsidiary shrines, *karṇaprāsādas*, at the four

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corners of the *jagatī* (*Fig. 11*). The main shrine faces west as also the two *karṇaprāsādas* on the eastern side. The subsidiary shrine on the north-west corner has disappeared but the disposition of the one opposite to it shows that they faced towards each other in the southern and northern directions respectively. The *mūlaprāsāda* (*Pl. 3*) stands on an *adhiṣṭhāna* 'socle' of 95 cm. and measures 4.36 × 3.60m. A small *prāggrīva* 'porch' in front measures 2.30 × 0.90 m. The *karṇaprāsādas* stand on 1.47 m. square bases. The *vedībandha* 'moulded basement' of the wall proper of the *mūlaprāsāda*, placed on *bhiṭṭas* 'stylobates,' consists of bold and heavy mouldings of a very simple *khuraka* and *kumbhaka*, an *antarapatra* (fillet) and a *kalaśa* (torus moulding), showing projecting rafter-ends with figural decorations, two each on the *pratiratha* (juxta-buttress) portions on either side of the *bhadra* (central projection). Another *antarapatra* ornamented with check-pattern and *kapotāli* (cornice-like flexed moulding) showing *caitya*-dormer design form the topmost mouldings.

The *jaṅghā* (wall-portion) is adorned with pillared niches which contain sculptures. *Udgamas* (pediments) over these niches provide contrast of light and shade and add to the architectural splendour. The *bhadra* and *karṇa-rathikās* bear four-tiered and *pratiratha* niches three-tiered pediments of *caitya*-arches. There is no *grāsapaṭṭi* above but a *ghaṇṭamālikā*, i.e., a band of decorative looped wreaths and hanging bells.[6] On the proper right of the doorway is a niche showing Varuṇa seated on a goose.[7] Other niches contain, clockwise, images of Vāyu, tricephalous Brahmā, Nṛsiṁha, Mahiṣamardinī and Kubera on the northern wall; Īśāna, Sūrya, Harihara (*bhadra-rathikā*), (missing)[8] and Indra on the eastern wall; Agni, Candra, Trivikrama, standing Gaṇesa and Yama on the southern wall and Nirṛti on the south-west corner of the western wall which is in line with the door of the shrine (on its proper left) and faces west.

The door-opening measures 64 × 132 cm. The doorframe (*Pl. 4*) has four distinct *śākhās* (jambs). The *udumbara* (sill) shows in the centre stylized tree (*Kalpavṛkṣa* ?), flanked on either side by *grāsamukha* and *ghaṭa-pallava* (vase-and-foliage) panels. The lower portions of the door-jambs-*pedyās* show the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the proper right and left sides, standing gracefully in symmetrical postures under trees which serve as canopies over their heads. The river goddesses are shown with pots of water and accompanied by symmetrical male figures holding flowers in their right hands held near the chest and resting the left on their respective waists. Bands of scroll-work, *mālāśākhā*, semi-anthropomorphous *nāgas* with folded hands and intertwined tails held ultimately by Garuḍa on the lintel (*nāga-śākhā*) and four panels of loving couples (*mithuna-śākhā*)[9] are superposed over the river goddesses. The extreme band with oblique lotus-leaf pattern, *patraśākhā*, begins right from the sill. On the *uttaraṅga* (lintel) of the door-frame, the *lalāṭa-bimba* (centre piece) shows Viṣṇu seated on anthropomorphic Garuḍa who is holding the tails of the intercoiled serpents. Three pairs of *mālyadhara* (garland bearing) *vidyādharas* and their female counterparts in *añjali-mudrā* (folded hands) flank Viṣṇu on either side.[10] Immediately above on the frieze is a miniature chapel. At the extremities are carved

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miniature spires. In between the central chapel and the miniature spires on the ends are two niches showing Gaṇeśa and Kubera on the proper right and left of the central chapel. Above are shown the *navagrahas* (the astral divinities).

On either side of the doorframe projects a pilaster decorated with *grāsamukha* and *ghaṭa-pallava* motifs and a femal squeezing her hair.[11] The pillars of the porch have a square base with vase-and-foliage design and a fluted shaft with chain-and-bell embellishements. There is an old dais inside the sanctum but the cult-icon is missing from it.[12]

Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes are carved on the broad *Kaṇṭha* (neck) all around above the *jaṅghā* portions. *Kaṇṭha* is capped by a *varaṇḍikā* (cornice).

But for the *pañjara* and *madhyalatā*, the front central projection of the spire, the shrine is well-preserved. When Bhandarkar visited Osian in 1908-09, there was no roof over the *antarāla* (vestibule),[13] but it has subsequently been conserved. The ceiling of the vestibule is adorned with *nāga-pāśa* motif. The spire has lost some *pañjara*, stone as well as the *śukanāsa*. It consists of five *bhūmis* marked by corner *āmalakas*, *Karṇāṇḍakas*, which are embedded in the *veṇukośa* (end profile) of the *śikhara* (spire) at intervals. The middle face of the spire has three salients. *Madhyalatā*, the central shoot, is also flanked by a second inner *veṇukośa*. The spire is crowned by an *āmalasāraka* which has got as many as three sockets for holding flag staffs. The *Kalaśa* (finial) over the *āmalaka* stone is surmounted by a *cakra* carved to front, apparently to show that the temple was dedicated to Viṣṇu.[14]

Smaller shrine on the north-west corner is completely gone. Others, like the *mūlaprāsāda*, do not have the cult-icons preserved in them. These *karṇaprāsādas*, however, are beautiful little gems of art.[15] Simulating their prototype, they have got beautifully and artistically carved doorframes, pillars and pilasters as also niched sculptures. The shrine on the south-east corner contains in the *bhadra* niche of the north wall a beautiful image of Balarāma with Revatī and that of an amazon (Rati?) on the right. Sūrya and Revanta adorn the *bhadra* niches of its eastern and southern walls respectively. The shrine on the south-west corner (*Pl. 5*) shows Durgā in the southern wall, Cāmuṇḍā killing the demon Mahiṣa[16] on the western wall and Śṛṅgāra-Durgā[17] on the eastern wall respectively alongwith some other figures.

2. *Harihara Temple No. 2* (*HH-2*) :—Like HH-1, this temple too stands on a lofty *jagatī*[18] (*Pl. 6*) with an imposing flight of steps leading from the ground to the terrace which measures 10.50×7.72 m. and is 2.5 m. high. The covered stairway measures 1.45×2.68 m. Quincunx on plan, this shrine has a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* or *raṅgamaṇḍapa* attached to the sanctum (*Fig. III*).

The mouldings of the *jagatī* from bottom upwards are plain but bold and heavy *khurakha* and *kumbha*, *antarapatra*, *kalaśa*, another *antarapatra*, *kapota* decorated with closely set *candraśālās*, *caitya* arches alternating with half-diamonds, a broad band of scroll work and another *kapota* with *vasantapaṭṭikā* above carved with degenerate acanthus scroll. It resembles more or less with HH-1 and has the same number and order of niched sculptures. Again like the former, their worn out condition indicates water action.

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The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *mūlaprāsāda* consists of a double *bhiṭṭa* and simple mouldings comprising *khuraka*, unadorned *kumbhaka*, *antarapatra*, *kalaśa* having a *tulāpīṭha* showing four projecting rafter-ends adorned with conventional floral and figural decorations, another *antarapatra* and a *kapotāli* with *caitya* and *ardha-padma* (half lotus) motifs. The *jaṅghā* is adorned with the figures of Nṛsiṁha, Harihara and Trivikrama in the northern, eastern (back) and southern *bhadra* niches respectively (*Pl. 7*) with *dikpālas* on the *karṇa-rathikās* and Brahmā, Mahiṣamardinī, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Candra and Gaṇeśa on the *pratiratha* niches. Their order clockwise from the proper right of the doorway is the same as we noticed in the HH-1. The frames of the *rathikās* consist of pedestals carved with lotus petals, minaiture *ghaṭa-pallava* pilasters and an elongate *udgama* whose fret is made up of small *induśālikās* with grooved and chamfered border. *Chaṇṭamālikā* hung over them adds additional charm to the upper portion of the wall. An *antarapatra* intervenes between this band and the *dvistara-varaṇḍikā* (bistriated principal cornice), having in between the two cornices in broad *kaṇṭha* adorned, as in HH-1, with Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes.[19] The spire rises above the cornice but is broken at the top. It is of *tryaṅga* variety and what remains of it indicates that it consisted of more than five *bhūmis*, four of which are still visible on the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* side. These *bhūmis* are marked by *karṇāṇḍakas*, embedded at intervals in the *veṇukośa* of the *śikhara*. There is, however, no inner *veṇukośa* as in HH-1. The central shoot is flanked by *bāla-pañjāras*. When intact, the spire must have been surmounted by an *āmalasāra* and *kalaśa*.

The door opening of the *mūlaprāsāda* is 65 × 127cm. The *udumbara* consists of a stylized tree in the centre flanked by blank space and followed by panels showing lions with upcurved tails facing towards the tree. On the extremities are shown *purṇaghaṭas*. The underlying band consists of two *caitya*-motifs connected by railing-like decoration. The *pedyās* show Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their respective vehicles, standing gracefully under the canopies of trees and holding water-pots, accompanied by male figures holding flowers as in HH-1. Additional miniature figures are, however, to be seen carved here. The *dvāraśākhā* consists of *patraśākhā rūpastambha*, *nāgaśākhā*, and *mālāśākhā*. *Lalāṭa-bimba* depicts Viṣṇu on anthropomorphic Garuḍa just like HH-1. The *uttaraṅga* consists of five farmed panels with four recesses containing images of Gaṇeśa, Umā-Maheśvara on Nandī, Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa (in the centre), Brahmā-Sarasvatī and Kubera in the panels and dancers and drummers in the recesses from left to right. Above in the sur-lintel are shown *navagrahas* seated in *sukhāsana* in pillared niches.[20]

The pilasters on either side of the doorway show gracefully standing maidens in *tribhaṅga* (triple flexion) pose under a tree. Above them are to be seen, on either side, *grāsamukha* and *ghaṭa-pallava* decorations. The pillars are embellished with *caitya*-motif and vase-and-foliage designs on the square base, chain-and-bell hanging from the mouth of a *grāsa* on the octagonal shafts, surmounted again with vase-and-foliage on the abacuses placed on round *kumbhas*. Some pillars show small frames bearings images on the cardinal directions of the basement mouldings. One pillar of the porch bears an inscription 'Unāḍhā' in Nāgarī characters. The ceiling

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of the vestibule shows intertwined *nāgas* with Garuḍa in the centre holding in either hand the tails of the serpents.

The *raṅgamaṇḍapa* attached to the shrine occupies the whole breadth of the terrace and possesses a *vedikā* (*balustrade*), *āsanapaṭṭaka* (seat slabs) and a *kakṣāsana* (sloping balustrade) from which three *gajamuṇḍas* (elephant-heads) project out at the three post-points. The roof of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* seems to have been originally supported by four long and six dwarfish pillars.[21] The latter, resting on the *āsana-paṭṭaka*, are of square type, embellished with *ghaṭa-pallava* design. Other pillars in the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* have square beses and shafts, square bases with vase-and-foliage design and fluted shafts with bell-and-chain etc. The rear ends of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* are open to permit the circumambulation of the sanctum from the porch itself.

The *karṇaprāsāda* on the north-east corner has almost completely disappeared. Only the socles of the subsidiary shrines on the corners of the southern wall are left now. Bhandarkar, however, had seen the *karṇaprāsāda* of the south-east corner preserved partially with its walls. He describes it as having "in the principal niches on the south, east and north Revanta, Surya and Balarāma, respectively, the last with his wife Revatī standing beside him ... ."[22] The main niches of the *kaṇraprāsāda* of north-west corner contain Śiva performing *tāṇḍava-nṛtya*, Śiva with Pārvatī on his lap and Kalyāṇa-Sundara-*mūrti* on the west, north and east respectively. The *pratiratha* and *Karṇa* niches show pot-bearing figures standing gracefully on platforms borne by human beings and Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their respective vehicles on the left and right. Many memorial inscriptions have been put up around this temple.

3. *Harihara Temple No. 3* (*HH-3*):—Facing east and almost contiguous with HH-2, it stands on a terrace whose dimensions do not exceed the basement of the temple as no subsidiary shrines were to be accommodated on its corners[23] (*Pl. 8*). It thus looks like a plinth "especially as it is severely plain and is not decorated with any floral bands".[24] There are plain austere mouldings and a fillet below the *Kalaśa* which too is plain and unadorned. The *antarapatra* above has simple decorations. The *Kapotāli* as usual has the *caitya*-motifs. The wall contains *rathikās* on *bhadra*, *pratiratha* and *Karṇa* projections and the deities represented in them, beginning from the south-east corner on the proper right hand side of the doorway, clockwise, are (*1*) Indra, (*2*) Agni, (*3*) standing Gaṇeśa, (*4*) Harihara (*bhadra* niche), (*5*) Ananta or Bṛhaspati, (*6*) Yama, (*7*) Nirṛti, (*8*) Sūrya, (*9*) Trivikrama (*bhadra* niche of the black wall), (*10*) Candra, (*11*) Varuṇa, (*12*) Vāyu, (*13*) Brahmā, (*14*) Nṛsiṁha (central niche of northern wall), (*15*) Mahiṣamardinī, (*16*) Kubera and (*17*) Īśāna. The pilasters of the niches are testefully adorned with *ghaṭa-pallava*, *Kīrttimukha*, bell-and-chain and floral motifs. Pedestals show *ardha-padma* design. The pediments over the niches are uniform in size and shape. They are not elongated multi-tiered *udgamas* as we found in the preceding examples. The decorative band above shows a slight change. It is of the *padma-paṭṭikā* type. Blossomed half-lotus motif replaces the hanging bells here in the loops formed by floral wreaths.[25] There is no *grāsapaṭṭikā*. An *antarapatra* intervenes between the

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decorative band and the *Kapotāli*. A broad *Kaṇṭha* depicting Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes is capped by another *Kapotāli* on the corners of which exist miniature chapels flanking a broad pillared niche showing Yoga-Nārāyaṇa on the central projection[26] and other figures in similar pillared niches on the juxta-buttresses. Projecting cornice slabs are conspicuous.

The doorframe of this temple is more elaborate than those of the preceding temples. The *udumbara*, like that of HH-2, is double banded but more elaborate. The lower frieze shows chequer pattern alternating with projecting *caitya*-dormer motifs. The upper frieze of the sill bears a floral depiction (*Kalpavṛkṣa* ?) in the centre (*mandāraka*), flanked on either side by an elephant, garland-bearing *vidyādhara*, couchant lion with upcurled tail facing outwards and *pūrṇaghata*, all in panels. The jambs consist of six bands with river goddesses and other attendant figures on the *pedyās*. On the proper right is Gaṅgā on crocodile accompanied by a female attendant, both standing under the canopies of trees, and a male figure holding a flower in the right hand with left hand akimbo. Similarly Yamunā on the other side on tortoise is accompanied by female and male figures in an identical manner. The innermost band of the jamb shows scroll work followed by a thin *patraśākhā*, *nāgaśākhā*, *mālyaśākhā* (with five full-blossomed lotuses on either side and three on the upper side), a floral band and *mithunaśākhā*. The *lalāṭa-bimba* shows, like the preceding temples, Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. A panel of the *uttaraṅga* connected on sides with the *mithuna-śākhā* bears five *Kīrttimukhas* with four *Gandharva* couples occupying the intervening spaces. Astral divinities in framed panels are shown on the sur-lintel.

The pilasters on either side of the doorway have beautiful *śālabhañjikās*, decorative circular vase motifs, very elaborate vase-and-foliage decorations etc. Pillars in the porch show square bases with recessed mouldings adorned with *caitya* motifs on the cardinal or with vase-and-foliage at the *Kumbhī* base and bells hanging by chains on the four faces above. Pillars of the former type also have beautifully carved decorative circular medallions on the cardinal directions depicting deities like Gañeśa and Kubera or mythical birds and animals. Above the *Kumbha* portions are carved intertwined *nāgas* supporting lotus-petalled pedestals bearing profusely foliated vases, faces of glory and lotus abacuses superposed by brackets. One of the pillars bears an inscription '*Kāmāṣaṭuvā Unādhā*' in Nāgarī characters. The dwarfish square pillars placed on the *āsanapaṭṭaka* show full blossomed half-lotus designs. Though bell-and-chain motif can be seen on some pillars, none bears the fluted shaft. The *maṇḍapa* has the lotus dome with garland bearing semi-celestials. The most noteworthy feature of this temple, however, "is the peculiar dome-shaped roof of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* as the smaller bays in side aisles are covered with carved slabs laid side by side".[27] The *maṇḍapa* is an open pillared hall with *āsanapaṭṭakas* and sloping balustrades in the *pārśvālinda* 'aisle' covered by *vālikās* 'rafters' instead of a flat ceiling in simulation of timber construction (*Pl. 9*). This reminds us of some similar ceilings of the *caitya* halls at Ajanta datable to the sixth and seventh century A.D. The dwarfish pillars rest on the seating slabs. The central portion of the ceiling consists of a square slab supported by four long pillars and the roof is crowned by three square

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slabs surmounted by a fluted knob.[28] We do not know as to how did its spire look like originally. Bhandarkar, however, has expressed the opinion that it probably was not different from HH 1 and HH-2.[29]

Bhandarkar designated this temple as Hari-hara temple (No. 3) but like the preceding two Hari-hara temples, it does not contain the image of Hari-hara in the central back niche which harbours Trivikrama instead. The temple thus seems to have been dedicated actually to Viṣṇu and not Harihara. Goetz has described this temple as dedicated to Kṛṣṇa.[30] We have, however, retained its name as given by Bhandarkar for it has become quite popular.

The temple stands on an area 9.75+7.40 m. The projection of the flight of steps is 85 cm. only and the height of the plinth is 1.54 m. The *bhadra* projection is 98 cm. While the *pratiratha* and *Karṇa*, which recede 10 cm. each, measure 39 and 51 cm. on either side (*Fig. IV*).

4. *Viṣṇu* (*Rāmadevaḍā*) *Temple No. 1* (*VT-1*):—On the other side of the road opposite HH-2 and 3 stands a Viṣṇu temple, now known as Rāmadevaḍā Mandira (*Pl. 10*). It consists of the *mūlaprāsāda* and a porch on a 1.67 m. high *jagatī* with a flight of steps on the western side to which the temple faces (*Fig. V*). There are another two steps leading to the porch which together with the shrine proper stands on a 72 cm. *adhiṣṭhāna*. The porch measures 1.45×2.10 m.

The *pīṭha* (socle) has plain but bold and heavy mouldings of *khuraka*, *Kumbhaka*, *kalaśa*, *antarapatra* and *kapotāli*. The *kalaśa*, however, has a *tulāpīṭha* showing five projecting rafter-ends adorned with figural and floral decorations.[31] The principal niches of the northern, eastern and southern walls contain images of Nṛsiṁha, Viṣṇu and Trivikrama respectively while the *karṇa-rathikās* are adorned with the figures of the eight *dikpālas*—Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kubera, Īśāna, Indra, Agni, Yama and Nirṛti. The *parikarma* frames of the *rathikās* consist of pedestals carved with lotus petals, miniature *ghaṭa-pallava* pilasters and elongate four-tiered *udgamas* as in HH-2. The upper portions of the walls have the *padmapaṭṭikā*, broad *kaṇṭha* with Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes and the cornice as we have in HH-3 (*Pl.11*). A noticeable feature on the walls of this temple is the absence of niches on the juxta-buttresses which instead show garland bearing *Vidyādharas* flanking the pediments of the central niches.[32] The door of this shrine is comparatively much plainer than those of the preceding temples. The *udumbara* shows the stylized tree in the centre, flanked on either side by *Kīrttimukhas*, *pūrṇaghaṭas* and lotus patterns. The jambs show Gaṅgā and Yamunā without attendants and consist of *mālyaśākhā*, *rūpaśākhā*, fret work and *patraśākhā*. The *lalāṭa-bimba* is not clear. Above on the lintel are to be seen only seven of the nine astral divinities. Pilasters on either side of the door show the ostiaries, blossomed lotus patterns, vase-and-foliage decorations and faces of glory. Square pillars of the porch have plain *Kumbhī* mouldings, blossomed lotus pattern on the shafts, octagonal *Kumbhas* superposed by *ghaṭa-pallavas*, simple square abacuses and brackets.[33] Here again, one of the pillars bears the name 'Unāḍhā' which occurs on the pillars of HH-2 and 3 also. The ceiling of the porch is *samatala* (flat) with lotus pattern. The

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slabs of the cornice over the porch project out conspicuously. The *śukanāsa* contains an image of standing four armed Viṣṇu.[34] The *pañcaratha śikhara* of the *mūlaprāsāda* consists of six *bhūmis* marked by *Karṇāṇḍakas* in the *veṇukośa*. The *madhyalatā* is also flanked by an inner *veṇukośa* like HH-1.[35] An *āmalasāraka* surmounts the spire. This must have originally been superposed by a *Kalaśa* also.

Austerity of ornamentation and simplicity of carving are the notable features of this temple.

5. *Śiva Temple No. 1*:—That another temple existed near VT-1 is evident from Bhandarkar's account[36]. He himself, however, described it as "well-nigh a wreck" and did not give any further details. Now there are absolutely no traces of this temple. This non-extant temple, however, continues to be referred to as Bhandarkar's temple No. 5 though Viennot[37] has mistakenly given this number to Bhandarkar's No. 6. We have given this number instead to another temple which has been neglected by all scholars. It is located to the north-east of HH-2 and is a Śiva Temple presently called Śiva jī kī Ḍerī. Though the temple is highly renovated yet some of its original parts and features are clear. It stands on a 1.60 m. high *jagatī* and faces west. The basement mouldings consist of a plain *khuraka*, *kumbhaka*, *kalaśa* and *ṭhakārikā*. The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the flight of steps are covered by a modern roof. The hall still preserves sixteen old pillars in four rows of four each. The sanctum now shows closed portions on north and south and open ones on the other two sides. The *dikpālas* occupy their fixed niches.

The doorway shows *nāgaśākhā* as the innermost band, *mithunaśākhā* with four panels of loving couples topped by a *pūrṇa-kumbha* and the *patraśākhā*. Gaṅgā and Yamunā under the canopies of trees are found as usual accompanied by a male figure and a diminutive attendant. *Navagrahas* are depicted in five panels on the lintel with intermediary spaces filled by unidentifiable deities. Musicians appear on the sur-lintel.

The pillars of the portico show *ardha-padma* and *ghaṭa-pallava* decorations. That the hall originally had *āsana-paṭṭakas* with sloping seat-backs is indicated by *stambhikās* and balustrades now fixed in the walls.

The original spire is completely lost. A beautiful *pañca-mukha Liṅga* is enshrined in the sanctum now. That it was a Śiva Temple originally is indicated by a beautiful image of fully caparisoned Nandī, with head broken, couchant on a double lotus pedestal, which lies outside near the temple.[38] The *dikpāla* images are either two handed or quadrumanous. They wear *ekāvalīs* and other simple ornaments and do not seem to be far removed in age from the sculptures on the temples described above.

6. *Sun Temple No. 1 (ST-1)*:—A short distance to the north-west of VT-1 stands dilapidated Sun Temple (*Pl. 12*) facing west, on a 1.75 m. high terrace which was originally decorated with bands of *vasanta-Paṭṭikā*, *caitya*-motif and triangular palmette designs.[39] A flight of steps is provided on the west for access to the terrace. The front portion which was very much damaged when Bhandarkar

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surveyed it in 1908-09 has since been conserved but the niches on either side of the stairs, which may have been there originally have not been provided.[10] However, the remaining three sides have a small niche each but their sculptures are missing. The temple seems to have had originally a porch and a hall besides the sanctum (*Fig. VI*). Both the porch and the hall have suffered great damage and are in utter ruins, but its partially preserved *raṅgamaṇḍapa* made of a decorated *rājasenaka* (deep fillet), *vedikā* with its thin vertical slabs alternating with *stambhikā* pillarets, *āsanapaṭṭaka*, *mattavāraṇa*, three dwarfish pillars resting on *āsanapaṭṭaka* and three *gaja-muṇḍas* projecting at the post-points indicate that the *maṇḍapa* may have not been much different from that of HH-2 (*Pl. 13*). However, it did not have any subsidiary shrines like HH-1 and 2.

The *pañcaratha mūlaprāsāda* stands on a podium raised above the terrace by about half a metre. The 70 cm. *vedībandha* consists of plain *khuraka*, *kumbhaka*, *antarapatra*, *kalaśa*, another *antarapatra* and *kapotāli* with *caitya*-dormer motif resembling the *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings of HH-3 and VT-1. The walls correspond to the latter with the necessary difference of sculptures in the niches. A significant difference, however, lies in the *kaṇṭha* which shows *grāsapaṭṭikā* instead of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes. The *śikhara* consists of six *bhūmis* and two *veṇukośas* and is similar to that of VT-1. The finial of the spire is missing.

The four-band doorway resembles much with that of HH-2 and 3. The *udumbara* consists of two friezes, the lower one showing *caitya*-dormer with lions at the two ends and chequer design in between. The upper frieze shows as usual the stylized tree flanked on either side by *ghaṭapallava* and other panels with queer mythical human-headed horses having avian foliated tails drawing (Sūrya's?) chariots towards the door. The door jambs show river-goddesses on their *vāhanas* (vehicles) accompanied by male attendants and diminutive female acolyte figures on the *pedyās*. The four bands consist of *mālya*, *nāga*, *rūpastambha* and *patra śākhās*. The *lalāṭa-bimba* shows Garuḍa holding the tails of intertwined *nāgas* forming the *nāgaśākhā*. Above, in the five niches are depicted Gaṇeśa, Brahmā with a *Yogapaṭṭa*, Viṣṇu in *sukhāsana* superposed over Garuḍa of the *lalāṭa-bimba*, Śiva and Kubera, both in *sukhāsana*. The four recesses in between the five niches are occupied by dancers and musicians. The sur-lintel shows *navagraha* panels. Pilasters on either side bear beautiful damsels occupying the lower half-portion of the shaft with *ardhapadma*, *ghaṭapallava* and *grāsamukha* decorations above. The pillars of the porch show on their square bases chequer, *caitya*-dormer and *ghaṭapallava* motifs, fluted shafts surmounted again by *ghaṭapallava*, circular *kumbha* with scroll decorations supporting *kīrtimukhas*, lotus-petalled abacuses and brackets. The roof of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* is open towards the *mūlaprāsāda* probably for the purpose of circumambulation. *Āmalakas*, pillars, pilasters, brackets and other architectural pieces scattered all around show the immense damage that the structure has suffered.

7. *Main Sun Temple* (*ST-2*):—A little further to the west stands another Sun Temple (*Pl. 14*) close to the house of the local *jagirdar*. Bhandarkar has referred

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to it as "perhaps the most magnificent of the whole group of Osian temples".[41] The originality of its frontal design showing two tall fluted pillars has given it an imposing and classical appearance.[42] The temple consists of the sanctum, a hall and a porch, and faces the west (*Fig. VII*). Originally it was also a *pañcāyatana* temple and its *kāraṇaprāsādas* were connected by a cloister which served not only as an enclosure wall but also provided shelter to the visiting devotees as it contained a row of flat-roofed chambers.[43] When Bhandarkar visited this shrine, he saw a *karṇaprāsāda* on the north-west corner; but now there is no trace of it. Both the sanctum and the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* stand on an elevated platform accessible by a flight of steps under a projecting porch which has got magnificent tall fluted pillars rising from the ground level, referred to above.

The *vedībandha* mouldings of this temple are identical to those of VT-1. The walls contain images only in the *bhadra* and *karṇarathikās*, the former bigger in size and adorned by two tiered pediment while the latter and the juxta-buttress niches are smaller in size and have three tiered *udgamas*. The principal niches correspond to those of the Sun Temple on the hill in showing ornamental *śākhās* with river goddesses on their bases. Sūrya and Gaṇeśa in the principal niches of the eastern and southern walls of the two temples are also similar. Another fact worthy of note is that the *dikpālas* on both these temples do not occupy their fixed niches. The *udgamas* of the *Karṇarathikās* also have one full-blown lotus decoration on either side.[44] The *padmapaṭṭikā* band is the same as in HH-3 and VT-1. The deities represented on the walls from the proper right of the doorway clockwise are Viṣṇu, Varuṇa, Pārvatī, Mahiṣamardinī (central niche of the north wall), Nṛsiṁha, Brahmā, Sūrya (principal back niche), Revanta, Varāha, Gaṇeśa (*bhadra-rathikā* of south wall), Kubera, Nirṛti and Balarāma. The *kaṇṭha* shows rafter-end decorations of blossomed lotuses instead of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes or *kīrtimukha* and other panels.[45]

The doorway is of *pañcaśākhā* variety.[46] The door still shows, placed over lotus-petalled *pīṭha*, a *pūrṇaghaṭa* in the centre, flanked on either side by a niched figure, a serpent-hooded Yakṣa (?) seated in *sukhāsana* holding a lotus in one hand and resting the other on the respective thigh, *ghaṭapallava* motif and garland-bearing *vidyādhara* facing inwards. The *udumbara* originally possessed a moon-stone also.[47] The lower portions of the *pedyā* are adorned, as usual with Gaṅgā and Yamunā attended by female acolytes and accompanied by male figures with their attendants. Beginning from inside the jambs consists of *mālya*, *nāga*, *mithuna*, *rūpastambha* and again a *nāga śākhā*. Both these *nāga śākhās* are, as we find consistently in Osian temples, represented by intertwined tails of serpents whose upper half is anthropomorphic shown in *añjali-mudrā*. The *uttaraṅga* shows Garuḍa on the *lalāṭa-bimba*, holding the tails of intertwined serpents. Between the panels representing graceful triple-flexioned females looking into glasses, surmounting the *mithuna-śākhā* on either side of the doorway, are depicted the astral divinities. Five slightly projecting and four recessed niches above contain Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa in the centre with Gaṇeśa, Brahmā (with *yogapaṭṭa*) and a *Gandharva* with folded hands (?) on the right and Kubera, Śiva and a *Kiṁnara* playing on

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a musical instrument like *sitar* on the left. The extreme figures defy proper identification.

The pilasters on either side of the entrance are very elegantly carved and are comparable to the pilasters of the Sun Temple adjoining SMT. On the lower halves of these pilasters are carved ravishing beauties under the canopies of trees. Superposed over them are Vāsudeva and Saṁkarṣaṇa, both seated on anthropomorphic Garuḍa on the proper right and left respectively.[48]

The pillars of the hall are of the *rucaka* type and show an elaborate *ghaṭapallava* motif at the base, chain-and bell on the shaft, *ghaṭapallava* again, round *kumbha* with beautiful scroll work surmounted by wreath-bearing *gandharvas* (or intertwined *nāgas*) projecting on the corners and supporting *pūrṇakumbhas* and abacuses with *kīrtimukhas* on all the four cardinal directions. Some pillars are very massive and show offsets in place of chain-and-bell motif while others have full blossomed lotus medallions, *ardha-padma* motifs in triangles and other floral decorations. The richly embellished faces of the pillars with a veritable lace-work of figural and foliate motifs are not only a continuation of the Gupta art tradition in an elaborate form but also represent a marked development in the art activity of the region.[49]

Twelve pillars arranged in four rows of three each support the lintels which carry the roof of the hall. Two outer rows of four pillars each are arrayed along the edges of the plinth. "The two central of the four inner columns form, as it were, a passage from the flight of steps to the entrance of the shrine. The spaces between the pillars of the hall along the edge except at the entrance, were once filled with stone screens and stone benches, part of which still exists on the south side"[50]. Notches even on the external facets of the pillars along the edge of the wall indicate that they were meant for ornamental *gaja-muṇḍas* like those of the Pīpalā Devī Temple nearby.

On the basis of the mixed character of the podium on the north side and the two pillars in the north-west and south-west corners which seem to have been tempered with, Bhandarkar has expresssed the opinion that this temple or its hall was undoubtedly rebuilt at some later period.[51] We want to point out here that the *Praśasti* of V.S.1013 refers to the construction or rennovation of this hall "*pratidhvāna-daṇḍaṁ satyaṁ manye yaduditamitovāvādītsamantāt soyaṁ bhūyaḥ prakaṭamahimāmaṇḍapaḥ kāritotra // [14 //]*". Further evidence can also be adduced to support this conclusion. Botn the pillars of the porch and the spire of the *mūlaprāsāda* also seem to be later than the sanctum. The rather squat spire with its heavy rustication and massive *āmalaka* quoins consist of seven *bhūmis* marked by *karnāṇḍakas* in the *veṇukośa* and the middle face carries three *latās* 'salients'. The finial on the *āmalasāraka* is missing. Gujarati architectural influence on the spire is evident and there is no evidence that such influence may have percolated to Osian before the middle of the tenth century A.D.[52]

Brown has rightly observed that "in its architecture and in its art this temple is an illustration of the supreme, almost loving care bestowed by the craftsmen on

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their handiwork, each example in the course of its production being evidently regarded as a *chef-d' aeuvre.*"[53]

8. *Śiva Temple No. 2* :—A little to the north-west of ST-2 lies Śiva Temple[54] whose basement and pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* are buried in sand (*Pl. 15*). Bhandarkar had noticed seven pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* but now there are only four, two still lying half buried in sand and supporting a part of the extant roof and two broken. The temple is *triratha* on plan and elevation and faces west. The *caitya*-dormer motifs of the podium peep partially out of the earth. The walls above are plain having empty sunk niches on the central projections but the *caitya* pediments and *padmapaṭṭikā* decorations on them are extant. The *kaṇṭha* between the two cornices shows a frieze of elephants and trees. The spire consists of seven *bhūmis* and is crowned by a massive *āmalasāraka*. The finial is missing.[55]

The doorway shows three bands of *rūpastambha*, *nāgaśākhā* and *mālāśākhā*. The lintel bears five beautiful *rathikās* and four recessed niches. The central place is occupied by Śiva with tricephalous Brahmā and Skanda in the *rathikās* on his proper right and Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa on the left. The recessed niches depict *gandharva* couples playing on their musical instruments.

9. *Pīpalā Devī Temple* (*PDI*) :—A few metres north-west stands Pīpalā Devī Temple.[56] It consists of a *mūlaprāsāda* and a large *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, each provided with a porch (*Pl. 16*). The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* has thirty pillars to support the roof. The lower portion of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is covered by a plain screen-wall, broken at places, holding the *āsanapaṭṭakas* all along the edges of the wall on either side, and crowned with *gaja-muṇḍas* on the external facets of the pillars. All the pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the outer porch are plain, stiff and stylized. Brown has aptly observed that "The flutings of the shaft in the earlier model have been replaced by recessed angles, which are carried through the entire length of the pillar and even into the capital. Instead of each member of the order being distinct they merge into one another, the effect becoming confused."[57] The pillars and pilasters of the inner porch, however, break the monotony by their massive and profusely carved character. Some pillars still bear the chisel marks and do not seem to have been finished at all.

The plinth shows decoration along the upper portions with bands of degenerated acanthus leaves, palmette triangular design and horse-shoe motifs. The sanctum stands on a podium of plain but heavy mouldings and the walls are adorned with pillared niches having elongate pediments on the *bhadra*, *pratiratha* and *karṇa* projections. The deities represented in the niches are Īśāna, Mahiṣamardinī (principle niche) and Indra on the east wall with female figures on the juxta-buttress niches; Agni, (*bhadra* niche vacant) and Yama on the south wall and Nirṛti, Varuṇa, central niche vacant (Bhandarkar had noticed a Gaja-Lakṣmī image in it),[58] Kubera and Vāyu on the west wall. The sanctum contains beautiful images of Kubera, Mahiṣamardinī and Gaṇeśa. Bhandarkar had noticed an image of the goddess seated on a lion-throne lying in the hall.[59] Pīpalā Devī is the local name of Mahiṣamardini. So there is little doubt that this temple was dedicated to Mahiṣamardinī.

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A *grāsapaṭṭi*, *kapotāli*, *kaṇṭha* with palmette triangular motifs and cornice complete the walls.[60] The spire is very much damaged but what remains clearly shows that it was not much different from the *śikhara* of ST-2. The roof of the hall has disappeared completely.

The temple has got an elaborate doorway. The sill consists of three bands : (i) the lowermost showing the *caitya*-dormer in the centre and two facing lions in panels, one on either side; (ii) the middle band occupied by the pediments of the *caitya*-motifs of the lower band and half-diamond motifs; and (3) the uppermost band having a *kīrtimukha* in the centre flanked on either side by panels of a long beaked bird and a mythical foliated grotesque figure. The *pañcaśākhā* doorway comprises *patraśākhā* (outermost band), a band of criss-cross *jālī* work, *mithunaśākhā*, *nāgaśākhā* and *mālāśākhā*. The river goddesses, with three male attendants each, stand on lotus-petalled pedestals on either side occupying the lower portions of the *pedyās*. The figures are very longish. The *uttaraṅga* shows Garuḍa on the *lalāṭa-bimba* holding as usual the tails of the entwined serpents. The *lalāṭa-bimba* thus indicates that Pīpalā Devī (Mahiṣamardinī) represents the Vaiṣṇavite form of Śakti. *Navagrahas* are depicted above in the sur-lintel in small pillared niches. The pilasters show female doorkeepers under the canopies of trees. The porch has got a *samatala* ceiling. The pillars of the porch show Gaṇeśa and other deities in the roundels in cardinal directions. Some pillars bear inscriptions. One inscription shows characters belonging to *circa* eighth-ninth century A.D. Another gives us the name of 'Unāḍhā' which we have noticed on the pillars of some other temples also. That there were some other stuctures also associated with or appended to the PDT is indicated by the structural remains and pillars still visible on the proper right of the flight of the steps.

10. *Viṣṇu Temple No. 2 (VT-2)* :—The last of the individual temples situated in the town is a Viṣṇu Temple (*Pl. 17*). Bhandarkar described its location "about a mile to the north-west of the village", but now with the growth of population and the consequent expansion of the habitational area, it is located to the west of the town, situated a little distance west of the road leading to the railway station from the Jaina temple. The temple faces towards the east and consists of a sanctum, a hall and a porch (*Fig. VIII*). The highly decorated plinth on which the temple stands had given way at the back and southern side of the sanctum[61] but has subsequently been conserved. The *khuraka*, *kumbhaka* and *kalaśa* mouldings are plain but the three mouldings superposed over them bear beautiful triangular palmette, horse-shoe and spiral decorations. The *adhiṣṭhāna* mouldings are comparable more or less to the PDT. The walls contain pillared niches crowned by pediments. The niches are placed on the central, juxta and corner buttresses with intermediary recessed plain parts. The principal niches are the biggest here occupying the whole of the *jaṅghā* below *kapotāli* with its pediment covering the chequered *jālikā* band under the cornice. The *karṇarathikās* occupy the lower half portions of the length of the vertical mouldings as also the *pratiratha-rathikās*, but the latter are further constricted in width.[62] The *tryaṅga* spire is broken above the fourth *bhūmi* but the extant

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portion indicated that it resembled ST-2. The depiction of *ratnas* (jewels) in *caitya*-windows of the *rekhās*, however, is notable.

The walls of the shrine contain the images of, beginning clockwise from the south-east corner on the proper right of the doorway, Agni, Yama, Nṛsiṁha and Nirṛti on the southern wall; Varuṇa, Garuḍa-vāhī Viṣṇu and Vāyu on the west wall; Kubera, Varāha and Īśāna on the north wall and Indra on the north-eastern corner on the proper left of the doorway. All the icons are very much worn and damaged. The deities are shown as seated over their vehicles in a typical style and are quadrumanous. The *pratiratha-rathikās* on the walls contain images of *sura-sundarīs* (divine damsels). We thus see that besides the eight *dikpālas* who occupy their respective places, the principal niches contain the images of Nṛsiṁha, Viṣṇu and Varāha on the south, west (back) and north walls. Bhandarkar referred to an image of Śeṣaśāyī-Nārāyaṇa in the sanctum[63] of this temple, but it is missing now.

The doorway resembles that of the PDT, the door-sill consisting of a band overlying a lotus-leaf frieze shows a *kalpavṛkṣa* in the centre with *kīrtimukha*, garland-bearing mythical semi-anthropomorphic foliated beaked beings and musicians in niches on either side. The *pedyās* of *pañcaśākhās* show river goddesses accompanied by their attendants. The central projection of the lintel depicts Garuḍa holding the tails of the entwined snakes with *navagraha* panels above flanked on either side by a lute player and Gaṇeśa on the proper right and a *Mātṛkā* (Maheśvarī) on the proper left. The pilaster on either side of the doorway shows a beautifully carved and gracefully flexioned female figure (*dvārapālikās* ?) under the canopy of a tree similar to the PDT.

The short wall of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is made of a *rājasenaka* with diamond pattern, *vedikā* with its *phalakas* (vertical slabs) alternating with *stambhikā*-pillarets decorated with foliate scrolls, *āsanapaṭṭakas* supporting dwarf pillars bearing *ghaṭapallava* decorations and *gaja-muṇḍas* on the external facets as we saw in PDT also. *Kakṣāsanas* were provided above the *āsanapaṭṭakas*. The roof of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* is gone. The ceiling is of *samatala padmaka* type. Now we take up the temple-complexes.

MAHĀVĪRA GROUP OF TEMPLES

1. *Mahāvīra Temple* (*MT*) :—The celebrated shrine dedicated to the last Jaina pontiff is located on the western outskirts of the old town, a short distance north-west of the PDT. The temple complex (*Pl. 18*) comprises, besides other things, seven *Devakulikās* (chaples) also.[64]

Within a walled enclosure, the MT stands on a vast terrace which now lies hidden because of a natural rise of the ground level and certain additions and alterations wrought subsequently, some of them quite recently. The fane is northernly oriented. It consists of a *mūlaprāsāda*, sanctum, with an ambulatory, an *antarāla* (vestibule), a *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* (closed hall) and a *mukhamaṇḍapa* or *Trika* (an open hall) provided with a *mukhacatuṣkī* (porch) (*Fig. IX*). Once a profusely

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embellished beautiful *toraṇa* stood before it.[65] But subsequently it crumbled and its different parts are now preserved in the cloistered corridor, *bhramantikā*, which runs on either side and at the back of this temple. The original *Valānaka* also called *Nāla-maṇḍapa* (entry hall) which once stood just in front of the *toraṇa* also crumbled and a new one with old materials and necessary substitutes is now being raised at the place[66].

The *mūlaprāsāda* with a width of about 7.77 m. is a square of *tryaṅga*, i.e., *pañcaratha* on plan with the *bhadra*, *pratiratha* and *karṇa* proliferations in the proportion of 4.4. : 1 : 2. It rests on a *pīṭha* which "comprises a sequence of six bold, heavy, and neatly cut mouldings commencing from a large *bhiṭṭa* (stylobate), a wide antarapatra or *kandhara* (fillet) followed by a *kapota* (cornice) decorated with closely set *candraśālās* (*caitya* arches) alternating with half lotuses. Next comes a second, less wide but likewise plain *antarapatra* and finally tops the *vasantapaṭṭikā*, that is, a band, carved in this instance, with what seems a degenerate acanthus scroll".[67] The walls, like most of the preceding temples, are made up of three parts comprising *vedībandha*, *jaṅghā* and a *dvistara varaṇḍikā*. The normal sequence of the five mouldings of the *vedībandha*, i.e., *khuraka*, *kumbha*, *kalaśa*, *antarapatra* and *kapota*, is followed here but certain of their characteristic features deserve mention. The *kumbha* is decorated with niched figures of two armed Kubera, Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmī, Vāyu and a *mithuna* on both the rear sides of the bifacial *karṇa*. The *kaptota* is adorned with suspending *kalikās* (buds). The *karṇa* niches of the *kati*, which are capped by archaic *udgamas*, contain two armed *dikpāla* images of Indra, Agni, Yama and Nirṛti on the rear and Īśāna and Varuṇa on the north-east and north-west *karṇas* respectively.[68] The three *bhadras* (balconied windows) on the eastern, southern and western sides project out substantially replacing the *vedībandha* "by handsome, square vase-and-foliage pillars, the intervening space between which is occupied by a *rājasenaka* (deep fillet) decorated with perforated and grooved double axes followed by a *vedikā* (balustrade) carved with rich, gracefully flowing vines and geometric patterns capped by stone trellises thrown into boxes. The grille in the west *bhadra* with a different motif in each box is particularly pleasing".[69] An improvised projecting niche has been added on the western *bhadra* for Bhaironji probably to accommodate those people who adopted Jainism but could not give up Bhairava's worship. Similarly two entwined *Nāgas* have been enshrined in the western cloister and worshipped by the Jainas as their *adhiṣṭhātṛ-devatās* (presiding deities), in all probability to keep up the serpent-worship which was performed by the *nāga* populace of the region before its conversion to Jainism. The upper portions of the walls are bedecked with an *ardhapadma-paṭṭikā* similar to those of HH-3, VT-1 and other temples, and a *dvistara varaṇḍikā* with a deep *kaṇṭha* decorated with palmette design like that of PDT.[70]

The *śikhara* of this temple (*Pl. 19*) like that of the ST-2, is not an original one. The subsequently constructed elaborate spire, making use of the old materials also,[71] consists of *karmas*, *śṛṅgas* (turrets), *uraḥśṛṅgas* (leaning half spires) and the *mūlamañjarī* (main spire) in the centre. The central portion of the spire

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has got a projected *gavākṣa* (balcony) instead of the normally seen *rathikā*. Dhaky holds that it is very early and the only precursor of that feature so commonly met with in the fifteenth century examples in western India.[72] It may, however, be pointed out here that Bhandarkar, who visited Osian in 1908-09, states that he gathered it from the villagers that the spire was in ruins a hundred years before and was rebuilt with the fallen pieces.[73] The possibility of the *gavākṣa* being not original and having been added subsequently cannot, therefore, be ruled out completely. Even now the temple is being renovated and additions and alterations are being effected making it difficult to discern what is old and what is new. The temple has remained in worship almost continuously as an inscription of V.S. 1734 (=A.D. 1677)[74] on the right hand side of the doorway of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* and another two on the pillars of the balcony dated V.S. 1789 reveal that renovations/additions were effected here from time to time. The *gavākṣa* on the back of the spire, a feature of the fifteenth century, may, therefore, have been added sometime subsequently.[75]

The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* is a 10.65 m. square having only the *bhadra* and *karṇa* projections on plan, sharing in elevation the mouldings of the *mūlaprāsāda* upto the cornice. On the front and west, the *karṇa-kumbha* is adorned with niched images of a *Yakṣa* couple and Kubera respectively. Two-armed Sarasvatī holding a full-blossomed lotus in the right hand and a manuscript in the left and Pārśva *Yakṣa* with both hands broken but canopied by a seven-hooded cobra occupy the *karṇa* niches of the *jaṅghā* on the proper right hand side of the entrance and quadrumanous figures of Acchuptā and Apraticakrā on the left. The *karṇa-jaṅghā* on the back has a sunk niche on either side but there are no images in them.

The *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* has got a beautiful three tiered pyramidical superstructure, *tribhūma phāṁsanā*, whose *prahāra* (base) is formed by a *rūpakaṇṭha* 'astragal with figures', showing in discrete panels dancing *vidyādharas* and *gandharvas* playing on musical instruments. Cornice slabs cover the *rūpakaṇṭha* and an *antarapatra* carved with chequer pattern resembling that of the *kaṇṭha* of VT-2[76] is posited above. All the four corners of the pyramidical roof at this stage are surmounted by beautiful *śṛṅgas*. A *parikarma-yukta-rathikā* containing an image of Kubera crowns the *bhadra* balcony on the west. The niche on the opposite side harbours an unidentified *Yakṣa*. Both the *rathikās* are flanked by a *śikharikā* on either side. An *uraḥphāṁsanā* projects above the eastern and western *bhadra* from the first tier of the *phāṁsanā* and is flanked by half *siṁhakarṇa* (pediment) on either side.[77] The second tier, separated from the first by an *antarapatra* of chequer pattern, is adorned with elegant *karṇakūṭas* and a *siṁhakarṇa* flanked by its half replicas on either side, on the east, north and west facets. The *rathikās* in the central *siṁhakarṇas* contain a seated Jina figure on the east and west and Kubera on the north. The third tier of the *phāṁsanā* with single *siṁhakarṇas* projecting from the centre on the east, north and west sides and containing seated Jina figures in the middle of the mesh, is also separated from the preceding tier by an *antarapatra*, decorated this time with *ratna* (diamond) pattern in panels. A shorter, plain

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antarapatra again and then comes the *skandha-vedī* (covering slab) crowned over a short *grīvā* (neck) with a boldly fluted *ghaṇṭā* (bell) and a finial[78].

The *mukhamaṇḍapa* (*Pl. 20*) has been renovated in the recent years and no doubt old material has been made use of but its indiscriminate use, new replicas of old architectural pieces, innovations and extensions have masked the original contours particularly of the socle. The original *mukha-catuṣkī* has also been appropriated by this *mukhamaṇḍapa*. Now there are only four rows of six pillars each erected over the socle supporting the superstructure which partially harmonizes with the *phāṁsanā* of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*[79]. The two tiered *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* is adorned at the open corners of the north side by *prāsādikās* (miniature temples) while two other such *prāsādikās* are placed jutting to the north-east and north-west corners of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa phāṁsanā* just above the cornice. The intervening space of the northern side of the first tier of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa phāṁsanā* is filled by a *siṁhakarṇa* on either side. Three framed panels of the *siṁhakarṇas* contain the figures of Jaina *Yakṣīs* and *Vidyādevīs* : Mahāmānasī flanked by Balādevī and Puruṣadattā on the east;[80] Vairoṭyā flanked by Gaurī and Mānasī on the north and Mahākālī flanked by Cakreśvarī and Vāgdevī on the west.[81]

The two tiered *phāṁsanā* of the porch (which has been assimilated by the *mukhamaṇḍapa*) is now crowned by a fluted *ghaṇṭā*[82] and its corners are relieved by *Nāgara-kūṭas*. Divinities have likewise been enshrined in the triple-panelled three pediments. Mahāvidyā Kālī, Mahāmānasī and perhaps Varuṇa *Yakṣa* on the east; *Yakṣa* Sarvānubhūti, Ṛṣabhanātha and *Yakṣī* Ambikā on the north and Mahāvidyā Rohiṇī flanked by Vajraśṛṅkhalā on the west.[83]

Since connected structures have now been done away with, we cannot do better than quoting Dhaky who has left an excellent detailed account of the temple : "the *kapilī* connecting the Sanctum Proper and the closed hall has the same elevational mouldings as the latter two. The *kumbha* here is figured with Sūrya on the east side and an unidentified goddess on a corresponding position on the west. On its *jaṅghā* stands Īśa on the east and Varuṇa on the west. Above its *varaṇḍikā* is placed a large *karma* or *prāsādaputra*, the only early instance of that feature that was to be the most popular in the fifteenth century and subsequent times in western India".[84]

The plain adytum has got three large *bhadra*-niches but without images now. Recent glass inlay work and colour painting has concealed the details of the door-frame which must have been profusely embellished. The pilasters and the two pillars in their alignment in the vestibule are of the *bhadraka* type, they are square and recessed. The two niches of the *antarāla* walls are also vacant and the ceiling above has also been covered with modern decorations. The pillars of the *śālā* are square with cut off corners and show *ghaṭapallava* motifs, *nāgapāśa* with a semi-anthropomorphous *nāga* at the corners and bold *grāsamukhas*, garnishing these pillars. Similar but shorter and thinner pilasters can be seen on the *bhadras* in *pārśvālindas* (aisles)[85]. The *śālā-vitāna* is of the *nābhicchanda* (concentric) type formed by archaic *gajatālus*. The *bhadra* balconies have niched images of the Jinas

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belonging to the later Cāhamāna period. Only two of the ten deep-sunk niches in the walls of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, one on each side of the bisected south wall, contain images—of Kubera and Vāyu, completing thus the sequence of the eight *dikpālas* when counted along with the six images of Īśāna, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nirṛti and Varuṇa carved on the outer walls of the temple.[86]

We again quote Dhaky for further details of the interior as some of the features described by him have now been obscured and/or are difficult to be checked up. He states that "the complex *śūrasenaka* (bisected *caitya* arch) surmounting each niche in the *Gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, enshrines a divinity. Excepting the two niches (in east and west wall) where the figures are obscured by the carved and panelled walls of the cabinet like *khattakas*, and the two Dikpāla niches in the south wall, which are narrow, the order of the images as one perambulates from north-east to north-west is Rohiṇī, Vairotyā, Mahāmānasī and Nirvāṇī. The large panel above the architrave in each *bhadra* shelters an image of Jina Pārśvanātha with attendants. A *rūpadhārā* (figural belt) bearing a series of figures in panels, such as, perhaps Parents of Jina, run along the upper end of the walls of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*. The broad *triśākhā* doorframe of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* has the *bāhyaśākhā* (outer facia) decorated with lotus leaves; the central one, the *khalvaśākhā*, is decorated with jewelled buckles. The inner facia has been left plain. The pilasters flanking the doorway show respectively the figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā above the brackets. In a *rathikā* above the door is enshrined the image of Jina Pārśvanātha. A *rūpadhārā* is attached along the upper edge of the wall".[87] Placed above the brackets on the extremities are beautiful images of *Yakṣī* Padmāvatī, one on either side, standing under the canopy of a multicephalous cobra, in graceful triple flexion posture, holding a full-blown lotus in the right hand.[88] There is a great resemblance in the pillars of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* and the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* in general but some of the pillars in the former show slight variations like the presence of *vidyādhara* belt. The two pillars of *mukhamaṇḍapa*, confronting the door of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, however, are worthy of note as they possess on the upper portions, just above the *kumāra-śirṣas* (atlantan brackets), images of two-armed *Yakṣas*, one hooded by a snake and holding bow and arrow[89] and the other seated in *sukhāsana* on a lotus-petalled pedestal holding laddle and pot in the two hands. Dhaky has identified these *Yakṣas* as Pārśva and Sarvānubhūti.[90] The ceiling over the wall of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and the four pillars of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* shows prominently ribbed *kola*-course simulating timber construction like that of HH-3.

The ornate *toraṇa*[91] which once stood in front of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* has crumbled and its pillars and other fragments are now preserved in the *bhramantikā* of the temple. It consists of two richly carved *stambhas* standing on a *mahāpīṭha* with characteristic medieval west-Indian mouldings whose sequence shows the *bhiṭṭa*, a *chajjikā* (rooflet), *jāḍyakumbha* (inverted cyma recta), *gajapīṭha* (elephant course) and *narapīṭha* (human course). The *kumbhikā* (base) and the *jaṅghā* show seated Jina and finely carved standing Jīvantasvāmi images in exquisitely carved niches on the cardinal directions. The octagonal shaft bears a panelled seated Jina figure on each face. A fillet follows and the shaft turns sixteen-

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sided, crisply carved with flaming leaves and *vidyādhara* brackets on the cardinal directions. The round shaft above shows a *rūpadhārā* having male ascetic and female figures dancing and playing on musical instruments, a vine pattern and the *grāsapaṭṭikā*, superposed by *bharaṇī* (abacus) and *taraṅga-śīrṣā* (roll bracket).[92] The lintel supported by the *stambhas*, is relieved by floral scrolls and *ardhapadma* designs. It is covered by a *kūṭacchādyas* 'ribbed awnings: A *tilaka* crowned by a bell adorned its extremities. A large central triangular *tilaka* with a Jina figure and a large peacock turning its head to the back on either side within an ornate frame was originally flanked by a minor *tilaka* on each side and a beautiful *āndola-mālikā* above.[93]

Bhandarkar had referred to a short inscription engraved on a pillar of this *toraṇa* "just where the square form of the shaft changes into the eight sided form".[94] He stated that "the inscription bears the date *Saṁ 1075 Āshāḍha sudi 10 Ādityavāre Svātinakṣhattre* and mentions that the gate was constructed by two individuals whose names unfortunately cannot be made out".[95] Bhandarkar committed a mistake in reading the date and many others have followed him.[96] The relevant portion of the inscription, however, reads thus : "*Saṁ 1035 Āṣāḍha sudi 10 Ādityavāre Svātinakṣattre Śrī toraṇaṁ pratiṣṭhāpitamiti.*" The opening part of the epigraph records the date of the temple (*kīrti*) before which this *toraṇa* was set up—"*Oṁ Yāte Saṁvatsarāṇāṁ śara-muni-sahite Vikramārkātsahasrobdāt. . . prāsāda. . . Gurau Śukla-pakṣe daśamyām/Sa kirtti-kāra. . .*". The inscription is partly damaged and does not admit of complete reconstruction. But the date of the fane is quite clear—Thursday, the tenth of the bright fortnight of (the month-name lost), the year Vikrama 1035 (=A.D. 978). Interestingly enough an image of Pārśvanātha from Osian, now exhibited in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur bears exactly the same date on its pedestal as we find on the *toraṇa* pillar : *Saṁvat 1035 Āṣāḍha sudi 10/Ādityavāre Svātinakṣattre pra/tiṣṭhitā.* Thus, there seems to have existed a temple dedicated to Pārśvanātha in which the image of the pontiff was installed and a *toraṇa* erected in front of it in V.S. 1035. It may be pointed out here that the view expressed by Bhandarkar and followed by all scholars that the present MT of Osian was erected during the reign of Vatsarāja Pratihāra is fallacious.[97] It is based on an erroneous interpretation of the *Praśasti* of V.S. 1013. Kakka Sūri's *NJP* (=A.D. 1336)[98] and *Osvāla Utpatti*[99] also state that the MT of Osian was founded in V.S.1018 (=A.D. 961). In all probability therefore, the present MT seems to have originally been a shrine dedicated to Pārśvanātha which housed the said image. Eighth century image of Pārśvanātha on the architrave, in each *bhadra* and in the *rathikā* above the entrance of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, Padmāvatī on the architrave and Pārśva *Yakṣa* on the left *karṇa* of the *jaṅghā* of the present MT further corroborate it. An eighth century image of Pārśvanātha which now exists in the north-eastern *karṇa-rathikā* of the Sun Temple on the hill probably also belonged to this Pārśvanātha temple originally. K.V. Soundara Rajan has actually referred to the said temple by the name of Pārśvanātha Temple.[100]

The corridor behind the main temple has got eight pillars which are all akin to those of the main shrine. The eastern and western flanks, each possessing a chapel

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in the centre, seem to have been added later as the spires stylistically assignable to late eleventh century suggest.[101]

The *valānaka* to the north of the *toraṇa* was demolished and is now being rebuilt making use of old materials, providing replicas of the broken elements or preparing afresh the lost arhitectural pieces, in the same stylistic tradition of course. The large pavillion has got a good number of old and new pillars, supporting in the central octagon, a large domed ceiling which shows, besides other features, a *rūpakaṇṭha* with sixteen *apasarases* (*Pl. 21*) standing on large inverted bells (*lumbikās*). Some pillars bear small dedicatory inscriptions, mostly of V.S. 1231 (=A.D. 1174). The *valānaka* also had originally an inscription carved in a niche of the north wall, well-known now as the Jaina Temple *Praśasti* of V.S. 1013. Bhandarkar wrongly interpreted it to deduce that the MT was built during the reign of Vatsarāja Pratihāra and that the *maṇḍapa* of this temple was renovated by a merchant Jindaka in V.S. 1013 (=A.D. 956).[102] The text of the *Praśasti*, as we have already seen, refers to Vatsarāja Pratihāra and a Sun Temple (ST-2) in Osian, the *maṇḍapa* of which was added/renovated by Jindaka's father.

The *Ubhayamukhī-catuṣkī* (bifacial porch) which was once located just near the eastern extremity of the old *valānaka*[103] has disappeared now and an entrance to the renovated *valānaka* has been provided from the street on the northern side.

There are seven *Devakulikās* in the temple complex : two each on the right and left of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* and one in the north-eastern side. Two more can be seen in the eastern and western flanks of the corridor as noted above. For ease of description and reference we have followed the numbering adopted by Dhaky,[104] i.e., the northern *Devakulikās* of the pairs on the eastern and western flanks of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* as Nos. 1 land 2 and the southern ones as Nos. 3 and 4 respectively. The one in the north-eastern portion of the complex has been given No. 5 while those of the eastern and western *bhramantikā* as Nos. 6 and 7. These similar looking chapels differ in details only.

2. *Devakulikā No. 1 (DK-1)* :—*Pañcaratha* on plan and elevation and having a *mukhacatuṣkī* in front, it stands on a socle which is considered as "an almost ideally complete set of mouldings"[105] comprising (1) *bhiṭṭa* bedecked with *ardha-ratnas*, (2) *kharaśilā* (foundation cap), (3) *jāḍyakumbha* carved with simple *padma-patra* pattern and having *udgamas* at the *bhadra* projections, (4) *karṇikā*, (5) *grāsapaṭṭikā*, (6) *chajjikā*, (7) *gajapīṭha* and (8) *narapīṭha* (*Pl. 22*). This last moulding shows scenes from the life of the Jina Mahāvīra, e.g., the dream of Triśalā, the birth of Mahāvīra, his ablution etc.

The *kaṭi*, as usual, consists of the *vedībandha*, *jaṅghā*, and *varaṇḍikā*. *Vedībandha* consists of *khuraka kumbha*, *antarapatra*, *kalśa*, another *anterapatra* and *kapota*. The *bhadra* projections of the *kumbha* show Rohiṇī, Vairoṭyā and Acchuptā on the north, east and south; the *karṇas* have Ambikā and Jvālāmālinī and the *kapilās* show Cakreśvarī and *Yakṣa Brahmaśānti* on the north and south respectively. *Yakṣa* Kubera finds representation in the *karṇa-kumbha* niche of the

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south-eastern corner. The *pratiratha-kumbha* projections show triangular *ardha-padma* motifs. The *kalaśa* and the two *antarapaṭṭras* preceding and following the former are plain while the *kapota* bears the *caitya* motif and *kalikās* in suspension.

The *jaṅghā* displays the eight *dikpālas* on the *karṇas* and *apasarases* on the *pratirathas* and *salilāntaras* 'recesses' while the *bhadras* harbour seated Jina images with *parikaras* in balconied windows. The standing images are placed in *rathikās* supported on the *mañcikā* (pedestal). The pillared niches are crowned by *udgamas* with *kīrtimukhas* in the recess.[106] Jīvantasvāmi adorns the *kapilīs* and some superb female figures in different poses can be seen on the *pratirathas* and *salilāntaras*. Of particular interest are *śukasārikā*, *śucismitā* holding a mirror, Menakā with bow and arrow, *alasakanyā*, Indrānī with a docile diminutive elephant near her feet, a beauty applying collyrium to her eyes etc. These and other such figures on the walls of the *Devakulikās* require an intensive study. The upper portions of the wall are decorated with a *bharaṇī*, *dvistara-varaṇḍikā* and the *Kūtacchādya*. The *śikhara* above is of *tryaṅga latina* form, crowned by an *āmalasāraka* and a *kalaśa*.

The right hand side pillar of the *mukhacatuṣkī* shows vase-and-foliage and chain-and-bell motifs with a square base and fluted shaft. The pillar on the other side shows full-blossomed lotus design. The *vitāna* is of *nābhicchanda* type. Above is to be found *saṁvaraṇā* (bell roof) with a Jina in the centre and other figures on either side, all in panelled niches. The upper portion of the *saṁvaraṇā* has been partly conserved as can be judged from the different colour of the stone. The doorframe shows three bands—*mālāśākhā*, *rūpastambha* and *patraśākhā*. *Rūpastambha* contains four panels on either side showing *vidyādevīs* like Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuśī, Apraticakrā, Acchuptā, Kālī etc.[107] The lower portion of the *pedyās* show female ostiaries. The *udumbara* displays an elaborate foliated *kalpavṛkṣa* on the *mandāraka* 'central circular projected portion' flanked on either side by *kīrtimukha* mask and a mythical man-bird. On the extremities are panelled niches showing Ambikā on lion and Gomukha on bull on the right and left. The moon-stone has also been provided. The *uttaraṅga* shows a *pūrṇaghaṭa* symbol occupying the *lalāṭa-bimba* with nine panels above depicting Jina figures in the centre and the extremities with *vidyādevīs* in between.[108]

3. *Devakulikā No. 2 (DK-2)* :—It is almost an exact replica of the former, the only difference being that of details and images. The *udgamas* on the *jāḍya-kumbha bhadras* are wanting here.[109] *Narapīṭha* shows scenes from the life of the Jinas. One frieze representing the anointment of the Jina in his father's lap by mortals and divinities and another depicting Nīlāñjanā's dance, including the figure of an ascetic in the company of a female, are of unusual interest. The deities represented on the *kumbha* faces of the *vedībandha* include Sarasvatī, Acchuptā, Ambikā, Vajraśṛṅkhalā etc. The *jaṅghā* supports the *dikpālas* on the prescribed positions in the *karṇa* niches, *apasarases* in *pratiratha* niches and *salilāntaras* and Jīvantasvāmi on the *kapilīs*. The principal niches are empty. Yama and Kubera figures are interesting iconographically. Amongst the *apasarases*, one playing with a ball and the other painting her foot (or extracting a thorn ?) attract our attention in

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particular. The round *bharaṇī* is bedecked with suspended leaf decorations. The *śikhara* is the same as in the preceding example.

The doorframe is more elaborate than that of DK-1 and consists of five bands : *patraśākhā, rūpaśākhā, rūpastambha* a second *rūpaśākhā* and *mālāśākhā.* Female ostiaries are shown on the lower portions of the jambs. The *rūpastambha* and *uttaraṅga* contain, as usual, *vidyādevīs*, the former having four panels on each side displays Prajñapti, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuśī, Cakreśvarī, Nirvāṇī, Acchuptā, Vairoṭyā and an unidentified figure, and the latter, with Jina figure in the centre and four panels flanking the central figure depicts Mahāmānasī, Mahākālī, Rohiṇī, Acchuptā etc. The door sill differs from that of DK-1 in the extreme panels which show Gaṇeśa and Kubera on the proper right and left respectively (*Pl. 23*).

The *mukhacatuṣkī* shows a *grāsapaṭṭikā* over the *chajjikā* and has got uniform pillars depicting finely carved fly-whiskers, fluted shafts and *ghaṭapallava* motifs. The ceiling is of *nābhicchanda* type.

We thus see that this *Devakulikā* bears great resemblance of plan and elevation with the former.

4. *Devakulikā No. 3 (DK-3)*:—Situated south of DK-1, it has got a similar sanctum, *mukhacatuṣkī* and *śikhara* (Pl. 24). *Pañcaratha* on plan and elevation, it shares the sequence of the set of mouldings of the *pīṭha* with the preceding example[110] but the *jāḍyakumbha* here shows more elaborately carved leaves[111] and the *grāsapaṭṭikā* is substituted by a pleasing pattern of bells hanging in the loops formed by wreaths. The *narapīṭha*, as usual, shows *Jina-Kalyāṇakas* and the scene of Neminātha's marriage procession is of singular interest in this case.

The *kumbha* shows heavy ornamentation. A thin band of *grāsapaṭṭikā* with *maṇibandha* 'jewel band' and deeply carved *ardharatna* 'half diamond' on the *pratirathas*, indented *aśoka* leaves at the shoulders and *vidyādevīs* and Heramba elsewhere present a pleasing view. Naradattā, Gaurī Rohiṇī, Mahāmānasī, Vajrāṅkuśī, Vajarśṛṅkhalā and Gāndhārī are represented on the three sides with Heramba occupying the *bhadra* portion of the south wall.

Jaṅghā bears exact resemblance with the preceding DK—*bhadra* niches are vacant, *pratirathas* and *salilāntaras* display *apasarases* and the *karṇas* reveal *dikpāla* figures. Interestingly enough, Vāyu's consort seems to have been represented in a niche of the northern wall. *Vyāla* figures occupy the recessed corners.

The pillars of the porch show *ghaṭapallava* motifs at both the ends of the fluted shaft.[112] The *pīṭha* of the *mukhacatuṣkī* also varies as *chajjikā* is superposed by *ghaṇṭamālā, rājasenaka, vedikā*, trellis and *ghaṭapallava* pillars.[113] The ceiling of the *nābhicchanda* type is supported on the lintels which bear typical diamond and double volute pattern as seen in the porch of the Sun Temple at Modhera.[114]

The five-band doorway (*Pl. 25*) differs from the preceding one only in minutiae. It has got a variant foliate scroll in the *bāhyaśākhā*, has Kubera *Yakṣa* and Aparājitā *Yakṣī* on the extremities of the *udumbara* and harbours Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuśā[115] and Acchuptā, Vairoṭyā, Nirvāṇī and one other

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Yakṣī[116] in the *rūpastambha* panels on the proper right and left hand sides from bottom to top and top to bottom respectively. The *uttaraṅga*, unlike the preceding examples, shows a *lalāṭa-bimba* (the figure on it is not very clear) and nine panels above the central one displaying Pārśvanātha, the extreme ones Heramba and Kubera and the intervening panels, three on either side of Pārśvanātha, *Yakṣīs* like Cakreśvarī, Rohiṇī, Mahāmānasī, Mānavī etc.[117]

The *saṁvaraṇā* with three *rathikās* tops the porch and a *latina śikhara* analogous to the early examples stands above the cells.

Two inscriptions, one each on the inner facets of the doorway, inform that the shrine was renovated on Monday, the ninth of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha, *Saṁvat* 1427 (=A.D. 1370) by a noble Śrī Sāliga and that the *darī* 'trellis' of the *mukhacatuṣkī*, was got constructed by the noble Śrī Devaśrī on the same day.[118]

5. *Devakulikā No. 4 (DK-4)* :—But for the *rājasenaka*, *vedikā* and lattice work which is analogous to that of its parallel DK on the other side (DK-3), it is an exact replica of DK-2 in plan and elevation[119] as well as in all other details (*Pl. 26*). It shows *vidyādevīs* Mahāmānasī, Mānasī, Acchuptā, Vairoṭyā, Mahākālī, Mānavī, Cakreśvarī, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Prajñapti, Rohiṇī and Brahmaśānti *Yakṣa* on the *kumbha* of the *vedībanda*; Sarasvatī and Cakreśvarī on the *Kapilī* parts; Gaṇeśa and Kubera on the *udumbara*; Rohiṇī, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuśī, Vairoṭyā, Acchuptā, Mānasī etc. on *rūpastambha* and Cakreśvarī, Rohiṇī, Mahāmānasī etc. on the *uttaraṅga*.[120] Its *saṁvaraṇā* "is the most perfect example of the kind" displaying a seated Jina figure in its *rathikās* on all the three sides.[121] The sculptural art, however, shows a marked decline. Some broken parts of the images have even been restored, spoiling the inherent grace and beauty.

6. *Devakulikā No. 5 (DK-5)* :—Slightly smaller than the four fanes described above, it differs from them in some of its elevational features[122] (*Pl. 27*). The *bhiṭṭa* over a plain *kharaśilā* shows half-diamond and *ṭhakārikā* decorations. It is followed by an *antarapatra* with diamond motif, a *chajjikā*, plain and narrow *antarapatra*, *jāḍyakumbha*, *karṇikā* and *vasantapaṭṭikā* with simple scroll work. The *vedībandha* comprises a *khuraka*, *kumbha* with bold *ardhapadma* and *ardharatna* motifs, *antarapatra*, plain *kalaśa*, another *antarapatra* and *kapotāli* with usual *caitya* design. The *jaṅghā*, as in other examples, shows Jina images in the *bhadra* niches, *dikpālas* on *karṇas* and *apasarases* on the *pratirathas*. *Vyālas* adorn the *salilāntras* and a standing Sarasvatī each of the *kapilī* face. The principal back niche is occupied by Pārśvanātha to whom the shrine is dedicated. Amongst the *apasarases*, Śucismitā and Putravallabhā attract us in particular. The *kapilī* niche is crowned by a *phāṁsanā* pediment instead of the usual *udgama*. Parts of the *jaṅghā*, porch, *saṁvaraṇā* and *śikhara* are badly damaged but subsequently conserved.

7-8. *Devakulikā Nos. 6-7 (DK-6 & 7)*:—As we have already seen, the back corridor of the MT with its eighth century pillars underwent extensions on the eastern[123] and western flanks later and two *Devakulikās* almost in their centres, with spires stylistically assignable to late eleventh century, were erected.

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We thus see that all the *Devakulikās* are almost exactly alike—*pañcaratha* on plan and elevation and having a *mukhacatuṣkī, tyaṅga Latina ekāṇḍaka śikhara* and differ only in details. They are precious little gems of architecture illustrative of the art and iconography as well as the development of western Indian architectural style.

SACIYA GROUP OF TEMPLES

1. *Saciyā Mātā Temple* (*SMT*) :—Many people know Osian only because of the Saciyā Mātā Temple, the shrine dedicated to Saciyā, the titulary deity of the Osvālas. The fane is located on a hilly eminence to the east of the town[124] (*Pl. I*). A modern stairway leads to the shrine from the foot of the hill through a gigantic entry porch. The stairway is adorned with modern *toraṇas* at intervals and just about half-way up, one has again to pass through the portals of a fortification. A side entry upto this level has also been allowed for those who come by the main road which brings them near this fortification wall (*Pl. 28*). On the proper right hand side of the doorway, one can see a number of inscribed memorial slabs, called *Devalīs,* set up on an improvised platform. Such memorial stones can be seen, one near the main entrance and even on the way up to the fortification wall, studded indiscriminately here and there. The stairs lead further up and one sees once more inscribed pillars, badly damaged and encrusted, and two beautiful female fly-whiskers which must have once adorned an eighth century fane. They stand one on either side, near the inner *pratolī* 'entry porch' of the temple complex which is walled. On one side of the entrance a big statue of Hanumān has been set up and is being worshipped. Further leftward, the corridor has been closed and converted into a store which houses old sculpture—bust of Cāmuṇḍā, Revanta, dancing Gaṇeśa, broken architectural pieces and sculptures, Mahiṣamardinī plaques and a beautiful image of Balarāma studded in the wall and whitewashed. On the right hand side of the corridor, which also shows some old pillars of about the eighth century, one sees, studded in the wall and spoiled by paint, vermilion, whitewash and dust, images of Pārvatī, Varāha, Revanta, Nṛsiṁha, Balarāma etc. Anyway, straight from the entry porch, which too contains the figure of an ostiary and engaged pillars of about the same date, the path leads to the magnificent temple which faces west and consists of a *sāndhāra mūlaprāsāda* 'cella with circumambulatory' and a *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (*Pl. 29*). A shrine dedicated to Sūrya stands jutting the southern flank of the *bhadra* of the cella of SMT and sharing its porch. The southern *bhadra* of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is articulated with the porch of the small sanctuary dedicated to Viṣṇu while two more Viṣṇu chapels are located on the opposite side touching the northern side of the hall (*Fig. X*).

As it stands, the *mūlaprāsāda* of SMT does not show any socle from outside and seems to rise directly from the *adhiṣṭhāna* (*Pl. 30*). That the original shrine stood on a socle seems quite probable, nay, it is certain. The window to the right of the flight of steps leading to the door of the shrine shows the hidden part of the terrace which still preserves the *kapota* with *vasantapaṭṭikā*, a band of scroll work and another *kapota* decorated with *candraśālās*, a plain *kalaśa*, *kumbha* and

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probably *khuraka* also resembling more or less the mouldings of the *jagatī* of HH-2.[125] The original shrine must have thus been co-eval with or perhaps earlier than the latter which possesses both a *jagatī* and a socle. The present *mūlaprāsāda*, however, is about nine and a half metres wide with balconied *bhadras* provided with grille work. Its overall length is about 24 m. The *vedībandha* of the wall shows a plain *khuraka*, *kumbha* adorned with elongated *ardharatna* motifs, an *antarapatra* and a double *kapotāli*; the upper half being adorned with a medial *grāsapaṭṭikā*. The *bhadras* show *rājasenaka*, bedecked only with non-figural designs, *vedikā* with alternate *phalakas* and *stambhikā* pilasters decorated with *ghaṭapallava* and floral designs respectively. The outer faces of the *āsanapaṭṭakas* are adorned with step-roof motifs. The *kakṣāsana* above shows *stambhikā*-bars and *vṛtta*-medallions with floral motifs intervened by vertical bands. The dwarf-pillars supported on the *āsanapaṭṭaka* show *ghaṭapallava* motifs. The balconies are capped by projecting cornice slabs. The existence of the Sun Temple on the southern side obstructed the cornice slabs of the southern *bhadra*. There are no sculptures on the walls. The upper portions of the walls show a decorative band and a bistriated *varaṇḍikā*.

The cella within is about 4m. in width, moulded likewise, and possessing images of Śītalā, Mahiṣamardinī and Cāmuṇḍā in the principal niches of the north, east and south walls respectively. Caṇḍikā and Kṣetrapāla occupy the north-western and south-western *kapilī* niches.[126] All these images on the *jaṅghāghara* 'wall portions' of the *prāsāda*, as we know, were set up by Sādhu (banker ?) Gayapāla in V.S. 1234 (=A.D. 1178) when he renovated the shrine. The art and style of these images, the mouldings of the cella as also the *mūlaprāsāda* conform to the date of Gayapāla's inscription. Another inscription of V.S. 1236 in the southern wall of the circumambulatory refers to Kuṁvara Siṁha, son of Śrī Kelhaṇa Deva, lord of Māṇḍavyapura (Mandor) and the administrator Kīrtipāla in whose district of Upakeśa, the great purchaser of kine Dhārāvarṣa, a devotee of Saṁccikā Devī, dictated this injunction to the government servant Guhila, before the managers of the Saṁccikā Devī (temple) that the Bhojakas would open the portals of the Saṁccikā Devī (temple) for a *prahara*, i.e., three hours and stand at the door. Those more than twelve years of age were to be regarded as one Bhojaka man (*Bhojaka-puruṣa pramāṇa*) and the managers would give the Bhojakas fixed quantity of one *māṇaka*[127] of mūṇg and ten *karṣas*[128] of ghee everyday from the storehouse of the Saccikādevī temple. The original doorway, like all the pillars of the hall, has been concealed under the glass tiles which have been put up by the devout to add to the splendour and beauty of the shrine. The architrave, however, has escaped this decorative endeavour. Bhandarkar, who had seen the doorway before its modern decoration has not unfortunately left any account of it. The *lalāṭabiṁba* is gone but planetary divinities above occupy the nine panels. The sur-lintel shows seven panels, the central one simulating a small chapel but double the size of others. The alternate panels on either side are also adorned with spires. The rest four are recessed panels with *caitya*-pediments. From the proper right hand side of the sanctum, these panels show Kārtikeya with his mount peacock, tricephalous Brahmā, Gaṇeśa, Śiva-Pārvatī in the centre (both haloed), Balarāma

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with a wine up and Revatī with a flask, haloed image of Viṣṇu with his usual attributes in the four hands and an unidentified couple in the last panel. Such display of the deities on the sun-lintel is rare. Unfortunately the figures have been disfigured by paint but the carvings betray their early date. A band with leaf decorations and an *antarapatra* with diamond motifs surmount the sur-lintel.

The beautiful *śikhara* shows two rows of *uraḥ-śṛṅgas* and *Karṇa-śṛṅgas*. The *pratiratha* projections also have small *śṛṅgas*, over which, on either side of the second row of the *uraḥ-śṛṅgas*, are placed panels of sculptures. The *tryaṅga* Śikhara shows *karṇāṇḍakas* embedded at intervals in the *veṇukośa*, above the *karṇa-śṛṅgas* (*Pl. 31*). The *śukanāsa* has a *śūrasena*-mask on its face. In the *rathikā* of the eastern (back) *bhadra* of the *śikhara* Mahiṣamardinī has been shown. Under the *śukanāsa* are two rows of sculptured panels. The upper register depicts Mahiṣamardinī in the centre, Nirṛti and Yama on her right and Varuṇa and Bhairava on the left. The second row displays Gaṇeśa in the centre with Brahmā, Indra and Agni on his right and Viṣṇu, Śiva and Kubera on his left. Over the *karṇa-śṛṅgas* are depicted Gaṇeśa and Śiva in the south-west corner on the southern and western facets respectively, and Śiva on both the facets in north-western corner. Kubera and Gaṇeśa are also depicted on the northern and southern sides of the spire. Since the *tilakas*, *kūṭas* and *kakṣa-kūṭas* came to be regarded as decorative elements of the *śikhara* in the eleventh century,[129] the spire of the Saccikā shrine must have taken quite some time to assume its present form, and as such, it seems to belong sytlistically to the later half of the twelfth century A.D.[130] This date accords well with the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* also. The dome of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* is supported on eight pillars arranged octagonally. These pillars show *kīrtimukhas* on the *bharaṇī* and the *sīrṣa* and carry very exquisitely carved *makara-toraṇas* (*Pl.32*). The pinnacle of the *toraṇa* in each case touches the lower side of the lintel supported on similarly decorated brackets. The sixteen-side portions of the dome show, between the two extreme *rathikās* containing some unidentified figures, beautiful friezes of *karṇadārikā* 'scroll work' with a *kīrtimukha* in the centre, *rūpakaṇṭha* with scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, cornice slabs surmounted by a frieze of swans, scroll work with a *kīrtimukha* in the centre and capped by a stancilled frieze. Here the dome turns thirty-two sided with lintel-face caved with panelled *ratna-motifs*. The structure assumes an almost round shape above and is adorned with bands of fine, metal-like carving, the uppermost register displaying small panelled figures which are difficult to be identified properly. Carved here against the *kola* courses are sixteen *apasarases*[131] standing on large *lumbikās* in beautiful poses dancing or playing on the musical instruments. Miniature *kinnara-kinnarī* figures are carved below their feet. Courses of *gajatālu* follow and the centre of the dome shows a small padma-kesara 'stamenal tube'. The carvings of all the elements of the dome of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* simulate expuisite ivory work and present an extremely pleasant spectacle. The pillars over which the dome stands must have originally been bedecked with contemporary motifs. Bhandarkar dated them "from the 11th century onwards".[132] Since all other pillars have now been covered with glass tiles, nothing more can be said about them except that in certain cases scroll work on the round *kumbhaka* and *kīrtimukhas* on

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the *bharaṇī* can be discerned. An inscription on the pillars of the porch on the extreme right hand side of the shrine, however, provides important evidence regarding the date of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* and the dome. It is dated '*Saṁvat 1247 Aśvi vadi 11*' and informs that 'there lived a *Brāhmaṇa* Kolhaḥ, a devotee of Devī, adept in the *Vedas* and belonging to the Kāśyapa clan. He had three sons named Pātu, Gegaḥ and Nānu who got constructed (*kāritaṁ*) (the pillars consisting of) *kumbhī*, *stambha* and *śīrṣa* parts which (serve to) enhance (the glory of) the temple'. The inscription ends with salutation to the goddess. It can thus be concluded that it was in the last decade of the twelfth century A.D. that the shrine assumed its present form.

There are some other pillars also containing inscriptions. Two pillars,[133] erected near the *prākāra* 'fortification' wall and belonging to some out houses, however, are engraved with almost identical inscriptions recording the gift of her own house, for use as a stable for keeping Mahāvīra's chariot by one *sampūrṇa-śrāvikā*, daughter of Pāhliyā,[134] daughter-in-law of Devacaṁdra and wife of Yaśodhara, made before all the members of the temple committee commended by all her relatives.[135] The chariot referred to in the inscription must have been the golden chariot 'Nardama' which according to Kakkas Sūri's *NJP* (=A.D. 1336), moved round the city once in a year.[136] The above mentioned work also describes in some details as to how a noble Vesaṭa left the town because of his ideological differences with the *goṣṭhikas* (of the MT) and settled at Kirātakūpa, i.e., present Kirāḍū.[137]

The sanctum of the SMT possesses now a black stone image of Mahiṣamardinī, the cult deity, flanked by other images, all placed on a pedestal. The cult-image is draped and profusely decorated with modern jewellery. That it is a late image is evident.[138] The figure to its right also seems to be modern but the other one on its left is an old image of Vaiṣṇavī standing in a dancing pose and holding *padma*, *gadā*, *cakra* and *śaṅkha* in the four hands with Garuḍa in *añjali-mudrā* near her right foot. This image bears close stylistic affinity to two other *mātṛkā* images—those of Aindrī and Vārāhī, now set up in a niche provided for the purpose in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*. These images belong to *circa* eighth century A.D. Other images of about this date are also similarly displayed here and there in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* or elsewhere in the complex. Notable amongst these are the images of Kṣemaṅkarī,[139] Gaja-Lakṣmī, Durgā, Gaṇeśa and a female ostiary. We have already referred to some images of this date in the store house of this temple. The evidence clearly indicates the existence of a shrine here in the eighth century A.D. Slightly later images of Śeṣaśāyī and Mahiṣamardinī can also be seen here. We now turn to other temples in the complex.

2. *Sun Temple No. 3* (*ST-3*):—We have already alluded to this temple as touching the southern *bhadra* of the SMT (*Pl. 33*)[140]. Like the other fanes dedicate to Sūrya below the hill, this shrine too faces west and has a long *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. The square pillars of the porch (which coalesces with that of the SMT) in front of this temple are decorated with *ghaṭapallava* motifs on both ends but the pillars of the

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sabhāmaṇḍapa are plain and bear resemblance with those of the PDT. Obviously the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* was erected later, about the middle of the twelfth century as one of the pillars inscribed on '*Saṁvat 1203 Vaisāṣ(kh)a vadi 5*' indicates. The original shrine may have had only the *mūlaprāsāda* and a small porch in front.

This fane, like all the early shrines below the hill, stands on an elevated *jagatī*, 1.25 m. in height, about 6 m. in width and 7 m. in length, having a flight of steps on the west from the southern side of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the SMT. The terrace can be seen very clearly from the open back side. The *bhiṭṭa* is burried in the subsequently raised floor but the mouldings with *tālapatra* (palmette), *caitya* motif and degenerated acanthus scroll are still very much visible over the plain *kumbha*. Another notable point is that the topmost mouldings of the *jagatī* override the floor behind the Saciyā shrine while the third only partially rises above that. Unlike HH-1 and 2, there are no niches on the faces of the *jagatī*[141] and we don't know if any existed on either side of the flight of steps on the western face which is now covered with marble slabs. The *vedībandha* of this *pañcaratha* shrine shows, interestingly enough, a double *khuraka* with an *antarapatra* followed by *kalaśa* which shows a *tulāpīṭha* having four projecting rafter-ends with conventional *padma* motifs on the *bhadra* portions. Another *antarapatra* follows and is covered by the *kapotāli* having the usual *caitya*—dormer motifs.

The *jaṅghā* carries *rathikās* on the *bhadras* and *karṇas*. The principal niche on the north wall is empty but Sūrya and Gaṇapati adorn the eastern (back) and southern *bhadra* niches. The empty *bhadra* niche on the north probably had an image of Mahiṣamardinī if ST-2, which contains corresponding deities in its principal niches and shows many other similarities can be taken as an index[142]. Ardhanāriśvara and Naṭarāja find representation on the northern wall while the *karṇa-rathikās* on eastern and southern walls contain images of Pārśvanātha and Kubera on the north-east and south-east corners and Agni and Yama on the south-east and south-west corners respectively. Kārtikeya is displayed in the *kapilī* niche and Vāyu on the north-west corner of the western wall. Varuṇa occupies the corresponding niche on the south-west corner. The *kapilī* niche of the southern side is vacant. Besides the main niches, Bhandarkar has referred to Ardhanārīśvara and Pārśva[143] only. We see that out of the eight *dikpālas*, only five—Vāyu, Kubera, Agni, Yama and Varuṇa have been represented. Kubera has been transferred to the south-eastern *karṇa* niche while he generally finds representation on the northern wall. Again, Pārśvanātha does not belong to the otherwise homogenous group of Hindu deities. We have already indicated above that this image may have come here from the Pārśvanātha Temple which the MT originally was. That some other images too may have been brought from elsewhere and placed in the niches of this temple is indicated by their flatly cut haloes so that they may fit in the otherwise smaller niches. Stylistically, however, all the images represent the same idiom and but for the image of Pārśvanātha, they are placed in similar *rathikās* which show pilasters with lotus motifs or floral bands (in the case of *bhadra rathikās*) and belong to the same period. The *rathikā* of Pārśvanātha shows lotus and *ghaṭapallava* motifs on its pilasters. It is possible that at the time

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of some subsequent renovation, Kubera's image may have changed place. The *rathikās* are garnished with *udgamas*, those on the *bhadras* being the largest covering also a part of the decorative band above. Near the top, the *udgamas* on the corner buttresses show full-blown lotus motifs on either side like those of the ST-2. A shallow fillet above carries a *ratna* on the *pratirathas* and *karṇas*. A decorative band with arch-pattern formed by wreaths and flowers completes the wall which is superposed by a *tristara-varaṇḍikā* consisting of three cornices decorated with *candraśālā*, *padmapatra* and again a *candraśālā* motif separated from each other by narrow fillets.

The three-band doorframe is simple but sumptuous (*Pl. 34*). The *udumbara* shows the *kalpavṛkṣa* in the centre flanked on either side by rectangular panels of *aṣṭadala-padma* (eight-petalled lotus), *pūrṇaghaṭa* and *ardhapadma* motifs. The lower portions of the jambs are occupied by Gaṅgā and Yamunā, standing gracefully in triple-flexion postures, each holding a flower by its stalk in one hand. They stand under the canopy of a tree, attended by a male figure holding a lotus in one hand. The river goddesses stand on their respective vehicles. Two miniature figures are also carved near the feet of each goddess. The pedestal shows *padma-dala* motifs. The innermost jamb consists of *nāgabandha* followed by a *mithunaśākhā* showing three alternate panels of loving couples and mythical birds and animals, surmounted on either side by a lady with a mirror. The male on the *mithunaśākhā* panels has got what seems to be a snake hood over the head. The panels give an overall impression that they depict Balarāma and Revatī as some frames show each with one *karṇa-kuṇḍala* (ear-ring). One panel depicts the female as pouring wine from the flask into a cup held by the male figure. Stylistically, these panels show figures which betray Gupta influence. The outer band consists of a fine *mālāśākhā* with a *grāsamukha* in the centre of the upper frieze as if issuing the scroll from its mouth. The *uttraṅga*, as usual, shows anthropomorphic Garuḍa on the *latāṭa-bimba*, holding in his two hands the tails of the entwined snakes. Seven panels above depict seven of the nine planetary divinities, with Rāhu and Ketu missing. The frieze above, corresponding to the *kaṇṭha* of the outer walls, carries Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes which continue on the three lintels supported on the pillars and pilasters of the porch. In reality Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes begin on the western lintel of the porch which displays Kṛṣṇa's birth, transfer to Gokula, Pūtanā-*vadha* and *śakaṭa-bhaṅga*. The scenes continue on the other lintels and represent Govardhana-dhāraṇa, Dhenuka-*vadha*, Kāliya-*mardana*, Keśī-*vadha*, Kuvalayāpīḍa-*vadha*, wrestling scene, Lomaharṣaṇa-*vadha* etc. The ceiling of the porch shows an exquisite and pleasing *nāga-pāśa* pattern with *padma* and *ratna* motifs on the four sides and lotus in the centre representing flute playing Kṛṣṇa and Rādā,[144] encircled by eight semi-anthropomorphic *nāgas* with folded hands (*Pl. 35*).

The pilaster on either side of the adytum shows *ghaṭapallava* and *ardhapadma* motifs on the *kumbhī*, a robust male figure (Ostiary ?)[145] on the shaft (*Pl. 36*) wearing beautiful crown, ear-rings, *ekāvalī*, armlets, sacred thread and undergarment tied with a waist-band, having wings or flame-like decorations behind the head. Above on the proper right is Saṁkarṣaṇa and on the left Vāsudeva, both on Garuḍa.

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The *dvārapālas* are shown with two miniature figures each, a female and a male, and are barefoot. They show Cālukyan influence in their depiction.[146] A beautiful *kīrtimukha* is carved above Saṁkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva. The square pillars of the porch are decorated with elaborate *ghaṭapallava* motifs on both the ends with *kīrtimukhas* on the edges spewing as it were floral wreaths. The round *bharaṇī* bears floral design and the *śīrṣa* is again bedecked with *kīrtimukha*. The two pillars in front are plain and support the roof over the stairs.

The roof of the porch is flat like all other early temples down the hills, the *śukanāsa* shows a lion holding as it were a male, turned to left, with bow in the left hand and arrows (which look like a sword) in the right one. The *caitya*-medallion depicts a massive human face. The spire of the *mūlaprāsāda*, however, reveals interesting features. It is *tryaṅa* and consists of five *bhūmis* with double *veṇukośa*. The *madhyalatā* shows beautiful *caitya* medallions, with halves on either side, and each medallion contains a human face, peeping as it were through the *caitya*-window. The square slab which covers the central and flanking shoots shows in the centre, just above the *madhyalatā*, a grotesque face at the apex of the *caitya*. A massive *āmalasāraka* having a socket for the banner and *kalaśa* complete the spire.

3. *Viṣṇu Temple No. 3 (VT-3)* :—A shrine facing north is located on the proper left of the ST-3 just described. *Pañcaratha* in plan and elevation, it consists of *mūlaprāsāda* and a *mukhacatuṣkī* like the *Devakulikās* in the MT complex (*Pl. 37*).

The *pīṭha* mouldings comprise the *bhiṭṭa, jāḍyakumbha* with *padmapatra* motif, *karṇaka, antarapatra* with *ratna* motif and *chādyakī*. The *kaṭi* has got the usual three components : *vedībandha, jaṅghā* and *varaṇḍikā*. The *vedībandha* consists of a *gajapīṭha*,[147] plain *khuraka, kumbhaka* with groups of dancers and musicians on the projections as well as on *kapilī*, a plain bold *kalaśa*, broad *antarapatra* with diamond motifs and *kapotāli* with *candraśālās*. The *jaṅghā* is adorned with standing images supported on *mañcikās*. Notable is the fact that only the *bhadra* projections show *rathikās*[148] having cornice slabs and triangular pediments whose apex touches the *kapotāli* above. Over other images can be seen a *bharaṇī*, first *kapotāli*, *antarapatra* with *ratna* and *ardharatna* motifs, a second *kapotāli*, another *antarapatra* with *ratna* motifs and *khuracchādya* with *caitya* motif. These five form the *varaṇḍikā*. As far as the images on the *jaṅghā* are concerned, the principal niches on the east, south and west have Varāha, Nṛsiṁha and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa respectively. *Dikpālas* : Īśāna and Indra, Agni and Yama, Nirṛti and Varuṇa occupy the corner niches in their affixed places. The *pratiratha* projections are adorned with *apasaruses* and the *salilāntaras* with *vyālas*, none resembling any other. The *kapilī* portions show Hariharahiraṇyagarbha and Harihara on the east and west sides respectively.

The *triśākhā* doorway is very sumptuous (*Pl. 38*). The *udumbara* show *kalpavṛkṣa* on the *mandāraka* flanked on either side by a *kirtimukha* and a mythical man-avian with a foliated back on the proper right and a similar man-animal with foliated back on the proper left, the latter one somewhat resembling Hanumān. We

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thus see that this feature on the *udumbara* is exactly the same as we saw on the sill of VT-2 in spite of the time gap between the two. The bases of the jambs also show an interesting feature. Here Śaṅkha-*puruṣa* and Cakra-*puruṣa* stand on the proper right and left in beautiful elongate *rathikās* flanked by Gaṅgā and Yamunā towards the door side and female attendants on the outer sides. The outer band is the *patraśākhā* followed by a *mithunaśākhā* consisting of superimposed three panels on either side.[149] *Mālāśākhā* is the innermost band. *Lalāṭa-bimba* shows Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. On either side of the *lalāṭa-bimba* are four panels of which the extreme one on the proper right displays Gaṇeśa, with Vaināyakī on his left lap. Outer panels show the seven mothers in them. The sur-lintel again is interesting. Its extreme right hand side shows Yoga-Nārāyaṇa followed on the left by *navagrahas* while the last panel depicts the eighth *mātṛkā* with child.

The pilaster on the proper right hand side of the door shows Candra with a crescent at his back standing on a pedestal. Above him seems to be a half-roundel with two ascetics worshipping a *Liṅga*. The upper half portion shows a *pūrṇaghaṭa*, rounded *bharaṇī* superposed by a *kīrtimukhas* and floral motif, the *śīrṣa* and *chajjā*. The corresponding side is almost similar but Candra is depicted with a descending node perhaps. Two pillars in front of these pilasters support the lintels which also show beautiful scroll work. The ceiling of the porch is of *kṣipta* type and shows the lotus design. The moon-stone placed outside the porch now was probably shifted to its present place from the doorway at the time of setting marble slabs in the porch. It shows a band of elephants, like that of the *gajathara*, and scroll work over that. The roof of the porch is stepped pyramidal with a massive *āmalaka*, *candrikā* (capstone) and *vījpūraka* (finial). It, however, does not have any *rathikās* like the *Devakulikās* of the MT though the *caitya* mesh is there on the right and left.

The *pañcāṇḍaka* spire with its beautiful fretwork is divided into five *bhūmis*. The *karṇāṇḍakas* flank a *rathikā* encompassing a diamond and half diamonds above the *pratiratha* and a larger *rathikā* bearing the full diamond in the central box and half diamonds in flanking boxes on the central projection. All these niches are surmounted by a series of four progressively enlarging pediments. The *mūlaśṛṅga* as well as the *karṇaśṛṅgas* possess the usual *jāla* decoration. The spire is surmounted by a massive *āmalasāraka*, *candrikā* and *vījapūraka*.

4. *Viṣṇu Temple No. 4* (*VT-4*) :—The chapel on the opposite side of the shrine described above almost resembles the latter, with a few more developed elements of course. The *pīṭha* stands on four *bhiṭṭas* which show *ardharatna* on No. 1; *candraśālā* flanked by *ardharatna* on the *bhadra*, another *ardharatna* on *pratiratha* and *ardhapadma* on *karṇa* projections and the *kapilī* on No. 2; plain *karṇaka*-like moulding as No. 3 capped by a *chādyakī*-like cover with *candraśālā* and its half motifs on No. 4. *Pīṭha* comprises the *jāḍyakumbha* with *candraśālā* on the *bhadra* followed by *karṇaka*, *antarapatra*, *chādyakī*, *grāsapaṭṭi*, *gajathara and narathara*.

The *kaṭi* shows the usual three divisions of *vedībandha*, *jaṅghā* and *varaṇḍikā* which all represent more developed forms than in the preceding temple. Though

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essentially the same, the *vedībandha* mouldings here show not only dancers and musicians on the *kumbhaka* but also some amorous scenes, *raticitras*. The *mañcikā* of the *jaṅghā* is more elaborate and all the *rathikās* are pillared niches containing images of Trivikrama, Varāha and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa in the western, northern and eastern *bhadra* niches; Nirṛti and Varuṇa on west, Vāyu and Kubera on north and Īśāna and Indra on east wall occupying their fixed corners. *Apasarases* are represented on the juxta-buttresses. Fully adorned male figures, some with beards[150] and *śrīvastsa* mark on their chest, and some females occupy the *salilāntaras*. The *kapilī* portions on the west and east show Umā-Maheśvara and Hariharahiraṇyagarbha images respectively.

The pedestals of the images show *ardharatna* in the centre flanked by half *candraśālā* motifs. The pillars of the *rathikās* are divided into three parts.[151] The *kumbhī* is adorned with *ardharatna* motif as also the lower shafts, their upper half being bedecked with looped and pendant wreath motifs. The *bharaṇī* is of the shape of an inverted bell and the square *śīrṣa* is garnished with *ardharatna* and *patra* designs. The *rathikās* are capped by *udgamas*. The pediments of the principal niches are triangular with small pillared panels showing Gaṇeśa, Devī and Kubera carved in them on the western, northern and eastern sides respectively. The *udgamas* of the *rathikās* of the *kapilīs* are flanked by miniature *kūṭakas*. The *salilāntaras* are topped by *kīrtimukhas*.

The *veṇukośa* shows the usual caitya-motif on the *kapotāli* and *ratna* design on the *antarapatra* below the projecting cornice slabs.

The length of the shrine proper is 3.54 m. with a porch appended to it in front measuring 4.10 m. The short walls of the porch are made of a *rājasenaka* with diamond design, *vedikā* with alternate *phalakas* and *stambhikās* and *kakṣāsana* with usual floral decorations. The dwarf pillars supported by the *āsana-paṭṭaka* show *caitya*, *ardhapadma*, *pūrṇaghaṭa*, floral and *kīrtimukha* decorations on their various parts. Projecting cornice slabs and stepped pyramidal roof above are the other important parts of this porch. The ceiling (*Pl. 39*) is of *kṣipta* type showing *karṇadardarikā* decorated with floral design, followed by *grāsapaṭṭikā* and *rūpakaṇṭha*, the latter displaying deities like Gaṇeśa, Viṣṇu, Śiva etc., Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* and other mythological scenes. Four *kola* courses are then followed by a *gajatālu*, another *dardarikā*, a course of *gajatālu* again with four *grāsamukhas* alternating with *ardhapadmas* in a circle and finally a lotus in the centre. Eight brackets carry four or more armed male deities. The porch does not share the *vedībandha* mouldings of the *mūlaprāsāda* and stands above the *jāḍyakumbha* moulding. The *antarāla* has been left open probably to admit light and air. On the stairs of the porch stand beautiful images of Vaiṣṇava ostiaries holding *gadā* and *padma* and *śaṅkha* and *cakra* respectively on the proper right and left sides.

The door opening of the *mūlaprāsāda* is 65 × 140 cm. The *udumbara* shows *mandāraka* depicting the *kalpavṛkṣa*, flanked on either side by a *kīrtimukha*. Gaṇeśa and Kubera are shown on the proper right and left extremities in *rathikās* which have two projections on either side displaying female dancing figures. The

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pedyā consists of the *bāhayaśākhā* as *patraśākhā* followed by *rūpaśākhā, mithunaśākhā* a second *rūpaśākhā* and *mālāśākhā*. The base portions depict *āyudhapuruṣas* as doorkeepers, placed in beautiful pillared niches, each with two devotees and attendants. The *mithunaśākhā* shows four panels on either side depicting sequentially some story culminating ultimately in copulation. This is an interesting feature as it is not only on the outer walls of the temple that amorous scenes are shown but on the doorway of the adytum itself has copulation been depicted. The *rūpaśākhās* show damsels carrying food. The *lalāṭa-bimba* displays four celestial figures of which the central two are shown in profile as holding a crown. Immediately above and occupying the *rathikā* on the lintel is standing quadrumanous Viṣṇu with *āyudha-puruṣas* flanked by food-carrying damsels. The extreme *rathikās* are similar to the central one and harbour Brahmā and Śiva on right and left. The intermediary space shows pillared *rathikās* flanked by a recessed panel on either side. From the proper right, the deities displayed consecutively are (i) Sūrya, (ii) Soma and Maṅgala, (iii) Budha and Bṛhaspati, (iv) Viṣṇu in the centre as described above, (v) Śukra and Śani, (vi) Āśvins and (vii) Rāhu and Ketu.[152] The depiction of Āśvins on the lintel is indicative of the ingenuity of the artist to keep perfect symmetry on either side of the central *rathikā*.

5. *Viṣṇu Temple No. 5. (VT-5)* :— Just adjacent to the preceding shrine on its west is another similar chapel, also dedicated to Viṣṇu. Its *mūlaprāsāda* is slightly bigger than the former. But for some differences of details, it seems to be exactly alike the preceding example.

The *pīṭha* (*Pl. 40*) does not show any difference. The *narathara* shows beautiful detailed friezes of scenes of battles, dances, students learning at the feet of their preceptor, devotees worshipping Śiva-*liṅga*, musicians playing on different musical instruments, ascetics, Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*, scenes, *Rāmāyaṇa* anecdotes, *Samudramanthana*, amorous scenes etc. The *kumbhaka* differs from the preceding example in having slightly projecting niched figures on the *bhadra, karṇa* and *kapilī* portions and stencilled *ardharatna* motif on *pratiratha* projections. The *kumbhaka-rathikās* contain clockwise from the south-west corner images of Kubera and Gaṇeśa followed by *mātṛkās*. The *jaṅghā* and the sculptures on it, the *varaṇḍikā*, the *śikhara*, the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, its ceiling and roof and the ostiaries on the outer pillars do not show any difference from the preceding chapel.

The doorway, measuring 66 × 141 cm., though similar basically, shows some differences in details. The *udumbara* reveals the same order of Gaṇeśa and Kubera at the proper right and left extremities, *mandāraka* with *kalpavṛkṣa* in the centre flanked by a *kīrtimukha*. The female figures attendant upon the two deities, however, vary. Gaṇeśa has dancer tying an anklet carved on a projection of the *rathikā* while the corresponding one with Kubera is that of a mother with a child climbing over her knee. The jambs show *āyudha-puruṣas* as ostiaries at the bases and different forms of Viṣṇu in the panels which substitute *mithunaśākhā*. The lintel (*Pl. 41*) varies slightly in depicting Sūrya, Budha and Bṛhaspati, individually and Soma and Maṅgala, Śukra and Śani and Rāhu and Ketu jointly. The Āśvins are missing here.

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We thus see that it is only in minutiae that this shrine differs from VT-4. More elaborations, niched panels of the *kumbhaka*, detailed and different scenes depicted on the *narathara* are, however, the features which indicate further development and subsequent chronological position for it as compared to the adjacent shrine.

6. *Satya Nārāyaṇa Temple* :—The present Satya Nārāyaṇa Temple near the SMT complex (partially visible in Pl. 28) is actually an old temple standing on a high terrace. It has, however, been renovated and substantially changed. It faces west. The porch in front of the sanctum shows *kīrtimukhas* on the brackets of pillars and pilasters. Only the principal niches of the walls remain uncovered by modern marble encasing and show Nṛsiṁha, Varāha and Trivikrama, in *pradakṣiṇā* order. The extant roof indicates that the spire may have been pyramidical originally. The doorway is covered by modern tile-work but the river-goddesses with male attendants. Viṣṇu on the *lalāṭa-bimba* with tricephalous Brahmā on the extreme right and Śiva on the other side can still be seen. The sill shows diaper design with *ghaṭa-pallava* on the corners. Exposed portions of the pillars of the porch show Gaṇeśa and Kubera. Architecturally, it should go with the early temples at Osian.

7. *Bhandarkar's Temple No. 5* :—We had the occasion to refer to the existence of a temple (Bhandarkar's No. 5) near Rāmadevaḍā Temple, i.e., VT-1. Bhandarkar did not describe it as even at that time it was "well-nigh a wreck".[153] Now no traces of this temple are left and like it many other fanes which must have existed at Osian once are lost for ever.

8-12. *Small Temples* :—To the south of VT-1, close by the road, is a group of four small temples, (*Pl. 42*), two facing towards north and two facing east, posited side by side (*Fig. XI*). Of these, only one, which faces the north and is located to the west of the other, is of some significance. It stands on a slight podium and has a small porch attached to the *mūlaprāsāda*. It has got plain *vedībandha* mouldings and only three niches carved in the centre of the walls. Images of Gaṇeśa, Devī on lion and Kubera occupy the niches of the eastern, southern and western walls respectively. The spire it *dvyaṇḍa*, crowned by a massive *āmalasāraka*. The finial is missing. Plain doorway shows Gaṇeśa on the *lalāṭa-bimba*. The porch has *rucaka* 'square' pillars with full-blossomed lotus and *ghaṭapallava* motifs. *Śukanāsa* is gone. It seems to have been a Devī temple. The other shrine on its east is a small square plain fane now surrounded by thickets.

The southern temple of the two facing east is *triratha* on plan and elevation. The image on the southern wall is not clear but those of the western and northern walls are of Gaṇeśa and Umā-Maheśvara. Niches exist only on the cardinal offsets. The original spire may have been pyramidal. The adjacent fane, too, is *triratha* on plan and elevation but nothing is clear as regard the images.

A small shrine exists at a distance of about fifty feet west of the two just described. It faces west and has a small portico in front. But for a small image of Gaṇeśa on the lintel, the doorway and the walls are plain.

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These small shrines seems to have been erected in *circa* tenth century A.D. when the building activity on the Jainas was at its highest.

PECULIARITIES

From the foregoing description it is evident that all the temples do not conform to a uniform architectural style. The early temples almost invariably, stood on terraces, later shrines stood on socles with a particular order of mouldings and lastly there are fanes whose halls and spires indicate a still later date. Stylistically, therefore, these shrines can be divided into early, middle and late groups, each having its typical characteristic features which are enumerated below.

A. *Early Group* : As has been pointed out above, the most characteristic feature of the early group of temples at Osian is that they stand on a terrace or a socle which simulates a terrace.[154] In this group are to be included all the individual temples and the original MT below the hill (with the exception, of course, of Śiva temple No. 2)[155] the original SMT and ST-3. Their stylistic peculiarities are given below :

1. The terrace may be a plain plinth or more commonly decorated with some mouldings on its upper part. The characteristic mouldings are *vasantarpaṭṭikā*, *kapota* with *caitya* motif, scroll band with foliated figures or *tālapatra* design. The basement in most instances is plain but in the case of HH-1 and 2 and ST-1, it shows niches on either side of the flight of steps and on other sides.
2. The temple may face any cardinal direction except south. HH-1 and 2, VT-1, original SMT and all the three Sun temples face west; HH-3 and VT-2 face east and PDT and MT face north.
3. The temple may have only a *prāggrīva* or small porch and/or an open *raṅgamaṇḍapa* with or without a porch. The *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, wherever provided, shows *āsanapaṭṭakas* with *kakṣāsanas*. Some examples show *gajamuṇḍas* on the external faces of the dwarf pillars placed on the *āsanapaṭṭakas*.
4. The *mūlaprāsāda* invariably stands on stylobates with plain *khuraka*, *kumbhaka* and *kalaśa*, the last moulding showing four or five projecting rafter ends with floral or figural motifs on the *bhadra* pojections or two each on the juxta-buttresses. *Kapotāli* with *caitya* motif is the essential uppermost moulding of the *vedībandha*.
5. The *mūlaprāsāda* invariably is of *pañcaratha* type.
6. All fanes show in the principal niches deities representing or associated with the *mūlanāyaka* (cult image), dikpālas on the corners and other deities of the pantheon or *apasarases* on the juxta buttresses.
7. The *rathikās* are decorated with *udgamas* the fret of which is made up of small *induśālikās* with grooved and chamfered border.
8. The upper portions of the *jaṅghā* show *ghaṇṭamālā*, *ardhapadma-mālikā*, *grāsapaṭṭikā* or festoon bands.

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9. The *dvistara-varaṇḍikā* comprises between the two cornices a broad *kaṇṭha* showing Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes, *grāsamukhas*, *tālapatras*, *padmapatras* or small panels of *padma* motif alternating with chequered designs.
10. No temple has the covered *andhārikā* (circumambulatory). Where there are *raṅgamaṇḍapas* attached to the cells, the rear ends of the former are left open to permit circumambulation of the *mūlaprāsāda* from the *maṇḍapa* itself.
11. The *udumbara* shows *kalpavṛkṣa* on the *mandāraka* in general, flanked on either side by *grāsamukhas*, *ghaṭapallavas*, *pūrṇaghaṭas*, lions, elephants, birds, mythical figures or *padma* motifs. ST-2 and PDT, however, have a *pūrṇaghaṭa* and a *grāsamukha* respectively substituting the *kalpavṛkṣa*.
12. Gaṅgā and Yamunā are invariably shown on the proper right and left sides of the doorway, at the base of the jambs. They may be accompanied by one or more male/female attendants.
13. The *lalāṭa-bimba* shows Garuḍa in human form, generally holding the tails of the entwined snakes. Viṣṇu is depicted as riding the Garuḍa or in the panel above.
14. The *uttaraṅga* invariably shows the planetary divinities.[156]
15. The doorframes comprise three to six bands consisting of *patraśākhā*, *rūpastambha*, *mithunaśākhā*, *nāgaśākhā*, *mālāśākhā*, fret work, floral band etc.
16. The dwarf pillars resting on the *āsanapaṭṭakas* in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, wherever provided, are of the *rucaka* or *ghaṭapallava* type.
17. The pillars show variety. They are either of *rucaka* or *bhadraka* type showing, besides others, *ghaṭapallava* motif.
18. The pilasters depict beautiful damsels or male ostiaries, adorned on the upper portions with *ghaṭapallava*, *pūrṇaghaṭa*, *padma/ardhapadma* and *grāsamukha* motifs.
19. The *vitānas* of the *antarāla* or *mukhacatuṣkī* are either *samatala* or *utkṣipta*, generally bedecked with full-blown lotus or *nāgapāśa* motif.
20. The roofs of the porches do not have any superstructures like the Khajuraho or Orissa temples.
21. The spire is invariably *Latina*, *ekāṇḍaka*, *tryaṅga*, having a single or double *veṇukośa* and more than five *bhūmis*.

These characteristic features agree well with other contemporary temples in Rajasthan, and may all well be taken to represent the Rajasthani style.[157] Dhaky has made an expert study of the regional variations, stylistic peculiarities and architectural trends of Rajasthani and Gujarati temples of the medieval period in a wider context and has named the idiom as Māha-Māru style.[158] All the temples belonging to the Early Group described above correspond to Dhaky's early phase of Mahā-Māru style, the chronological limits of which he fixes between A.D. 725 and 825.[159]

Though Śiva Temple No. 2 at Osian does not share all the characteristics enumerated above, yet it shares quite a few of them and may be classed along with

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the temples of this group. It may, however, be ascribed to the later part of the early phase of the Mahā-Māru style.[160]

B. *Middle Group* : Our Middle Group consists of the *Devakulikās* in the Mahāvīra and Saciyā complexes. They all stand on socles and betray other common characteristics which, according to Dhaky,[161] are the diagnostic features of what he calls the Māru-Gurjara style that came into existence as a result of the fusion of the Mahā-Māru and Mahā-Gurjara style which had reached the utmost possibilities of their virginal development by A.D. 975 and could no longer maintain their virginal purity thereafter.[162] The characteristic features of these fanes as they exist at Osian are as follow :

1. They stand on socles and not terraces.
2. They consist of two structural parts, the *mūlaprāsāda* and the *mukhacatuṣkī* or *prāggrīva* connected with each other by a *kolikā* or *kapilā* 'buffer wall'.
3. They are all *nirandhāra* temples.
4. In the case of Jaina *Devakulikās*, we find that they face either east or west but the *Devakulikās* in the Saciyā complex face either north or south. These directions, as far as Osian examples are concerned seem however more to be contingent upon circumstances and the position of the main shrine of the complex than any other criterion.[163]
5. All shrines are *tryaṅga*, i.e., *pañcaratha* on plan and elevation.
6. The *pīṭha* shows consecutive mouldings of *bhiṭṭas, jāḍyakumbha, karṇaka, antarapatra, chādyakī, grāsapaṭṭi* in some cases, *gajapīṭha* and *narapīṭha*, showing minor differences of details in different fanes.
7. The *vedībandha* invariably consists of a *khuraka*; *kumbhaka*, either plain and having groups of dancers, musicians or erotic scenes[164] or ornamented with niched figures; plain *kalaśa*; *antarapatra* and *kapotāli* with usual *caitya* motifs.
8. The *rathikās* on the *jaṅghā* have a *mañcikā* support and are crowned by *udgamas*, the apex of which projects across a *grāsapaṭṭi* (not seen in some examples). A *bharaṇī, kapotāli, antarapatra* and *khuracchādya* complete the *kaṭi* portion above.
9. The deities represented on the *bhadra, pratiratha* and *karṇa* niches show a correspondence with those of the preceding group. The *salilāntaras* show *apasarases*, ascetics, *vyālas* or some other figures.
10. The porches in some cases have seat-slabs with sloping balustrades. The Jaina *Devakulikās* show exquisitely carved screen walls.
11. The ceilings of the porches are *samatala* or *kṣipta or utkṣipta* and the roof pyramidal.
12. The *mandāraka* on the *udumbara* is always flanked by a *grāsamukha*. Gaṇeśa and Kubera or mythical figures occupying extreme *rathikās* on the proper right and left are also common to both the Hindu and Jaina *Devakulikās*. The latter sometimes show *Yakṣīs* or *vidyādevīs* also on the extremities of the *udumbara*.

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13. The base of the *pedyā* shows a male or female ostiary.[165] In the Hindu shrines, however, the doorkeeper is an *āyudha-puruṣa* invariably.
14. The central jambs of the doorway displays Jaina *Yakṣīs* or *vidyādevīs* in Jaina shrines and an amorous couple or different forms of Viṣṇu on Hindu fanes.
15. The *uttaraṅga* depicts a Jina or Viṣṇu on Garuḍa on the *lalāṭa-bimba* and *vidyādevīs* or planetary divinities[166]/*sapta-mātṛkās* on the Jaina and Hindu sanctuaries respectively.
16. The *bhadra* niches on the balconies show deities intimately related to the main cult and image.
17. The spire is either *ekāṇḍaka* or has *kakṣa-kūṭakas* (a later feature) and four or five *bhūmis* in a single *veṇukośa*.

MT may have belonged to this group in the tenth century A.D. The shrine, dedicated to Pārśvanātha as we have seen above, probably was *sāndhāra* with a closed hall (*gūḍhamaṇḍapa*), open porch and entrance in front. A *nālamaṇḍapa* (*valānaka*) was also attached to it.

C. *Late Group* : Our Late Group comprises only the Saciyā and Mahāvīra shrines as they stand now, showing renovations, additions and alterations which they have undergone in the subsequent periods. The spires of the two sanctuaries in particular show *uraḥśṛṅgas*, *karṇaśṛṅgas*, *karṇakūṭakas*, *karmaśṛṅgas*, *gavākṣas* etc. indicating their construction during the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. making use of old materials.

CHRONOLOGY

Osian temples have generally been dated by scholars between the eighth and twelfth centuries A.D.[167] Bhandarkar classified them under three heads : (i) temples belonging to 8th and 9th centuries, (ii) temples erected in the 11th century, and (iii) temples built or rather rebuilt in the 13th century.[168] On a stylistic comparison of the temples below the hill at Osian with those at Eran, Paṭhārī, Chittorgarh, Āṁvāṁ and Jhālrāpāṭan, he found them as belonging to the earliest group. Even amongst these, he saw "By far the best and earliest pillars found at Osia" in the porch of the Jaina Temple which, on the evidence of the *Praśasti* of V.S.1013, Bhandarkar believed to have been built during the reign of the Pratihāra ruler Vatsarāja during the last quarter of the eighth century. That a temple existed here at that time is also borne out by the socle, the ceiling, latticed windows of the transepts, some sculptures and other members of the temple also.[169] So it is now almost universally accepted that the MT originally belongs to the last quarter of the eighth century. Though Bhandarkar did not clearly spell out the examples of 11th century and later fanes, yet it is evident that what he meant was the subsidiary shrines in the Mahāvīra and Saciyā complexes and the additions made to the main temples of these complexes. The original dates and chronology of the different shrines has, however, still not been worked out satisfactorily.

Traditions aver that before the erection of the MT, a shrine dedicated to a ferocious female deity, later called Saccikā existed at Osian. Though the present

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SMT is a late structure, yet, as we have seen above, its foundations and the remnants of the terrace now hidden under the plinth indicate an early date for the original shrine, anterior to that of the MT. This is further corroborated by the existence of the ST-3 whose topmost mouldings of the terrace override the platform of the SMT. ST-3 also belongs to the early group of temples. Its modest dimensions, small stylobates, simple plan, cornice slabs, simple *udumbara*, three-band doorway, depiction of damsels looking into the mirror on the sides of the *navagraha* panels on the *uttaraṅga*, Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes in the porch rather than on the *kaṇṭha* outside, the pillars and pilasters, spire, the Cālukyan impact on its imagery and above all the sculptures adorning it render it to be the earliest example of the extant shrines of the early group, assignable to early eighth century. ST-2 shares some of the peculiarities of this temple but being more elaborate in plan, elevation and other elements, should be placed slightly later. The MT *Praśasti* of V.S.1013, erroneously interpreted by Bhandarkar as referring to the construction of the MT during the reign of Vatsarāja Pratihāra actually refers to the existence of this temple. We quote the relevant portion of the inscription which says "*Tadvaṁśe sa vaśī vaśīkṛta-ripuḥ Śrī-Vatsarājo'bhavat kīrttiryyasya tuṣāra-hāra-vimalā . . . . sametametat prathitaṃ pṛthivyāmukeśa nāmāsti puraṁ grīyaḥ //9//* [A] *saṁkrāṁtaṁ paraiḥ . . . miva Śrīmatpālitaṁ yanmahībhujā/ tasyāntas=Tapaneśvarasya bhavanaṁ vibhṛadbhṛśaṃ śubhratāmabhraspṛdmṛgarāja-kuṁjara-yutaṁ sadvaijayantīlatām/kiṁ kūṭaṁ hima. . . . //10//*" The *Tapaneśvarasya-bhavana* 'Sun Temple' can be none other than ST-2. Verse 14 of this very inscription refers to the construction of a glorious hall in the St. "*Satyaṁ manye yaduditatamito vāvādītsamantātso'. . . yaṁ bhayaḥ prakaṭa-mahimā maṇḍapaḥ kārito'tra //14//*". Verse 15 praises the person who constructed the hall and the next verse refers to his son Jindaka : "*Putrastasyābhavatsaumyo vanig=Jindaka-saṁjñitaḥ*". The following verses refer to Jindaka's wife who was inclined towards Jainism "*Jinendradharmaprati-yukta*". Probably Jindaka got created an image by Durgā in the temple (constucted by her ?) : "*Tatra Vrahmā* [*dau*] *svarggaṁ samprāpte tanmahilayā/ Durggayā pratimākāri* [*sa*] . . *tra-dhāmani //22//*". It is in verse 28 that the Jaina Temple got erected by Jindaka is referred to ". . . *tadu tatra* [?] *tatkṛto' ya* [*ma*]*nena Jinadeva-dhāma tatkāritaṁ punaramuṣya* [*bhūṣaṇaṁ*]/". Then follows the date V.S.1013. Thus there remains little doubt regarding the existence of a Sun Temple at Osian during the reign of Vatsarāja Pratihāra and that a hall was added to it by Jindaka's father. We have already noted the fact that the hall and spire of the ST-2 belong to the tenth century. There is thus architectural, iconographic and epigraphic evidence to assign the original ST-2 to the third quarter of the eight century A.D. Dhaky also assigns it to about A.D. 775.[170]

The three Hari-Hara temples also belong to the early group. The first two are quincunx on plan and show the same number and order of sculptures not only on the walls of the sanctum but also on the basement. One, however, misses the beautiful maiden rinsing her wet plaits standing gracefully as depicted on the pilasters of HH-1 on those of HH-2. The rectangular porch of the former assumes a square shape in the latter. The higher plinth, more decorations on the

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basement, addition of a *raṅgamaṇḍapa* with aisles, covered staires, increase in the number of flutings from 8 to 12 on the pillars and iconography, however, show some development and a slightly later date for HH-2 than HH-1. These temples may be assigned to *c.* A.D. 750 and 760. Almost coeval with HH-2 are the ST-2, VT-1 and ST-1 all of which seem to have been erected between A.D. 760 and 775. The plan, decorations, pillars, doorway, sculptures and roof of HH-3 show further development. The congruence of its wagon-vault roof with that of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of the MT shows their contemporaneity. So these temples may be placed in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.

Śiva Temple No. 2 and other small fanes with *dvayaṅga* spires and niches sunk only on the cardinal offsets may have followed soon towards the close of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. A comparison of the remaining two temples of this group, i.e., PTD and VT-2, shows the precedence of the former. PDT displays a variety of pillars ranging from the plain unfinished examples to massive and profusely carved ones. The recessed pillars and pilasters of this temple were assigned "to the beginning of the 10th century" or a little earlier by Bhandarkar.[171] Brown has compared these pillars with those of another temple, the Jāgeśwara at Saladi in the former Jodhpur State, known to have been built towards the close of the tenth century A.D.[172] A comparison between the recessed and profusely carved pillars of this temple and the HH-3 would, however, convince anyone of the continuity of tradition and a date not far removed from that of the latter. This is further corroborated by "the palaeography of an inscription engraved on the Pipladevi Temple" assignable to the eighth century.[173] Since the said inscription is not specifically dated, we would allow a gap of some thirty to forty years and assign PDT to the second quarter of the ninth century, a date which we think corresponds with the iconography and other architectural details of the temple. VT-2 may have been erected some decades later as it shows a marked change in the iconographical features of the deities which are now invariably quadrumanous.

Viennot has made a stylistic study of the temples of central and western India, and on the bases of *gavākṣas, śukanāsas, jaṅghās, devagoṣṭhas* (niches), *bhiṭṭistambhās* (pilasters), *bandhanā* (garlands) etc. she proposes the following sequence : HH-1 (her Period IV), Temple No. 4, i.e., VT-1 (intermediary between Period IV and V), Temple Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7 and 8, i.e., HH-2 and 3, a wreck, ST-1 and Śiva Temple No. 2 (Period V), PDT (Period VI) and No. 7, i.e.. ST-2 and VT-2 (Period VII). We have, however explained above the reasons for different chronological sequence adopted by us regarding these temples.

Regarding MT, Bhandarkar has observed that "The temple is, like most ancient Jain temples, enclosed both at the sides and the back by a row of subsidiary shrines, which, to judge from their style, are not contemporaneous with the temple but belong to tenth century. They were probably constructed at the time when the *nal* maṇḍapa was repaired by Jindaka".[174] But on the basis of a detailed style-critical analysis, seconded, wherever known by epigraphic evidences, Dhaky has shown that "The *jagatī* with its eastern Ubhayamukhī, Mukhacatuṣkī, the Valānaka, the

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Main Temple with the Mukhamaṇḍapa, and the southern part of the Bhramantikā were built at one time; that is when Vatsarāja Pratihāra ruled according to Jindaka's inscription. All these structures follow the Mahā-Māru style in its virginal purity. They are the oldest in this complex".[175] Dhaky, too, has followed Bhandarkar in his interpretation of the *Praśasti* of V.S. 1013. We have, however, set forth our views above in this connection and would assign these structures to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D., agreeing in general to what Dhaky has observed on the basis of style.

As regard the *Devakulikās* in the MT complex DK-5 near the eastern wall shows a few late Mahā-Māru features like the fretwork of the spire but belongs predominantly to the Mahā-Gurjara style. It thus, seems to have been the earliest in the group.[176] It may have been the '*Jinadeva-dhāma*' constructed by Jindaka in A.D.956. DK-1 shows figural and decorative resemblance with the *toraṇa* which was set up in V.S. 1035 (= A.D. 978). In this DK we can see early Māru-Garjara style. DK-2 in the same style seems to have been built soon after. The podium, pillars, *udumbara*, rather the whole facade of DK-2 and 4 look almost the same. Its screen wall, however, is remarkable for its exquisite ornamentation but the walls show poor craftsmanship in the execution of the sculptures. Some of the images seem to have been tampred with and restored giving a bad look. Architecturally, however, this DK presents a more developed example of the Māru-Gurjara style than its neighbouring shrine and can therefore be ascribed to the first quarter of the eleventh century. DK-3 shows more elaborate carvings and may have been erected a generation afterwards. In terms of absolute dates, we may assign these subsidiary shrines to *c.* A.D.956 (DK-5), A.D. 978 (DK-1), A.D.1000 (DK-2), A.D.1020 (DK-4) and A.D.1050 (DK-3). The *bhramantikā* on the east and west must have been extended subsequently, sometimes in the third quarter of the eleventh century A.D. which must also be the date of DK-6 and 7 embedded therein.

As far as the subsidiary shrines in the Saciyā complex are concerned, VT-3 represents the transitional phase from the Mahā-Māru to Māru-Gurjara style and can therefore be assigned to the third quarter of the tenth century. VT-4 reveals the developed Māru-Gurjara style and should be placed around the turn of the century. VT-5 may have been built a decade or so later.

Lastly we come to the late structures of the Saciyā and Mahāvīra complexes. As is well known, the present Saciyā shrine was renovated in V.S.1234 (= A.D. 1177). An inscription on one of the pillars gives us the date V.S.1247 (=A.D. 1190). So it is evident that the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* with its metal-like carvings and the elaborate spire with its many turrets must have been completed by the end of the twelfth century A.D. The spire of the MT too seems to have been erected sometime in the same century.

We thus see that Osian temples present some landmarks in the history of temple architecture, of the Mahā-Māru and Mahā-Gurjara styles in particular.

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They are remarkable for their variety as no two temples are exactly alike in all their minutiae. Their pillars, decorative motifs, iconography etc. present a rich treasure of artistry during half a millennium years of their history.

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1. James Burgess, *Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures Of India*, Vol. II, London, 1897, p. 43, Pls. 309-10; *Bh.*, p. 109, Pl. XLIV, a; G.S. Ghurye, *Rajput Architecture*, Bombay, 1968, pp. 11-12. Asha Kalia has also described the temples of Osian in her recently published book, *Art of Osian Temples*, New Delhi, 1982 (henceforth *AOT*), pp. 1-11 & Photographs 1-8. Her account, however, is borrowed and contains certain inaccuracies.
2. Some architectural pieces, for example can be seen utilized in Satya Nārāyaṇa temple near the Saciyā shrine itself.
3. Quite a few sculptures and other remains from Osian are now on display in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur and Mandor Museum.
4. *Bh.*, pp. 101 ff.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 101, Pl. XXXVII.
6. Odette Viennot, *Temples De L'Inde Centrale Et Occidentale*, Paris, 1976 (Viennot), Tome II, Pl. XXV, Ph. 108.
7. Bhandarkar (p. 102) recognised the bird as peacock.
8. The corresponding niche on HH-2 shows Viṣṇu.
9. *Bh.* (*loc. cit.*) refers to the third band as 'divided into five panels each filled with a pair of lovers'. The topmost panel does not show a pair but a dancing female figure. See Viennot, Pl. XXV, Ph. 110, for illustration and comparison.
10. Bhandarkar missed these figures.
11. Not a dancing female as noted by Bhandarkar.
12. Bhandarkar had seen placed on the dais "The upper part of a *toraṇa* or ornamental arch with the image of Śeshaśāyī-Nārāyaṇa in the centre". According to him "This sculpture was certainly not originally there, but must have formed part of the front of the spire of some subsidiary shrine".
13. *Bh.*, p. 102.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
15. *Bh.*, Pl. XXXVIII, a; Viennot, Ph. XXVI, Ph. 111-113.
16. *EW*, Vol. 19, Nos. 3-4. Fig. 14.
17. *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XL, Nos. 1 & 2 (*RL*), p. 96, Pl. II.
18. *Bh.*, Pl. XXXVII, b; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Periods), Bombay, 1959, Pl. XCVIII, Fig. 2; Viennot, Pl. XXXII, Ph. 137.
19. Viennot, Pl. XXXII, Ph. 138.
20. *Ibid.*, Pl. 139; *Bh.*, Pl. XXXVIII, b.
21. When Bhandarkar visited Osian, he saw that "The roof of the hall as well as that of the porch is gone; and also the parapet wall and short pillars on the north have disappeared". Subsequently, however, the temple, like many others, has been conserved.
22. *Bh.*, p. 104. This subsidiary shrine with its walls has also been illustrated by Brown (*loc. cit,*). Now only the socle remains and the walls are gone. See Viennot, Pl. XXXII, Ph. 137.
23. *Bh.*, Pl. XXXIX; Viennot, Pl. XXXIII, Ph. 141.
24. *Bh.*, p. 104.
25. Similar decorative band exists on the walls of Śiva Temple, Buchkala (*c.* A.D. 815); Amrol, Bateśvara, Nareśvara and Gwalior temples. The last mentioned temple has got such decorations even on the lintel.
26. Viennot, *loc. cit.*; R.C. Agrawal, "Osiyāṁ Kī Yoga-Nārāyaṇa Pratimā", *Śodha Patrikā* (*ŚP*), Year 22, No. 2, p. 66.

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27. *Bh.*, *loc. cit.*
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. H. Goetz, "An Unknown Jewel Of Indian Art," *Western Railway Annual*, 1953, p. 126.
31. Viennot, Pl. XXXIII, Ph. 144.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, Ph. 142.
35. *Ibid.*, Ph. 143.
36. *Bh.*, p. 105.
37. Viennot, Ph. 145-46.
38. Bhandarkar (p. 107) was certainly not correct in regarding the Śiva Temple near the main Sun Temple as "The only old temple dedicated to Śiva that I found at Ōsiā". He has neglected the evidence of the Śiva Temple described by him earlier (p. 105).
39. The spiral band of Bhandarkar is in reality the *vasantapaṭṭikā*.
40. Cf. *Bh.*, *loc. cit.*
41. *Ibid.*, Brown (*op. cit.*, p. 115) also remarks that it is the "most graceful of the entire group".
42. *Bh.*, Pl. XL, a; Brown, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVII.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 105; Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
44. Dhaky (1975), *op. cit.*, Fig. 73; Viennot, Pl. XXXV, Ph. 149-51.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, Fig. 80; Viennot, Ph. 152.
47. *Bh.*, Pl. XLII, a.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art And Architecture Of India*, Penguin, 1959, p. 166.
50. *Bh.*, pp. 105-06.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-07, Pl. XLII, a. The upper portions of the pillars seem to have been prepared from stones of different colours and repaired subsequently. Also see Brown, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVII.
52. Dhaky (1975), *op. cit.*, p. 120 and Fig. 73.
53. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
54. Viennot, Pl. XXXIV, Ph. 147. Also *supra* fn, 37.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Bh.*, p. 107, Pl. XLII, b; Viennot, Pl. LV, Ph. 235.
57. Brown, *loc. cit.*
58. *Bh.*, p. 107.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
60. Viennot, Pl. LV, Ph. 235-36.
61. *Bh.*, p. 109.
62. Viennot, Pl. LXIX, Ph. 294-95.
63. *Bh.*, *loc. cit.*
64. *Ibid.*, p. 108, Pl. XL, b; *JAA*, II, pp. 246 ff. An excellent account of the Mahāvīra Temple complex has been given by Dhaky in *Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1968, English Section, pp. 312-27, Figs. 1-3 and the present author owes much to him which he acknowledges very thankfully.
65. *Bh.*, Pl. XLIII, a; *JAA*, II, Pl. 144; Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, Fig. 4.
66. Dhaky, *loc. cit.*, pp. 313-14, *Bh.*, p. 108, Pl. XL, b.
67. *Ibid.*
68. Cf. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-15, Fig. 3.
70. This can also be seen in some of the Amvan temples and the Nakti Mata Temple, Bhavanipur.
71. Cf. *Bh.*, p. 108.

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72. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 315.
73. *Bh., loc. cit.*
74. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
75. Cf. Brown's remark: "In this one building alone, therefore, it is possible to follow the course of the style over a period of several centuries".
76. It can also be seen on the *śukanāsa* of temple No. 28 at Deogarh and Sūrya Temple, Mankhera; on the *kaṇṭha* of Sūrya Temple, Umri; Mahādeva Temple, Bhundana; Jaraika Mata Temple, Barwa Sagar; Gadarmal Temple, Badoh; Harihara Temple No. 2, Buchkala etc.
77. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 316.
78. *Ibid.* Dhaky thinks that the *ghaṇṭā* and *kalaśa* may not be original.
79. Dhaky (*loc. cit.*) uses the word 'beautifully' for our 'partially'. His description is based on his observation made during his visit to the site is early sixtees. The *mukha-maṇḍapa* has since been renovated and extended sideways to match with the *bhadra* projections of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* and also in front, nearly three times more than the original width.
80. Dhaky (*Ibid.*) refers to a 'Yakṣī with a lion vehicle' in the central panel on the east, the other two being obscured by plaster coatings.
81. Cf. Krishna Deva in *JAA*, I., p. 146: "*The siṁha-karṇa* on the north harbours figures of the *Mahāvidyās*—Gaurī, Vairoṭyā and Mānasī. The western *phāṁsanā* shows on the north face figures of Yakṣī Cakreśvarī, Mahāvidyā Mahākālī and Vāgdevī. The west face harbours Mahāvidyā Mānavī, flanked on either side by a Yakṣī".
82. Dhaky (*loc. cit.*) had seen it as unfluted.
83. Dhaky (*loc. cit.*) and Krishna Deva (*op. cit.*, p. 147) have not identified the flanking *Yakṣīs*.
84. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 317. The images of Īśāna and Varuṇa mentioned here seem to have been set up in the north-east and north-west niches of the *mūlaprāsāda*.
85. *Ibid.*
86. *Ibid.*
87. *Ibid*
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Ibid.*, Fig, 4; *Bh.*, p. 108, Pl. XLIII, a; *JAA*, II, p. 144.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Bh., loc. cit.*
95. *Ibid.*
96. Dhaky (1968, p. 318) refers to the epigraph as carved on the lintel in 1018. Krishna Deva (*Temples of North India*, p. 31 and *JAA*, I, p. 145) has given the date of the ornamental gateway as 1016 and M.C. Joshi (*JAA*, II, p. 248) refers to the *toraṇa* as built in 1015, evidently a misprint of the date 1075 which he took from Bhandarkar. See also *AOT*, p. 5.
97. Devendra Handa, "Jaina Temple Toraṇa Inscription, Osian" and L.K. Tripathi, "Mention of Vatsarāja in the Osian inscription dated S. 1013 and its singnificance," papers read at the *VIII Annual Congress of Epigraphical Society of India* at Bhopal, Feb. 13-15, 1982.
98. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 324.
99. Ambalal Premchand Shah, *Jaina Tīrtha Sarva Saṁgraha* (Gujarati), Vol. I, Pt. 2, Ahmedabad, 1953, p. 173.
100. K.V.Soundara Rajan, "Temple Architecture In Rajasthan," in *Cultural Contours Of India*, Dr.Satyaprakash Felicitation Volume (Ed. Vijai Shankar Srivastava), New Delhi, 1981, p. 153.
101. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 322.
102. Handa (1982), *op. cit.*; Tripathi (1982), *op. cit.* Also see below the discussion regarding the chronology of the Osian temples.
103. Dhaky (1968), *op, cit.*, p. 323.

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104. *Ibid.*, p. 319 ff.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
106. *Ibid.*, Fig. 5.
107. Dhaky (p. 320) recognises Naradattā, Kāli, Gaurī and Gāndhārī amongst these.
108. *Ibid.*
109. *Ibid.*, Fig, 7.
110. *JAA*, II, Pl. 143.
111. Such leaves can also be seen in the Someśvara Temple, Kiradu.
112. Dhaky (1968, *op. cit.*, p. 321) is evidently mistaken in describing these pillars as having fanners on their frontage. Pillars with fanners can be seen in the porches of DK-2 and 4.
113. Cf. Chohtan temple pillars. See M.A. Dhaky, "Temple and Sculptures at Chohtan," *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX, Nos. 3 & 4 (1967), pp. 198-202.
114. Brown, *op. cit.*, Pl. CVI.
115. Dhaky (1968, *op. cit.*, p. 321) identifies her with Mānasī.
116. May be Aparājitā. The order from bottom upwards should be Nirvāṇī, Acchuptā, Vairoṭyā and Aparājitā.
117. Dhaky, *loc. cit.* Next to Cakreśvarī may be Jvālāmālinī.
118. See *infra*, Inscription Nos. 57 and 58.
119. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, Fig. 7.
120. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*, p. 324, Fig. 6.
123. *JAA*, II, Pl. 143.
124. Burgess, *loc. cit.*; *Bh.*, p. 109; Ghurye, *loc. cit.*
125. Cf. *Bh.*, p. 110, Pl. XXXVII, b; Brown, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCVIII, Fig. 2.
126. They are the first and last in the *pradakṣiṇā* order.
127. One *māṇaka*, according to Ṭhakkara Pheru, was equal to 4 *pāī* or *pāilī* and one *pāī* was equivalent of 4 *karapuṭas* 'handfuls'. One *māṇaka*, thus, equalled 16 *karapuṭas*. For details, see *RTA*, pp. 507-08.
128. One *karṣa* is equal to one *tolā*.
129. Dhaky (1975), *op. cit.*, p. 162.
130. Dhaky (1967), *op. cit.*, p. 66.
131. Cf. *Bh.*, p. 109.
132. *Ibid.*
133. One is not traceable now.
134. 'One who has studied at Pāhlī (*Pāhly=adhīta*)' according to the other pillar inscription.
135. *JLS*, Nos. 806 and 807.
136. *ACTOR*, p. 184. Also *NJP*, I. 27.
137. *NJP*, I.32-43.
138. *RL*, p. 101, Pl. VIII.
139. Dhaky (1967), *op. cit.*, pp. 63-69.
140. *Bh.*, p. 110, Pl. XLIV, b.
141. Since there are no niches on the exposed eastern and southern faces of the *jagatī*, it can be presumed that none existed on the northern face, now concealed by the platform over which stands the SMT.
142. *Bh., loc. cit.*
143. *Ibid.* Bhandarkar did not identify the Jaina image.
144. *Ibid.*
145. Bhandarkar (*Ibid.*) names it as a warrior.
146. R.C. Agrawal, "Bhāratiya Mūrti—Vijñāna Ko Osiyāṁ Kī Dena," *ŚP*, XXIII (4), p. 36.
147. The elephants on the *gaja-thara* are carved in profile in general and where a central elephant figure was intended, it has been shown as facing.
148. The shafts of the *rathikā* pillars are divided into two parts with a central rib. The upper half shows a *kīrtimukha* spewing a wreath which forms pendant and loop motif.

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149. Surprisingly enough, the uppermost panel on the proper left shows two ascetics with a piece of cloth in their hands. One of them is holding his beard with one hand as if swearing for something. In all probability, the panels of the *mithuna-śākhā* depict some story serially.
150. Some of these figures carry in their hands an object like a water-vessel which resembles in shape a table-tennis bat.
151. Cf. Two parts of the *rathikā* pillars of the preceding chapel.
152. The bust of fierce-looking Rāhu is superposed over reptilian Ketu.
153. *Bh.*, p. 105.
154. E.g., HH-3.
155. Śiva Temple (No. 2) does not stand on a terrace but agrees with other temples in some other details.
156. VT-1 shows only seven of the nine astral divinities.
157. Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
158. Dhaky (1975), *op. cit.*, pp. 114 ff.
159. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-42 and Table I on pp. 144-45.
160. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
161. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-38.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
163. Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 129-30.
164. Eg. on VT-3 and 4.
165. Cf. Gaṅgā and Yamunā on earlier temples. DK-4 in the MT complex does not show any ostiary, nor even the *vidyādevīs*.
166. Gaṇeśa does not occur on the lintel of any of the main Hindu shrines at Osian.
167. Burgess, *loc. cit.*, *Bh.*, pp. 111-13; Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-16; S.K. Sarasvati in *The Struggle For Empire* (Eds. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar), Bombay, 1957, pp. 576-79.
168. *Bh.*, *loc. cit.*
169. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, pp. 312 ff.
170. *Ibid.*, (1975), *op. cit.*, p. 145.
171. *Bh.*, *loc. cit.*
172. Brown, *loc. cit.*
173. Krishna Deva (1969), *op. cit.*, p. 31.
174. *Bh.*, p. 108.
175. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 325.
176. *Ibid.*, p. 326.

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Hindu Sculptures : Cult Deities

Viṣṇu
Sūrya
Śiva
Śakti
Gaṇapati

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CHAPTER III

Hindu Sculptures : Cult Deities

Osian temples are important not only from architectural but also from iconographical viewpoint. The site witnessed a remarkable efflorescence of sculptural and architectural arts for about half a millennium after the seventh century A.D. Both, the early temples belonging to the Mahā-Māru style and the late ones pertaining to the Māru-Gurjara idiom exhibit uncommon skill and ingenuity. The rhythmic accentuation of these shrines is characterised by a harmonious integration of sculpture with architecture. With a balanced array of beautiful images, the texture of Osian temples vibrates with seemly poise and gargantuan grace, not common elsewhere. Though the original cult-images in most of the temples are missing, yet the sculptures still preserved on them show some very remarkable specimens of medieval Indian art. Some others, detached from their original context, preserved in the store-houses and precincts of the temple complexes, removed elsewhere or displayed in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur and Mandor Museum, bespeak of the richness of the sculptural heritage of Osian as well as the damage done to its monuments, from time to time, by man or clime. Though in contrast to the exuberance of the Khajuraho temples the Osian examples are more sober and restrained, yet they are not as severe, austere and limited in decorative repertoire as the Gujarat shrines. They are thus the intermediary link between too severe, and the too exuberant and are remarkable for their poise and pageantry. Chronologically, the early temples of Osian stand out as the precursors of the Khajuraho temples.

The images on Osian temples are of great iconographical interest, both quantitatively and qualitatively. In addition to numerous gods and goddesses of the Brahmanical and Jaina pantheons on their respective shrines, we find a large number of lower deities represented on the exterior as well as interior of the temples. The Hindu and Jaina images comprise cult-icons, *parivāra-*, *pārśva-* and *āvaraṇa-devatās*, *kalyāṇakas*, Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* and scenes from the epics, *apasarases*, semi-celestials like the *gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *kinnaras* etc. *Mithunas*, dancers, musicians, erotic groups, battle and other scenes, *vyālas*, *śārdūlas* and other mythical and decorative figures also find due representation. In the present chapter, we take up a study of the images of the main cult-deities of Hinduism.

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MAIN CULTS

Assimilation and synthesis are two important characteristics of Hinduism and art is no exception of expression to represent the various cult deities as assimilating, influencing or synthesizing with each other. Syncretistic images of Harihara, Ardhanārīśvara, etc. indicate attempts at reconciliation of principal rival sects[1] and the incorporation of Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu represents the assimilative tendency of Hinduism. 'An interesting Gupta Chaturmukha of Sūrya'[2] in the National Museum, New Delhi and another similar piece in the Indian Museum, Calcutta indicate that Sūrya was regarded as an embodiment of the Hindu trinity and that the principal cults of Hinduism had not fully developed then. The movement for cult amalgam, however, seems to have culminated in later times in the Smārta cult of *Pañcopāsanā*, evidenced by several sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, belonging to the early medieval and medieval periods, showing the figures of Viṣṇu, Devī, Sūrya and Gaṇapati on the four sides of Śiva-*liṅgas*.[3] The *pañcāyatana* temples of Osian provide the corroborative evidence that the cults of Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Śiva, Devī and Gaṇapati had developed fully in Rajasthan in the eighth century A.D. We have already seen in the preceding chapter that the early Hindu temples of Osian were dedicated to Viṣṇu (and Harihara), Sūrya, Śiva and Devī (Saciyā and Pīpalādevī). Though no independent temple dedicated to Gaṇapati has been found yet numerous icons of the deity well acquaint us of the popularity of his cult.

We now take up the study of the important images of these five cults at Osian.

I. *VIṢṆU*

A deity named Viṣṇu has been invoked in five whole hymns and in part in another in the *RV*[4] but his epithets *urukrama*, *vikrama* and *urugāya*, meaning wide-going and wide-traversing, led Macdonell,[5] Keith[6] and others[7] to ascribe him the solar origin. Gonda[8] has, however, tried to prove that Viṣṇu also represented a fertility and vegetation god. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, Viṣṇu is identified with the sacrifice (*yajño vai Viṣṇu*) and since sacrifice was the highest form of religious expression, he gained ascendancy and achieved a higher status.[9] With the development of the concept of devotion during the *Upaniṣadic* period, a cult seems to have centred round the five Vṛṣṇi heroes (*Vṛṣṇi-pañcavīrāḥ*) of which Vāsudeva-Viṣṇu was the main figure besides Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba.[10] According to the *Mbh.*, Vāsudeva is the Supreme Creator and Saṁkarṣaṇa representing all living beings, is only a form of Vāsudeva. From Saṁkarṣaṇa sprang Pradyumna (mind) and from him came forth Aniruddha (self-consciousness). Vāsudeva describes the other four as his own *mūrtis* 'forms', produced one from another.[11] These four forms (*vyūhas*) are sometimes combined together and we get *Caturvyūhamūrtis* of Viṣṇu,[12] also called Vaikuṇṭha-Caturmūrti.[13] Later the number of *vyūhas* increased to twenty-four under the Pāñcarātra impact and the only difference in the twenty-four forms (*Caturviṁśatimūrtis*) of Viṣṇu was the order of attributes in his hands. Bhandarkar has adduced sufficient evidence to establish that a religious cult centring around

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Vāsudeva had come into existence as early as the 4th and 3rd century B.C.[14] Ghosundi[15] and Vidiśā[16] inscriptions and an inscribed four-armed Viṣṇu holding conch, discus, mace and sword belonging to second century B.C. found from Malhar (Madhya Pradesh)[17] bear evidence to Viṣṇu worship at an early date. *Vibhavavāda* 'incarnation theory' as well as some folk cults may have further contributed to the evolution of Viṣṇu cult. Viṣṇu worship seems to have flourished in the Gupta period and got further popularity in the early medieval period. Ultimately the cult of Viṣṇu gained ascendancy over others and became the most important of the Brāhmaṇical cults. At Osian nearly one third of all the main and subsidiary shrines are dedicated to Viṣṇu (inclusive of course the HH temples). None of these, unfortunately, preserves the original cult-icon. That they must have been interesting examples of early medieval art of Rajasthan can only be guessed. Their beauty and elegance seem to have been the cause of their pilferage. The extant important icons of Viṣṇu from Osian are, hewever, described below.

Sthānaka-Mūrtis :—An exquisitely carved *saparikara* image of Viṣṇu (*Pl. 43*) now preserved in the local Kunj Behari Temple as adetached figure, however, seems to have once been the cult-icon of some 10th-11th century sanctuary. It measures 80×60 cm. In the centre stands Viṣṇu in contraposto on a lotus seat carved above the central projection of the *saptaratha* plain pedestal. The god wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa, karṇa-kuṇḍalas, graiveyaka, hāra,* triple-stringed sacred thread, armlets, wristlets, anklets and *pāda-valayas.* The lower garment is tied at the waist with a multi-stringed pearlband which forms beautiful loops. (*urudāma*) and pendants (*muktadāma*) on the thighs and in between. A *vaijayantī-mālā* drooping down the knees and *śrīvatsa* on the chest are characteristics of the deity. A *tilaka* adorns the forehead. The proper right hand is stretched downwards in *varada-mudrā* and a rosary is also shown held in this hand. The proper left hand holds the horizontally placed conch with first two fingers in the groove and the other two on its spiralling body. The flourish of an upper garment is also shown just above the wrist of this hand. The back right hand holds the upper part of the vertical mace which shows a *kīrtimukha* carved in the centre of its tapering shaft. The corresponding left hand holds a sixteen-spoked discus with a fillet coming out of its hub. On either side near the feet of the deity are shown the *āyudha-puruṣas* : *Śaṅkha-puruṣa* on the proper right and *Cakra-puruṣa* on left holding the respective *āyudha* in one hand with other akimbo. The next recessed projection on either side is occupied by a female figure each holding a lotus in one hand and resting the other on the respective thigh. They probably represent Śrī and Puṣṭi devī. Partly visible on the right and left of the head of the deity behind the mace and discus are Śiva and bearded Brahmā. Near the proper hands are shown miniature figures of devotee sages in *añjali-mudrā* seated on lotuses issuing forth from behind. The extreme projection on either side has a *rathikā* with foliated *toraṇa,* superposed by three other niches placed one over the other, connected ultimately with another *rathikā* just above the pinnacle of the crown of the deity. There are thus four panelled niches on either side and one above. The central *rathikā* is connected with the topmost one on either side with a *makara-toraṇa*

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showing *gandharvas* and *vidyādharas* as if coming out of the mouth of a crocodile. Above is a border of floral design. The topmost *rathikā* on either side is capped by an *āmalaka* and finial. The *rathikās* are adorned by ribbed pillars and pilasters and are surmounted by pediments. They harbour images of the different incarnations of Viṣṇu : Varāha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma and perhaps Buddha on the proper right and Nṛsiṁha, Dāśarathī Rāma, Balarāma and Kalki on the proper left. The topmost *rathikā* shows Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa. On the extremities of the sides leographs can also be seen.

Absence of Garuḍa is notable. The figure is complete in all respects and has not suffered any damage.

Though marked by a conventional stiffness yet it is one of the most remarkable Viṣṇu images found from Osian.

All other images of the god found so far are subsidiary in nature.

Important amongst the *sthānaka-mūrtis* is a piece now on display in the Jodhpur Museum (*Pl. 44*). It measures 66×61 cm. and shows Viṣṇu standing to front between two square pilasters adorned with *ghaṭapallava* motif on the upper half of the shaft portion, followed by a thin circular band, square *bharaṇī* with *ardharatna* flanked by elephant heads with twirled trunks and *śīrsa* bedecked with broad leaves. The god wears usual ornaments and *vanamālā*. He holds a mace and a sixteen-spoked wheel in his right and left rear hands. The proper right hand with a rosary is dispensed in protection affording pose while the proper left is shown as hanging down and holding a conch horizontally. A simple but elegant aureole with lotus-leaf pattern is carved behind the head. A garland-bearing *vidyādhara* is still extant on the proper right hand side of the head but the corresponding figure on the other side is gone. Near the feet are shown personified weapons—Śaṅkha-*puruṣa* on the proper right and Cakra-*puruṣa* on the left, both with faces damaged but standing very gracefully. Behind Śaṅkha-*puruṣa* is a female figure with a beautiful *dhammilla* hair coiffure and wearing ear-rings, necklace, wristlets, anklets and an upper and lower garment, the disposition of the extant right hand indicating *añjali-mudrā*. On the other side behind Cakra-*puruṣa* is a male figure wearing ear-rings, *ekāvalī* and other ornaments, but with a typical hair coiffure showing frizzled raised locks. He may be Garuḍa. The image seems to have originally belonged to HH-1. Another almost identical standing image of Viṣṇu but only with an *āyudha-puruṣa* on either side of his feet exists in a niche on the *pratiratha* projection of the eastern wall of HH-2.

The image in the principal back niche of VT-1 shows the deity standing to front in contraposto and wearing the usual ornaments. The attributes in the proper right and left hands are lotus and conch while the back hands carry a mace and discus. Cakra and Śaṅkha-*puruṣa* sit on either side in *sukhāsana* near the feet and Śrī and Puṣṭi holding lotus buds are carved behind them. The figure measures 46×31 cm. Another similar image measuring 47×15 cm. adorns the *pratiratha-rathikā* of the eastern wall of ST-1. A small standing Viṣṇu image with lotus, mace, discus and conch in the four hands[18] can also be seen adorning the niche on

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the fronton of VT-1. A niche on the northern buffer wall of ST-2 also contains a 36×28 cm. image with the same attributes.[19] A figure of standing Viṣṇu carrying clockwise wheel (broken), lotus, conch and mace in the four hands exists on the lower register of the fronton of the SMT also. The figure can be identified with Puruṣottama form of Viṣṇu according to *Rūpamaṇḍana* and Śrīdhara according to *Padma Purāṇa*.[20]

As far as small panels of the doorway are concerned, we find on the *lalaṭa-bimba* of VT-4 Viṣṇu standing to front carrying lotus and discus in the back hands, conch in the proper left while the proper right is held in the *varadamudrā*. The doorway of VT-5, however, shows a good number of standing Viṣṇu images.

Since the iconographical texts vary in giving the attributes in the hands of the different *vyūhamūrtis*, we give below a collated list for ease of identification of the various images. Abbreviations used for the attributes and texts are : C=*cakra*; G=*gadā*; P=*padma* and S=*śaṅkha*; *RM*=*Rūpamaṇḍana*, *AP*=*Aparājitapṛcchā*; *PP*=*Padma Purāṇa*; *DMP*=*Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa*; *CVC*=*Caturvargacintāmaṇi*; *PS*=*Parameśvara Saṁhitā* and *AS*=*Ahirbuddhnya Saṁhitā*.

CATURVIṂŚATIMŪRTIS OF VIṢṆU[21]

S. No.	Name	*RM*	*AP*	*PP*	*DMP*	*CVC*	*PS*	*AS*
1.	Keśava	PSCG	PSCG	PCSG	PSCG	—	PSCG	PSCG
2.	Nārāyaṇa	SPGC	SPGC	SPGC	SPGC	PSGC	SCGP	SPGC
3.	Mādhava	GCSP	GCSP	GCSP	GCSP	GCSP	PGSC	PGSC
4.	Govinda	CGPS	CGPS	CGPS	CGPS	CGPS	CGSP	CGSP
5.	Viṣṇu	GPSC	GPSC	GPSC	GPSC	GPSC	GPSC	SPSC
6.	Madhusūdana	CSPG	SCPG	CSPG	CSPG	CSPG	CSPG	CSPG
7.	Trivikrama	PGCS	PGCS	PGCS	PGCS	PGSC	CGPS	CGPS
8.	Vāmana	SCGP	SCGP	SCGP	SCGP	SCGP	SCGP	SCGP
9.	Śrīdhara	PCGS	PCGS	GCPS	PCGS	PCGS	PCGS	PCGS
10.	Hṛśīkeśa	GCPS	GCPS	PCGS	GCPS	GCPS	GCPS	GCSP
11.	Padmanābha	SPCG	SPCG	CPSG	SPCG	SPCG	GPCS	GPCS
12.	Dāmodara	PSGC	PSGC	PSGC	PSGC	PCGS	PSGC	PSGC
13.	Saṁkarṣaṇa	GSPC	GSPC	GSPC	GSPC	GSPC	—	—
14.	Vāsudeva	GSCP	GSCP	PCSG	GSCP	GSCP	—	—
15.	Pradyumna	CSGP	GCSP	PSCG	CSGP	CSGP	—	—
16.	Aniruddha	CGSP	CGSP	CGSP	CGSP	CGSP	—	—
17.	Puruṣottama	CPSG	CPSG	CPSG	CPSG	CPSG	—	—
18.	Adhokṣaja	PGSC	PGSC	PGSC	PGSC	PGSC	—	—
19.	Nṛsiṁha	CPGS	CPGS	CPGS	PGSC	CPSG	—	—
20.	Acyuta	GPCS	GPCS	GPCS	GPCS	GPCS	—	—
21.	Janārdana	PCSG	PCSG	—	PCSG	PCSG	—	—
22.	Upendra	SGCP	SGCP	—	SGCP	PGCS	—	—
23.	Hari	SCPG	SPCG	—	SCGP	SCPG	—	—
24.	Kṛṣṇa	SGPC	SGPC	SGPC	SGPC	—	—	—

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The images on the doorway of VT-5 clockwise from the bottom of the right hand side of the jamb can be identified thus :

S. No.	Attributes	Name	*Vyūha* No.	Remarks
1.	PSCG	Keśava[22]	1	
2.	SPGC	Nārāyaṇa[23]	2	
3.	GCSP	Mādhava	3	Hṛśīkeśa acc. to *PS* and *AS*
4.	CGPS	Govinda	4	Trivikrama acc. to *PS* and *AS*
5.	GPSC	Viṣṇu	5	
6.	SCPG	Hari	23	Madhusūdana acc. to *AP*
7.	SCGP	Vāmana	8	
8.	PCGS	Śrīdhara	9	Hṛśīkeśa acc. to *PP*
9.	GCPS	Hṛśīkeśa	10	Śrīdhara acc. to *PP*
10.	SPCG	Padmanābha	11	
11.	PSGC	Dāmodara	12	Nārāyaṇa acc. to *CVC*

We thus see that the *vyūhas* described here agree substantially with *AP* and *RM* with which many other texts also concur.

Hṛśīkeśa and Hari forms of Viṣṇu standing in beautiful triple-flexion postures, each wearing usual ornaments and a *śrīvatsa* on the chest, are depicted on the proper right and left of the porch of VT-5. They measure 64×36 cm. each. Similarly, Adhokṣaja and Pradyumna forms, measuring 65×35 cm. are depicted on the right and left of the porch of VT-4. The *lalāṭa-bimba* of this temple bears the figure of Acyuta with *āyudha-puruṣas*.

Āsanamūrtis

Garuḍavāhī Viṣṇu:—The *Mbh.*[24] refers to Viṣṇu seated on his vehicle Garuḍa and the *Harivaṁśa* (*HV*) describes his Garuḍāsana image as holding *śaṅkha*, *cakra* and *gadā*.[25] It is exactly this form which we get depicted in Osian sculptures.

A beautiful specimen of Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu (*Pl. 45*) is preserved in the principal niche of the southern wall of the north-eastern corner shrine of HH-1[26]. It measures 33×18 cm. The *jaṅghā* portion of probably the corresponding *karṇa-prāsāda* of HH-2, now displayed in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur also shows an analogous figure. Viṣṇu is shown as seated facing on the shoulders of anthropomorphic Garuḍa who is depicted as if flying to left, in a pose analogous in general to the flying *gandharva* and *vidyādhara* figures.[27] Viṣṇu wears a flat-topped squatish crown bedecked with floral triangular designs and a crest jewel in the centre. Bearing a beautitudinous smile with eyes closed in ecstasy, he wears *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvalī*, *keyūras*, *kaṭaka-valayas vanamālā* and *adhovastra*, holding *gadā* and *cakra* in the rear hands, *śaṅkha* in the proper left hand and the proper right held in *varada-mudrā*. Garuḍa also wears a pearl necklet, ear-rings, armlets, bracelets and an under garment. His *dhammilla* hair-coiffure and mild smile are worthy of note.

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Another image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa can be seen in the niche on the south-eastern corner of the *jagatī* of HH-1. It measures 45×27 cm. Viṣṇu holds clockwise mace, lotus, discus and conch in the four hands. The corresponding niche on the *jagatī* of HH-2, measuring 47×26 cm., also contains a similar image of Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu.

The principal back niche of VT-2 also contains a similar but damaged image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. His proper right hand is held in protection affording pose, the back right holds a mace the thicker end of which is broken. The left hands are mutilated but what is left clearly indicates that the rear one held a wheel and the front one a conch. The god is seated in *lalitāsana* on anthropomorphic Garuḍa who supports the proper right foot of the god on the palm of his right hand; the left one supports the knee of the Lord. Garuḍa, represented as having two broad and powerful wings, flying to right wears ear-rings, necklet, armlets, wristlets and an under garment. The figure measures 67×38 cm.

Small but beautiful Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu images can also be seen on the proper left and right hand pilasters of the doorway of ST-3 and 2 respectively. The former depicts the deity (head broken) wearing *vaijayantīmālā*, armlets, bracelets etc., on anthropomorphic figure of Garuḍa flying to left. Viṣṇu holds mace and wheel in the right and left rear hands, conch in the proper left while the front right is held in protection giving pose. The latter figure is complete and carved more gracefully. It preserves a lotus-petalled halo behind the head of the deity who holds attributes in the four hands similarly.

Images of Garuḍavāhī Viṣṇu, sometimes accompanied by Lakṣmī also occur on the lintels of most of the Vaiṣṇava shrines at Osian.

Yogāsana Mūrtis:—Yogāsana Viṣṇu can be seen in a *rathikā*, measuring 60×40 cm., under the cornice of the back wall of HH-3, just above the *kaṇṭha* which depicts Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes, on the central projection.[28] The god is seated in *padmāsana* with proper hands placed in *dhyāna-mudrā*[29] and the rear hands holding the *vanamālā*. The flanking figures of Cakra-*puruṣa* on the proper right and Śaṅkha-*puruṣa* on the left are interesting. Though not as elegant a piece as the Yoga-nārāyaṇa from Didwana now displayed in the Jodhpur Museum,[30] yet this image is important for such figures are quite scarce. Another similar small figure exists on the sur-lintel of VT-3.

No independent image of Viṣṇu in *lalitāsana* is known from Osian. There is, however, a small panel on the lintel of the SMT which shows Viṣṇu in *lalitāsana*, holding clockwise lotus, mace, wheel and conch in the four hands, conforming to the Trivikrama form. HH-2 Śiva Temple No. 1 and ST-1 also contain representations of Viṣṇu in *lalitāsana*.

Śayana Mūrtis:—Bhandarkar[31] had referred to an image of Viṣṇu reposing on Śeṣa inside the sanctum of VT-2 but nothing is known now about that. An image of Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu has, however, been placed in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the SMT now (*Pl. 46*). But we are not sure if it is the same as referred to by Bhandarkar. It

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measures 93×37 cm. Viṣṇu is shown as reclining on the coils of the serpent Śeṣa. He is turned slightly to left. One of his hands supports his head while the other holds conch at the waist. The rear right hand holds disc and the other lotus near the chest. The god wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* with a jewel in the centre, ear-rings, *ekāvalī* with a central pendant, armlets, bracelets, sacred thread and the *vanamālā* which is studded with a pair of full-blown lotus flowers at regular intervals. The lower garment is secured with a waist-band whose free ends fall on the thighs of the god forming pendants. Bhūmidevī is shampooing the left foot raised slantingly to the level of the breast of the goddess. The other leg is bent down. Brahmā is seated on the lotus issuing from the navel of Viṣṇu. Two bearded sages wearing sacred threads carved between Brahmā and Bhūdevī can be identified with Bhṛgu and Mārkaṇḍeya. There are some other accessory figures sculptured at the back wall but being mutilated and indistinct, they defy proper identification. The female figure carved behind the head of the god shown as standing to left with right leg slightly bent forward, holding a lotus in the right hand and left akimbo, may, however be identified with Lakṣmī. Though not in a good state of preservation yet this being the only Śeṣaśāyī image known from Osian is important. Reference should, however, be made to another unique *śayana-mūrti* of Viṣṇu on an architectural piece now displayed in the Mandor Museum. Only the Śeṣa has been changed with a couch and all other details remain the same. Seven *ṛṣis* have also been depicted in a row above. Originally it seems to have belonged to a subsidiary shrine of HH-1.

Āliṅgana-Mūrtis:—*Āliṅgana-mūrtis* of Viṣṇu, also called Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, showing the god standing and embracing Lakṣmī, exist on the walls of VT-3 to 5.[32] Occupying, the principal niches of the western wall of VT-3 and eastern walls of the others, corresponding, however, to the same position in the *pradakṣiṇā* order, are almost identical images of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa showing the divine couple, profusely but tastefully ornamented, embracing each other (*Pls. 47* and *48*). In all these examples, the arrangement of attributes is the same: mace and disc in the rear and lotus and conch in the front hands. The front right hand is held in the *kaṭaka-mudrā* with a lotus near the chest while the corresponding left holding the horizontally placed conch rests on the left shoulder of Lakṣmī. The goddess slightly turned to her right in beautiful *tribhaṅga* pose, has benign expression and looks gently at her spouse. She embraces him with her right hand while the left holds a lotus (VT-3) or a *vījapūraka* (VT-5). The left hand of the goddess on VT-4 is broken. Near the feet of Viṣṇu, on his proper right in all the images is shown Garuḍa. The last-mentioned temple shows an additional small figure on the other side also near Lakṣmī. On the three temples respectively Garuḍa is as looking at the Lord with frizzled raised locks of hair and with wings at the back, hands folded in adoration and head broken. Kalpana Desai has wrongly identified the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa image of VT-4 as that of Rāma and Sītā mistaking Garuḍa to be Hanumān.[33] She seems to have seen the photograph only and not the original image which does not give even a semblance of Hanumān as far as the figure of Garuḍa is concerned. The frizzled raised locks of hair on his head and the beaked nose clearly indicate that he is to be identified with Garuḍa. The figure

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with wings at his back as found on VT-5, however, leaves no doubt at all in identifying the figure as that of Garuḍa.

Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa are also depicted on the lintel of ST-2[34] and HH-2, the latter showing Viṣṇu seated in *sukhāsana* on a cushioned stool, with Lakṣmī on his left thigh, both looking coyly at each other. Viṣṇu holds a lotus in the proper rigth hand, mace and disc in rear hands, embracing Lakṣmī with proper left which also holds the conch.

Daśāvatāra-Mūrtis:—The doctrine of the *vibhavas* or *avatāras* 'incarnatory forms' has also played an important part in the development of Vaiṣṇavism. Though different texts mention varying names and number of Viṣṇu's incarnations[35], yet the following is the stereotyped list of the ten names : (1) Matsya, (2) Kūrma, (3) Varāha, (4) Nṛsiṁha, (5) Vāmana, (6) Rāma, i.e., Paraśurāma, (7) Dāśarathī Rāma, (8) Sātvat, which means both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, (9) Buddha[36] and (10) Kalki. The incarnations have been depicted either collectively or individually in Indian art. At Osian, but for the depiction of the different incarnations on the *parikara* of a standing Viṣṇu image already described above, we do not find any collective representation of all the ten incarnations. Even individually all of them have not been met with at Osian. Different *vibhavas* represented at the place have been described below.

Matsya and Kūrma:—Neither Matsya nor Kūrma has directly been depicted in Osian sculptures. It is, however, a theme connected with the latter that we find represented on a frieze of the *narapīṭha* of VT-5 on its eastern side. It shows the scene of the Churning of the Ocean (*Samudra-manthana*) connected with the Kūrma incarnation of Viṣṇu (*Pl. 49*)[37]. A small tortoise supports a churner[38] and the serpent Vāsuki is wound around it as the rope. Towards the head of Vāsuki on the right is a demon while on the other side are seven gods led by Śiva who holds the rope with his front pair of hands and supports a snake and trident in the rear left and right hands respectively. Next to him is Viṣṇu holding the rope like Śiva and supporting mace and disc in the back hands. Tricephalous Brahmā with laddle and lotus in the rear hands is then followed by quadrumanous Sūrya shown with a lotus in either of the rear hand. Indra holding a goad and thunderbolt is then followed by two handed Gaṇeśa[39] and an unidentified male figure with raised frizzled locks of hair on the head (Karttikeya?).

Varāha:—The antiquity of Varāha worship goes back to hoary past.[40] The earliest plastic representation of the Varāha incarnation belongs to about the second century A.D.[41] In the Gupta period, however, we find that this incarnation was represented both in zoomorphic and therianthropomorphic forms[42] which remained popular even during the medieval period. Though both the above-mentioned forms have been obtained from different places in Rajasthan,[43] yet it is only the latter which was popular at Osian.

A niche on the south-western corner of the *jagatī* of HH-1 contains an image of Varāha in *ālīḍha* pose with left foot supported by a *nāga* couple. The *nāgas* have human busts and reptilian tails curved backward. The right leg of the god also

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shows a slight bend. Varāha supports Bhūdevī, seated on the elbow of his bent front left arm which also holds a disc. The rear left hand supports a conch. The image is mutilated badly but the other two hands are clearly discernible as resting on the thigh and holding the lower thinner end of the vertical mace. A small figure standing behind is damaged beyond recognition. The whole image measures 43×27 cm. An almost identical image of the same size exists in the corresponding niche of the *jagati* of *HH-2* also. The small but similar figure now studded in the wall of the corridor of SMT is covered with a thick encrustation of paint, vermilion and dust but must have belonged to some eighth century shrine. Its details have been concealed by encrustation.

Varāha image on the south-eastern corner niche of the southern wall of ST-2 measuring 35×27 cm. is a beautiful piece showing realistic but partially damaged boar-head (*Pl. 50*). Ornamentation is also simple. The front right hand rests on the thigh while the rear one holds the plain vertical mace near its upper end. Left hands are broken but the plain disc which must have been held in the back hand is partially visible. Bhūdevī—a graceful standing figure with tastefully carved *dhammilla* hair-coiffure, ear ornaments and resting her left arm on her waist seems to have been held by the snout and supported on the front left arm now broken. The feet of the goddess are also gone. The left foot of Varāha is placed on the intertwined tails of the serpents carved with care by the craftsman. A male serpent on the proper right is shown as twining the tails of two female serpents on the other side. All are shown in adoration with hood-canopies, wearing *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvalīs*, *keyūras* and *kaṭaka-valayas*. The figure thus shows some development over the preceding ones.

Further development can be discerned in the image which adorns the principal niche of the northern wall of VT-2. It measures 66×36 cm. The figure is badly mutilated but still preserves the basic features. Wearing usual ornaments, the god seems to have held a mace by its thinner end in the rear right hand, now broken. The proper right hand too is damaged. It was probably *kaṭyavalambita* and held the tails of serpents whose coils are partially visible on the ground below. The back left hand holds a sixteen-spoked wheel from its outer fringe and the front left supports Bhūdevī standing gracefully but somewhat damaged. The conch is shown as falling down to indicate ocean from which the Lord saved the earth. An additional feature which persists even later makes its appearance now. A tree behind the god serves as a canopy over his head.

VT-3 preserves in the principal niche of its eastern wall a similar but further developed image revealing all the features of the preceding example. Dress and ornamentation show elaboration and detailed treatment. The left foot of the god rests on a lotus pedestal supported on the coils of a male and female serpent whose anthropomorphic busts are canopied by snake hoods. A miniature *nāgī* is carved even at the back of the god below the thinner end of the vertically held mace. The *kaṭyavalambita* front right hand holds the tails of the serpents as in the preceding image. So also is the conch shown falling downwards. The head of the deity is gone and Bhūdevī, probably held by the snout, is also broken below the

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thighs and above the neck. Almost similar in composition but more detailed in minutiae is the piece in the principal back niche of VT-4. A conical crown at the back of the boar-head, an upper garment whose ends are knotted at the chest and a dagger tucked in the waist-band make their appearance. Bhūdevī is seated on a lotus issuing forth from the ocean. Both, the god and the goddess Earth, look at each other. The conch falling downwards like the preceding image is there but another conch is also shown held horizontally by the god with his front left hand.

The last stage in the development of Varāha images of Osian is represented by the principal niche of the northern wall of VT-5 which harbours an elegant and an almost identical image (*Pl. 51*).[44] More profusely carved and better preserved than the one described above, it shows the god as seizing an adoring *nāgī* by the tail. The left foot of the god is placed on a full-blown lotus supported by a tastefully carved *nāga* couple. The dagger is tucked in the waist-band on the right hand side.[45] The male figure with folded hands on the proper right of the god may be identified with Garuḍa, and the female on the corresponding left side holding a lotus in the raised right hand is undoubtedly Śrī.[46]

Quadrumanous Varāha holding a disc in the back right and the tail of a *nāgī* in the normal *kaṭyavalambita* right hand with left foot placed on a lotus held by a *nāga* couple can be seen on the east wall of the Satya Nārāyaṇa Temple also. The god holds a conch in the front left hand placed on the knee. The back left hand may have held a mace but it is not clear now.

We thus see that all the images of Varāha at Osian are quadrumanous, showing the deity in *ālīḍha-mudrā*, wearing *vanamālā* invariably, holding mace (always with thicker end upwards), disc and conch in three hands and resting the fourth (proper right) on waist, the last one sometimes holding tails of serpents also. The left foot of the god is supported either on the coils of the *nāga* couple or on a lotus held by the *nāga* couple. A dagger in the waist-band appears in the later images and ultimately Garuḍa and Lakṣmī are also represented as accessory figures. These images show a gradual development in the iconographical features and are interesting specimens of medieval western Indian art.

Nṛsiṁha:—The earliest references to Nṛsiṁha worship are to be found in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*,[47] *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*[48] etc. As an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Nṛsiṁha finds mention in the *Mbh*[49]. and the *HV*[50] describes his image, though in brief, for the first time. In the realm of plastic art, Nṛsiṁha seems to have found representation initially in early Gupta period.[51] Various types on his images have been described and illustrated by Rao[52] and Banerjea.[53] Interestingly, Hiraṇyakaśipu does not find representation in the Nṛsiṁha images of the Gupta period but is invariably represented as being killed by the god in the post-Gupta period[54]. All the images of Nṛsiṁha at Osian show him in the action of tearing out the entrails of the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu and are thus of the '*Sthauna*' type commonly found in North India.[55]

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The earliest example at Osian comes from the principal niche of the north wall of HH-1. It measures 49×40 cm. The quadrumanous god with human body and lion-face stands in *pratyālīḍha* pose, resting the right foot of his folded leg on the back of a demon. The left leg is planted firmly on the ground diagonally. Near it, however, stands an adoring male figure which may be identified as Prahlāda. Though the lion-face is mutilated yet the manes on either side of the face indicate the care with which it must have been carved. The god wears a double necklace, armlets, bracelets, *vanamālā* and an under garment. Hiraṇyakaśipu, with dishevelled hair, wearing beautiful ear-rings and a double-stringed pearl necklace, is lying on the folded right knee of the god who is shown as tearing out the entrails of the demon with his front pair of hands. The rear hands are raised above as if supporting something. The absence of Vaiṣṇava emblems in the upper hands is noteworthy.

The image in the corresponding niche of HH-2 measures 40×29 cm. and is more mutilated. Nṛsiṁha is shown as standing in *ālīḍha-mudrā*, resting the left foot on the back of a fallen demon holding probably a sword and scutum. The proper hands, partly damaged, tear the bosom of Hiraṇyakaśipu who is lying on the folded left knee of the god. Both hands of the demon are mutilated but it seems that he carried a sword in the left hand. The rear hands of Nṛsiṁha are raised above diagonally. On the proper right is a male figure holding a shield in the upraised left hand. On the other side is depicted another male holding a mace in both the hands raised in front. The typical emblems of Viṣṇu are conspicuous by their absence even here. These early images, thus seem to continue the Gupta tradition and partially correspond to the description of Nṛsiṁha as given in the *VDP*.[56] Similar images occur in the corresponding principal niches of HH-3 and VT-1 also. They measure 47×22 cm. and 44×31 cm. respectively. A smaller but similar early image is studded in the wall of the corridor of SMT.

In the north-eastern *karṇa-rathikā* of the north wall of ST-2 (*Pl. 52*) is an elegant image of Nṛsiṁha in the *ālīḍha* pose, resting his left foot on the back of prostrate demon and tearing open the entrails of the demon lying on his knee. Another demon with a mace is shown fleeing on the right. The god, wearing usual ornaments, has got a fierce open mouth with manes falling on the shoulders. Interesting, however, is the appearance of the mace and disc in the back hands of the deity. The image is in striking correspondence to the description of *Agni Purāṇa* which says that the god should hold the disc and mace in his two hands, striking the demon, lying on his left thigh, with the other two.[57]

A six-handed image of Nṛsiṁha exists on the north wall of Satya Nārāyaṇa Temple. The god, putting his right foot on the chest of a demon, holds Hiraṇyakaśipu on his knee tearing open his entrails with proper hands, holding him by the hair and leg by the other two and the uppermost right hand raised above. Uppermost left hand is damaged. Two demons are depicted as fighting on the extreme lower corners. Hiraṇyakaśipu holds a sword in his right hand.

VT-2 also preserves an image of Nṛsiṁha in the principal niche of its southern wall. It measures 65×37 cm. Here the octomanous god is standing in *pratyālīḍha*

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pose, resting his right foot on the right folded arm of probably Garuḍa seated gracefully in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*. The god bears a ferocious look with wide open mouth, bulging round eyes and flamboyant manes.[58] Interestingly enough, a small ornamental tiara resembling almost exactly the one on the head of Nṛsiṁha from Deogarh, belonging to the Gupta period,[59] is shown on the head of this figure. The god also wears a double pearl necklace with a pendant in the centre, the *yajñopavīta*, *vanamālā*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas*, *nūpuras* and the lower garment. *Śrīvatsa* mark adorns his chest. With two lowermost hands, he is holding Hiraṇyakaśipu lying on his folded right leg, by hair and leg. The other two hands, partly, damaged, show him as usual, tearing asunder the entrails of the demon. The uppermost two pairs of hands are mutilated but a part of them on the proper right hand side unmistakably indicates their number. A small figure near the left foot of the god, though mutilated, can be recognised as Śrī from the lotus-bud held in her left hand. Another one on the opposite side is completely gone. On the top right corner are shown two flying *gandharvas* in a small pillared niche. A similar eight-handed figure, 57×43 cm., exists in the principal niche of the southern wall of VT-3 also (*Pl. 53*). The god with face mutilated, is shown in the *pratyālīḍha* pose, resting his right foot on a lotus placed on the chest of demon. Hiraṇyakaśipu, lying on the folded right knee and held tightly by the tuft and left leg by the Lord, holds a sword in his right hand and a long dagger is shown tucked up in his waist-band on the right hand side. The proper hands of the god are engaged in tearing open the entrails of the demon. The uppermost two pairs of hands, raised above, are broken below the elbows, as also are the proper hands. Near the right foot of Nṛsiṁha are shown two figures—one seated and pointing backward and another standing behind the former and looking at the god. These figures may be identified as those of Garuḍa and Prahlāda. A bud with a long stalk is shown issuing forth from behind on the left of the Lord. All the figures in the composition are tastefully bedecked with ornaments.

These octomanous images seem to agree with the description of Nṛsiṁha given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.[60]

We thus see that Nṛsiṁha worship was quite popular at Osian from about the eighth to the tenth century A.D. and the images carved during this period show a gradual development from the Gupta tradition of depicting the deity without Vaiṣṇava emblems to the elaborate octomanous images of the medieval period.[61]

Vāmana-Trivikrama:—Having its rudiments in the three steps of Viṣṇu referred to in the *RV*[62], the Vāmana myth seems to have developed during the Brāhmaṇical period.[63] The myth of king Bali and Vāmana is, however, referred to in the *Rām.*[64] for the first time and later related in the *HV*[65] and other *Purāṇas*.[66]

In the realm of plastic art, this incarnation of Viṣṇu finds representation either as Vāmana 'dwarf', depicting the earlier part of the myth, or as Trivikrama, the dwarf assuming gigantic form for measuring the three worlds with his three strides.[67] It is this second form which is met with at Osian.

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In all we have six representations of quadrumanous Trivikrama in the principal niches of the three HH and three Viṣṇu (Nos. 1, 4 and 5) temples. Another interesting feature is that on all temples facing west Trivikrama is invariably represented in the principal niches of the southern wall and on other temples facing west (VT-1) or south (VT-4 and 5), he is represented in similar niches of the western wall.

The earliest image of the group measures 48×34 cm. and comes from HH-1[68]. It shows the god, bedecked with a beautiful *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* having a jewel in the centre, ear ornaments, *ekāvalī*, *keyūras kaṅkaṇas*, *vanamālā* and under garment secured with twisted rope-like waist-band, crushing the head of the demon Rāhu[69] in profile with his left leg raised aloft to the level of the head. The proper right hand rests on the waist, the upper right holds the mace,[70] the back left the disc and the front left the conch. Below the left leg is shown king Bali with a pot of water, evidently making his offering to Vāmana who stands with an open parasol in front. Two figures behind Vāmana represent Śukra and Bali, the former holding the latter by the right arm in order to dissuade him from making an offering.[71] The head of a horse near the proper right hand placed on hip is symbolic of the horse-sacrifice at which the offering was made. A small male figure holding the right leg of the god, identified by Kalpana Desai with the king, represents Namuci. There is, however, another figure of an adoring male with both legs folded upwards, carved just above Bali under the left leg of the god.[72] Since it has been depicted as such even in the Trivikrama images of HH-2 and 3 also, it seems to be significant. It may be symbolic of the gods revering the Lord.

The representation on HH-2, measuring 44×27 cm., differs only in minor details. The god holds a lotus in the proper right hand and in place of Garuḍa, the forepart of the horse to left is shown. The image on HH-3 is identical but the horse on left is mutilated (*Pl. 54*). The sequence of the four small figures is slightly changed. Śukra dissuades Bali but the latter makes the offering to Vāmana who now occupies the extreme right side. The composition on the whole is more pleasing. It measures 47×27 cm. and is carved with care.

Trivikrama on the principal southern niche of VT-1, 44×31 cm. in size, is basically similar to the preceding examples but is comparatively simpler in expression. The images on VT-4 and 5, however, show profuse ornamentation characteristic of the tenth-eleventh century images. The head of the demon instead of being in profile as in the preceding examples, is now carved as facing with a wide open mouth and bulging round eyes giving a fierce look. Below the upraised left leg of the Lord is carved a horse (face mutilated) standing on hind legs in profile to right, Śukra dissuading Bali and the latter making an offering to Vāmana find representation as usual. On left is perhaps Garuḍa in profile, facing outward, seated with bent legs on a lotus and hands turned to the back. Behind the disc on the left shoulder of the god is partially visible a female figure seated in profile with an offering in the hands raised in front. It may be the figure of Pṛthvī. Small lotus buds on long sinuating stalks are shown in the background, indicating perhaps the nether world.

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A partly mutilated figure of Trivikrama exists on the western principal niche of VT-5 (*Pl. 55*). The god bears a *śrīvatsa* mark also. On the right, under the raised left leg of the Lord, is shown a sage seated in adoration in profile on a lotus issuing forth from behind the panel below which are depicted Śukra, Bali and Vāmana from right to left, but their upper parts are mutilated. Garuḍa with a long beaked nose and frizzled locks of hair raised erect stands in profile on the left holding the *vanamālā*.

Satya Nārāyaṇa Temple shows in its southern wall an interesting image of octomanous Trivikrama holding clockwise lotus, mace, sword, drawing arrow from quiver, disc, shield, bow and conch, standing in the usual pose with left foot raised to the face of Rāhu. Four deities, not identifiable, have been carved in a row above.

Paraśurāma and Rāma Dāśarathī : have not been represented in any niche of the Osian temples. They figure in the panels of the *parikara* of a standing Viṣṇu image described above. The latter is depicted in some *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes carved on the lintels of the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* of SMT. The *narapīṭha* of the *vedībandha* of VT-5 also shows some *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes of which one depicting Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa being carried by Hanumān on his shoulders is particularly mentionable here. Some other scenes depict Samudra 'Ocean' with human bust and piscatorial lower portion, monkeys carrying stones, Nīla giving instructions to the monkeys, Hanumān eating mangoes in the *Aśoka-vāṭikā* etc.

Kṛṣṇa-Balarāma :—Though the *RV*[73] mentions the seer Kṛṣṇa Aṅgiras and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*[74] also alludes to one Kṛṣṇa Aṅgiras yet Kṛṣṇa as *Devakīputra* is mentioned for the first time in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*[75] as a pupil of Ghora Aṅgiras. How he came to be deified and identified with Vāsudeva is not fully known. Scholars have expressed the possibility of Vāsudeva belonging to the Kṛṣṇāyana *gotra* mentioned by Pāṇini.[76] It may be surmised that the legends of cowherd Kṛṣṇa were later associated with Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa[77] when the latter, initially worshipped as a Vṛṣṇi hero, got deified and came to be regarded as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. We have already noted above as to how a cult developed around Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, one of the Vṛṣṇi-*pañca-vīrāḥ* and became popular in the 4th and 3rd century B.C. The *Mbh.* contains innumerous references to Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu[78] and the *HV* gives detailed accounts of Kṛṣṇa-*līlā*.[79]

No cult image of Kṛṣṇa has come to light from Osian in spite of the fact that Goetz named HH-3 as a Kṛṣṇa Temple. Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes[80], however, appear on ST-3, HH-1 to 3 and VT-5 indicating that the theme remained popular at Osian throughout the main part of its life-history. That a tradition of depicting Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes existed in Rajasthan is evident from Gupta and post-Gupta terracottas found from the Bikaner region[81] as also the Mandor pillars.[82]

ST-3, the earliest extant temple at Osian, depicts the following scenes (*Pl. 56*) on the lintels under the ceiling of the porch : birth of Kṛṣṇa in jail, transfer and exchange of the child, Nanda and Yaśoda (churning butter), Pūtanā-*vadha*, Śakaṭa-

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bhaṅga, Tṛṇāvarta-*vadha*, Yamalārjuna-*bhaṅga*, Kāliya-*mardana*, Keśī-*vadha*, Govardhana-*dhāraṇa*, Ariṣṭāsura-*vadha*, Dheṇuka-*vadha*, Kuvalayāpīḍa-*vadha*, Śāla or Cāṇūra-*vadha* and Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa-*vadha*. Some interesting features of the narrative are : two doorkeepers with long and thick staffs shown outside the jail; Kṛṣṇa being taken by Vāsudeva on horseback for exchange; Yaśodā with a child waiting for Vāsudeva; two human figures—those of Nalakubera and Maṇigrīva—falling from the trees uprooted by Kṛṣṇa; Balarāma with a plough canopied by a cobra looking at Govardhana-dhara along with two females; a panel of drummers and musicians (Gopas?) filling the gap between the scenes of Kuvalayāpīḍa-*vadha* and Śāla-*vadha*, and Balarāma assaulting Lomaharṣaṇa with his plough hooked to the latter's neck. Frizzled locks of hair, dress and ornaments depicted in these scenes are reminiscent of the Gupta art tradition.

HH temples and VT-1 contain more or less the same scenes conceptually and compositionally and it has been rightly observed by Michael W. Meister that "These scenes as represented on different temples at Osian vary in quality, those on Harihar 1 and 3 exceeding those on Harihar 2 (*Pl. 57*) both in vitality of expression and in sculptural skill," and that "at Osian scenes consist largely of vertical figures, with little interlocking to the composition. Many scenes are filled with attendant Gopas, who proudly dance or proudly watch, but who add only a certain liveliness to the sculptural conception."[83]

With the exception of ST-3 and VT-5 which depict Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes on the lintels of the porch and the *narapīṭha* respectively, all temples bear them on the *kaṇṭha*. Another notable point is that except ST-3 which shows the narrative beginning on the western lintel all temples carry the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes depicted in a sequence according to the *pradakṣiṇā* order: on the north side on HH-1 and 2 and VT-1, which all face west and on the southern wall of HH-3 which faces east,[84] conceptionally similar and morphologically almost identical, these scenes are as described below:[85]

1. Kṛṣṇa's birth, Vāsudeva carrying the baby towards the open door of the jail outside which a guard with a heavy pestle-like staff in the right hand stands (asleep).
2. Vāsudeva exchanging the child with the one held in Yaśodā's hands.[86]
3. Yaśodā churning butter using stick and string; child Kṛṣṇa meddling with the post and Nanda sitting behind Yaśodā on a stool.[87]
4. The central panel showing three events: the killing of Pūtanā in the centre, Kṛṣṇa pulling the mortar to uproot a twin Yamalārjuna tree on the left and what has been described by Meister as "Kṛṣṇa subduing the whirl wind, Tṛṇāvarta" on the right. We would rather identify this scene with Kaṁsa killing the new-born daughter of Nanda.[88]
5. Kṛṣṇa upturning the cart (Śakaṭa-*bhaṅga*), birds pecking at the pots filled with grain.
6. Boys of Vṛṇdāvana playing "like deer, two and two together."[89]

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7. Kṛṣṇa slaying the bull-demon Ariṣṭa and the horse-demon Keśī, Baladeva looking on.[90]
8. Kṛṣṇa uplifting Govardhana mountain.
9. Kṛṣṇa slaying an associate of Dheṇuka, the ass-demon, who lies already slain by Balarāma, at the foot of a tree.[91]
10. Kṛṣṇa climbing a tree to leap into the river infested by the snake Kāliya, and then fighting with him.[92]
11. Kṛṣṇa subduing Kāliya and being adored by his wives.
12. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma departing from the Gopīs.
13. Meeting the washerman (?)
14. Kṛṣṇa killing Kaṁsa's elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa and Gopas dancing with joy.
15. Gopas playing on musical instruments.[93]
16. Kṛṣṇa wrestling with Śāla,[94] Gopas dancing on the right and finally Balarāma assaulting Lomaharṣaṇa.[95]

Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are depicted on the ceiling in the centre of the dome with eight adoring *nāgas* around in ST-3.

The scene of Kubjoddhāra found elsewhere[96] in Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes is conspicuous by its absence at Osian.

Meister has aptly remarked that "The scenes at Osian however, have joyousness and rusticity which goes beyond the naivete of their composition". But it is difficult to agree fully with him when he says that "At Osian, in the 8th century, the emphasis parallels the emphasis of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*" because "there are no Nalakubera and Maṇigrīva, only Kṛṣṇa pulling the mortar fiercely to tear the trees down."[97] We have already taken note of the two sons of Kubera shown as falling from the twin tree Yamalārjuna in ST-3 which is the earliest extant temple at Osian. Meister, however, has completely missed the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes in this temple as also on the *narapīṭha* of VT-5.

Balarāma:—A form of Viṣṇu, an incarnation of Ananta[98] and an elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma was one of the Vṛṣṇi heroes worshipped along with Kṛṣṇa at an early date. He was destined to be born as the seventh son of Devakī, wife of Vasudeva, but was miraculously transferred to the womb of Rohiṇī, another wife of Vasudeva by Yama, and hence his name Saṁkarṣaṇa.[99]

With Kṛṣṇa, he killed the demons like Dheṇuka, Muṣṭika, Pralamba, etc. and we have already seen that he figures in some of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes.[100] Balarāma married Revatī, daughter of king Revata. He was addicted to wine. Because of being very strong he is known as Baladeva also. His standard was a *tāla* 'palm', so he is known as Tāladhvaja, Tālaketu and Tālāṅka also.[101] Blue clothes, a single ear-ring and *vanamālā* were his special characteristics.[102] He figures in Jaina legends also.

According to the *Caturvyūha* concept as noted above, Saṁkarṣaṇa represents all living beings. According to the Pāñcarātra school, Balarāma should carry plough

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and pestle as his attributes.[103] Pestle is indicative of prowess with which Balarāma is particularly associated, but how the plough came to be associated with him is not known. May be because Saṁkarṣaṇa literally means 'one who pulls' and the plough is the best implement for doing so. Plough is associated with agriculture and production, with fertility in other words. Balarāma being the incarnation of Śeṣa, may be representative of primaeval waters and fertility. And hence his association with plough. It is, however, evident that the worship of Balarāma has been greatly influenced by *Nāga* worship.[104]

According to *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (*BS*) "Balarāma should be shown with a ploughshare in his hand, and his eyes should be round and rolling indicating his inebriety; he should wear only one ear-ring and his body should be white like a conch-shell, moon or a (white) lotus."[105] The *VDP* describes him in his *vyūha* as well as *vibhava* forms. In the former, he should be carved as holding a pestle and ploughshare in his two hands[106] and as an incarnation of Śeṣa, he should have a canopy of serpent hoods, bedecked with all ornaments, holding a lotus and a pestle in his right hands and ploughshare and conch in the left ones.[107] *Agni Purāṇa* also describes his two-handed and four-handed images, the former holding the mace and the ploughshare and the latter having conch and pestle in the additional hands.[108] Interesting images of Balarāma are known from various parts of north India.[109]

We have already referred to Vāsudeva-Saṁkarṣaṇa images carved on the pilasters of ST-2 and 3 and Baladeva in Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes. The image on the right hand side pilaster of ST-3 shows Saṁkarṣaṇa riding an anthropomorphic Garuḍa. He wears a crown and ear-ring in the right ear only while a *karṇa-phūla* is indicated in the left. Canopied by a multicephalous cobra, he holds a lotus and ploughshare in the proper and rear right hands and a pestle in the rear left hand while the normal left is placed on the respective thigh. Almost identical is the figure carved on the left hand side pilaster of ST-2 showing Garuḍa supporting the feet of the god on his palms. The god holds ploughshare and pestle in the rear hands and conch in one of the proper hands. The other hand is in *jñāna-mudrā* which is quite unusual.[110]

The best and most elegant image of Balarāma, however, adorns the principal niche of the north wall of the south-eastern corner shrine of HH-1.[111] It shows Balarāma standing embracing Revatī (*Pl. 58*). Canopied by a seven-hooded cobra[112], the quadrumanous god holds a ploughshare in his rear right hand and a discus in the rear left.[113] His proper right hand is placed on the head of an attendant who is shown as carrying a wine-cup in his right hand held near the chest. We have got no canonical evidence regarding the personification of the wine-cup, but the figure has been carved just in simulation of the *āyudha-puruṣas*. The corresponding left hand of Balarāma clasps the consort by her left breast. Interestingly enough, he is shown as wearing ear-rings in both his ears. The right hand of Revatī is wound round the neck of Balarāma while in the other she holds a mirror.[114]

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Another beautiful image comes from ST-2 (*Pl. 59*). Measuring 35×30 cm. it shows the god wearing a *kirīṭa* with central jewel, ear-rings in both the ears, pearl necklet, wristlets, bracelets, *vanamālā* and an under garment secured by the waist-band whose free ends fall as pendants on the thighs. Quincephalous cobra serves as his canopy. The god holds the ploughshare and staff-like pestle in the rear hands. The front left hand is shown round the neck of a wine-flask holder whose face is mutilated. The normal right hand is damaged. The figure on the right side of the god, standing gracefully, has its face mutilated, but to judge from the hair, the figure may have been that of a Garuḍa.[115]

HH-1 and 2 also contain images of Balarāma, measuring 41×27 cm. and 44×27 cm. respectively in the third niche of the basement in the *pradakṣiṇā* order. In the former, the god is shown standing, holding a ploughshare in the rear right hand and a mace with thicker end on ground in the normal right. Both the left hands are damaged. The other image too is not in a good state of preservation.

An interesting image unfortunately under a thick encrustation of white wash, lies unnoticed in the store-house of the SMT. It shows the quadrumanous god standing in *dvibhaṅga* under the canopy of a quincephalous cobra. The front right hand is raised above the head while the rear one holds the ploughshare. The normal left hand holds a wine-cup near the chest. The back left hand is not clear. *Vanamālā* is clearly visible. Near the feet on either side are small attendant figures. The image seems to have originally belonged to some early shrine, probably Jaina.

It is also interesting to note that the *mithuna-śākhā* of ST-3 shows the male as having four rows of upraised frizzled locks of hair giving the semblance of snake-hood and the accompanying female in one instance is depicted as holding a wine-flask. The male figure in this particular panel is shown as wearing only one ear-ring in the right ear. Other panels also give the impression that the *mithuna* represents Balarāma and Revatī. Interestingly enough, Balarāma occurs on the lintel of SMT and the west face of Govardhana pillar also.

Buddha :—As an incarnation of Viṣṇu, Buddha has found representation in a niche, 45×30 cm., on the south-eastern corner of the south wall of the basement of HH-1[116] (*Pl. 60*). Buddha is shown as seated on a *siṁhāsana* in *padmāsana* in *dhyāna-mudrā*. Two lions are shown back to back with a wheel in profile in the centre under the seat. On either side of Buddha stand attendant figures. In the top corners are shown a garland bearing *vidyādhara* on either side. The image is worn out but important as it furnishes evidence regarding the inclusion of Buddha in the list of Viṣṇu's incarnations in the eighth century A.D.

Kalki :—But for a panel on the *parikara* of a standing Viṣṇu image showing Kalki, no independent image of the future incarnation has been discovered from Osian. Nor have Hayagrīva[117], Nara-Nārāyaṇa, Vaikuṇṭha and Viśvarūpa been represented anywhere.

Vaiṣṇava Āyudha-Puruṣas and Dvārapālas :—*Āyudha-puruṣas*, a characteristic feature of the Gupta icons[118], are seen in some of the Viṣṇu images at Osian.

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Śaṅkha and Cakra-*puruṣa* are more popularly depicted. Besides some of the Viṣṇu images described above, the composite images of Harihara on the walls of HH-1 to 3 and VT-3 also show *āyudha-puruṣas*, popularly Cakra-*puruṣa*. It will be of interest to note that Śaṅkha and Cakra-*puruṣa* appear as ostiaries on the doorways of VT-3 to 5. They hold the Vaiṣṇava emblem in one hand and the other is generally akimbo. Viṣṇu images, 64×36 cm. in size, conforming to Hṛśīkeśa and Hari forms, stand as ostiaries between two pillars each on the proper right and left of the entrance to the porch of VT-5 and Adhokṣaja and Pradyumna on the entrance of VT-4. No independent image of Garuḍa has been found from Osian.

II. *SŪRYA*

Sūrya, the brightest among the visible celestial luminous bodies and the 'one who animates or arouses (the world)'[119] has been worshipped by mankind since time immemorial in an aniconic form initially and iconic later on.[120] Described in the *RV* as 'the beautiful-winged celestial bird Garutmān[121] 'a little white brilliant steed brought by Uṣas'[122] 'moving on a car drawn by one, several or seven fleet and ruddy steeds'[123], he is shown later as riding on a one-wheeled (*eka-cakra*) chariot drawn by four, five or seven horses with Aruṇa, a brother of Garutmān, as his charioteer, attended on either side by arrow-shooting Uṣā and Pratyūṣā personifying the different aspects of 'dawn' and signifying the driving away of darkness. Lotus, symbolic of the presence of sun in which it blossoms, became his attribute in both hands to show ubiquity. Lotus also symbolises the beauty of creation[124] which can only be realised in the light provided by the sun. His names Aryaman, Vivasvān and Mitra have their foreign parallels.[125] In the early centuries of the Christian era, the import of the Maga (Bhojaka)[126] priests from Iran gave a new turn to Sun worship in India. Scythian impact brought for Sūrya long boots, *avyaṅga*[127], acolytes wearing typical northern dress, and sometimes a dagger also, thus causing a reorientation in the creation of his images, in north India in particular, and *Pauraṇic* mythology played its part in providing him wives and sons, which too are sometimes shown on his images. Described as 'the soul of the movable and immovable things' in the *RV*[128], Sūrya did not take much time to become 'the Lord of gods' (*deveśvara*).[129] The lord of light became the embodiment of the Hindu trinity in the Gupta period[130] and various cults vied with each other in identifying their supreme deities with Sūrya. 'Supreme Godhead' of Sūrya became established[131] and Sun worship spread far and wide, in every direction, like his rays.

Our account of the sanctuaries of Osian makes it explicit that Sun worship was very popular here. The earliest extant and the most magnificent of the temples belong to Sūrya. Unfortunately, the original cult images of these Sun shrines have not been found. That they must have been beautiful pieces of art can only be guessed. Nevertheless, we still have some interesting images preserved in the principal or subsidiary niches of some of the fanes at Osian.

The principal back niche of ST-3 contains an image of sun, 83×49 cm. in size, showing the deity standing in contraposto, wearing a flat topped *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, ear

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ornaments, necklace, *avyaṅga*, lower garment secured by a chain-shaped waist-band, thick boots and a scarf simulating a *vanamālā* (*Pl. 61*). Behind the head is a gloriole carved with lotus-leaf pattern. Both the arms are broken below elbows but the lotuses held in the two hands are extant though partially mutilated. On either side of the head are shown garland bearing *vidyādharas* to front.[132] Between the feet of Sūrya stands *pralambahastā* earth-goddess Mahāśvetā in *samabhaṅga* pose. On the proper right in Piṅgala, standing in *dvi-bhaṅga* in a northerner's dress holding a pen and an ink-pot in his two hands. On the corresponding other side stands Daṇḍī in analogous dress and posture holding a staff in his right hand and the left is *kaṭyavalaṁbita*. Carved at the base of the two innermost scroll and floral bands on either side is a beautiful famale figure holding a water-pot in one hand at the shoulder towards the side of the deity and resting the other hand on waist. Reminiscent of Gaṅgā and Yamunā on the base of the *pedyās* of the doorways in some temples, similar figures are carved on the sides of the principal niche of the southern wall on either side of Gaṇapati also. They, thus, cannot be identified with Sūrya's spouses Chāyā and Suvarcasā.

Almost identical image exists in the principal back niche of ST-2 (*Pl.62*). It measures 68×51 cm. The god is shown in a similar pose but the earth-goddess at the feet and the halo behind the head are no more there. The god wears a crown bedecked with a central jewel. Frizzled locks of hair fall on the shoulders and the *uttarīya* is substituted by *vanamālā*. Both hands are broken. The *avyaṅga* is represented by a knot of the two ends, wound round the back, at the chest. Wearing a similar dress with *vanamālā* substituted by an upper garment are Piṅgala with a pen in the right and manuscript in the left hand and Daṇḍa with a long staff in the right hand and *kaṭyavalambita* left, on the proper right and left of Sūrya respectively. The female figures carved at the base of the jambs of the *rathikā* are similar to those of ST-3 but they hold lotus flowers. A garland bearing *vidyādhara* is carved above the head of Sūrya as if it were the *lalāṭa-bimba* of the *rathikā*.

Sūrya in the principal back niche of ST-1 does not differ much from the images described above. Measuring 47×22 cm., it shows miniature figures of Piṅgala and Daṇḍa on the proper right and left respectively.

HH-1 to 3 also contain images of Sūrya in their *pratiratha rathikās* measuring 27×13 cm. (*Pl. 63*), 42×16 cm. and 47×17 cm. respectively. Almost identical, they show the deity standing in *samabhaṅga* on a lotus pedestal, wearing usual ornaments including *vanamālā* and *avyaṅga*, holding a lotus in either hand and with Piṅgala and Daṇḍa at the feet.

The south-eastern corner shrine of HH-1 contains in the principal niche of its east wall an image of Sūrya, 40×18 cm. in size, resembling the one in the principal back niche of ST-3 described above. What, however, is interesting to note is that a sword is shown on his proper right on the *bhadra* projection while his acolytes and spouses are shown on the juxta and corner buttresses. Probably the corresponding subsidiary shrine of HH-2 also contained a similar image but it is now broken above the *vedībandha* mouldings. The north-east corner niches of the basement of both these

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temples also contain two handed seated Sūrya images holding lotuses, riding a chariot drawn by seven horses. They measure 45×27 cm. and 44×28 cm. respectively. Both are very much damaged.

Standing images of Sūrya holding lotuses, wearing coat of mail and *vanamālā* besides the usual ornaments and attended by Kuṇḍī and Daṇḍī, figure in small niched panels of the lintel of VT-4 and 5 as the first of the nine astral divinities. In all other Hindu shrines, Sūrya figures amongst the *navagrahas* as a seated divinity. A Govardhana pillar at Osian also shows a small standing figure of Sūrya with usual features and attributes. Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa adorns the *tilaka* panel of the *saparikara* standing Viṣṇu image described above. Sūrya also figures as an important deity in the Hariharahiraṇyagarbha images, found from Osian.[133]

We thus see that the available images of Sūrya at Osian are rather simple. They show the deity standing on plain or lotus pedestal, sometimes riding a chariot drawn by seven horses, having only two hands holding lotus flowers, with or without Mahāśvetā but invariably attended by the acolytes Daṇḍa and Piṅgala. Uṣā and Pratyūṣā as well as Sūrya's spouses Chāyā and Suvarcasā, typical of his representations from north India, are generally absent here.[134] And so also are his sons though represented elsewhere.[135]

III. *ŚIVA*

An important deity of the Hindu trinity Śiva is being worshipped since prehistoric times.[136] The terrific god Rudra associated with hills and animals in the *RV*[137] came to be looked upon later as the Lord of all creatures (*Paśupati*) and a Mahāyogī, an originator and exponent of various arts and accomplishments like music, dancing etc., thus becoming Śiva 'auspicious'.[138] The *AV* presupposes his ascendancy to the supreme position[139] and assigns him various epithets such as Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugra, Mahādeva and Īśāna, to which the *Śatapatha* (*ŚB*)[140], and the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*[141] added Aśani and typified his terrific and peaceful aspects—*ghora* and *saumya* respectively.[142] It is, however, of interest that in the *RV*[143], one of Rudra's epithets is Vṛṣabha and in the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (*TS*) of *YV*[144] he is associated with Ambikā as his sister. The *Mbh.*[145] describes Śiva as the creator, omnipresent, omnipotent and omniscient and the *Rām.* accords him the rank and status of the highest god.[146] The latter also mentions Nandī.[147] The sectarian *Purāṇas* accord Śiva the supreme status.

Though the exact date of the complete emergence of the cult centring round Rudra-Śiva cannot exactly be determined[148] yet references to Śiva-bhāgavatas by Patañjali[149] and Pāśupatas in later texts and inscriptions[150] do indicate that a cult had evolved, may be in its rudimentary form, round Śiva-Paśupati in the early centuries of the Christian era.[151] Śiva's worship, however, has remained popular in both aniconic [152] and iconic[153] forms since the last quarter of the first millennium B.C.[154]

As far as Osian is concerned, we do not have many representations of Śiva in the *Liṅga* form[155] in spite of the fact that there were at least two shrines dedicated

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to this deity. Different forms of the deity depicted at Osian are described below.

Naṭarāja :—The earliest Śiva image comes from the north-eastern corner niche of the north wall of ST-3 (*Pl.64*). It measures 51×29 cm. and shows octomanous Śiva in a dancing pose. The front right hand is broken but it seems to have been dispensed in *abhaya-mudrā*. The front left is extended in *gaja-hasta-mudrā*. The second pair of hands in *jñāna-mudrā*, the right one touching the tips of the thumb and another finger of the left hand is beautifully depicted. The third right hand holds the trident but the object in the corresponding left is not clear. The rear-most pair of hands holds serpent above the head. The god wears matted locks with a crest-jewel in the centre, ear-rings, *ekāvalī*, *aṅgadas*, *kaṅkaṇas* and the lower garment. Nandī sits crouchant to right behind the god. The space on the left near the right foot of Śiva is filled by a *gaṇa* playing on drums.[156] Just like the dancing Śiva in the Jhalawar Museum[157], the composition of the main figure with the attendant *gaṇa* and Nandī, has been carried out "by the carver's concentration on the vigour of the Tāṇḍava dance in a free flow which uplifts the dynamic body of Śiva above the decorations. The curves of the legs emphasise the rhythmic grace in spite of the limited space which allowed only for a squat central figure."[158] Another analogous image occurs in the lower register of the fronton of SMT. An image of dancing Śiva once existed on the western wall of the north western corner shrine of HH-2 also but is missing now.

Vīṇādhara-Dakṣiṇā Mūrti :—Quadrumanous Vīṇādhara-Dakṣiṇā *mūrtis* of Śiva holding a *vīṇā* (lute) in the normal hands, and a dumb-bell and bowl in the rear right and left respectively, with the bull near the right foot and female attendants on either side, occur in the niches of the corner spires of the SMT.

Īśāna :—Śiva-Īśāna is shown on the *kaṇṭha* of the north wall of HH-3 under the cornice slab. The god holds a trident and a snake in his two hands. Śiva seated in *lalitāsana* with same attributes is depicted in a small panel of the lintel of ST-1. *Dikpāla* Īśāna has, however, been dealt with elsewhere in this work.

Kalyāṇa-Sundara Mūrti :—Images depicting the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī[159], known as Kalyāṇa-Sundara or Vaivāhika or Śiva-Vivāha *mūrtis*, though found from several parts of India,[160] are comparatively rarer in north India. Described in details in the *Āgamas*[161], Kalyāṇa-Sundara images generally show Śiva holding the hand of Pārvatī (*Pāṇigrahaṇa*) with Brahmā acting as officiating priest. Sometimes accessory figures also occur on these images.[162] The subsidiary shrine on the north-west corner of HH-2 contains an image of Kalyāṇa-Sundara (*Pl. 65*) in the principal niche of its eastern wall. Four-handed Śiva wearing *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvalī*, *yajñopavīta*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas* and an *adhovastra* standing in *tribhaṅga* pose, slightly turned to his left, holds the hands of Pārvatī standing slightly turned towards Śiva, with his normal hands. The rear right and left hands of Śiva hold the trident and serpent respectively. Between Śiva and Pārvatī is carved a small figure of Brahmā, performing the marriage. The faces of both Śiva

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and Pārvatī are mutilated and Brahmā can hardly be recognised. Though simpler in composition than all known examples[163] yet the rhythmic flow of lines, tenderness of treatment and Rajasthani primitiveness render it a remarkable piece of great artistic importance.[164]

Āliṅgana-Mūrtis :—On the buffer portions of the west walls of VT-4 and 5 are carved Śiva and Pārvatī standing embracing each other. On VT-4 Śiva is shown with a high *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, hair combed backward, wearing *sarpa-kuṇḍalas*, triple pearl necklet and necklace, sacred thread, armlets, bracelets, *vanamālā*, elaborate pearl-stringed waist-band forming loops on the thighs and free-ends on the knees like pendants. The lower garment covers a part of the thighs above the knees and a sash falls in the middle of the legs. *Śrīvatsa* mark also exists on the chest of Śiva who holds a lotus in the normal right hand and the trident in rear right. His front left hand goes from behind the back of Pārvatī and clasps her left breast. The back left hand from round Pārvatī's neck rests on her left shoulder and probably held a serpent, now mutilated. Pārvatī also wears triple-stringed necklet with a long pendant falling from between her breasts. A necklace falls on her breasts also. Her waist-band is similar to that of her spouse and the hair-coiffure consists of a lotus pod encompassed by a high ribbon edged with pearls. The *uttarīya* worn from over the arms has its free ends falling gracefully near the knees of the goddess. With her right arm she embraces Śiva taking her hand to the right shoulder of the latter and holds a full-blossomed lotus in the left. Nandī with head broken, stands to left behind Śiva.

The image on VT-5 (*Pl. 66*) is much better preserved and is more elaborate. The hair-coiffures, dress and ornaments show exuberance and more detailed treatment. Śiva's normal right hand is broken. In the rear right he holds a trident spiralled by a tricephalous snake. A similar three-hooded cobra is held in his rear left hand. The normal left hand clasps the left breast of his consort, Pārvatī too embraces Śiva with her right arm and holds a *vījapūraka* in the left. Nandī stands to left behind Śiva. Gaṇeśa and Skanda stand on left and right near the feet of their parents. A *gaṇa* to left has been carved on the left foot of Śiva. In spite of the conventionalism, the detailed care, exuberance of ornamentation, intricate but pleasing composition and graceful carving revealed by this image makes it an interesting example of western Indian art of the eleventh century A.D.

A small panel on the lintel of HH-2 shows Śiva and Pārvatī on Nandī. The *kaṇṭha* on the central projection of the north wall of HH-3 also contains a similar image of Śiva-Pārvatī on Nandī under the cornice slabs.

Bhairava :—On the upper register of the fronton of the SMT, just to the right of the central niche which harbours Mahiṣamardinī, is carved Bhairava having a terrific look with hair standing in the conventional design indicating horripilation. Wearing armlets, bracelets, skull garland, anklets, lower garment etc. the god holds a sword and bowl in the normal and a snake and scutum in the rear light and left hands respectively. A dog sits near the right foot, looking above. The body of Bhairava is taking a queer flexion (*atibhaṅga*) showing the lower half of the body as

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turned backward but upper half as usual, resulting in the placement of the right leg on the left and the left leg coming to right side. A fierce-looking bearded and emaciated acolyte with a dagger in the right hand and the other hand raised above as if in salutation is carved on the right of the deity. Though it does not correspond fully to the description of any iconographical texts, yet it can be identified as the Baṭuka-Bhairava of *VDP*[165] and *RM*[166].

Another beautiful image of Bhairava (*Pl.67*) adorns the south-western *kapilī-rathikā*, 72×48 cm. of SMT. Bhairava with flaming hair (*jvalatkeśa*), round eyes, side tusks, ear-rings, snake-necklace, sacred thread, snake waist-band, osseous *vanamālā*, *aṅgadas*, *kaṅkaṇas* and *nūpuras* but nude stands in *tribhaṅga* holding a long upward pointing sword and skull held by hair in the normal right and left hands and bell and shield in the corresponding rear hands. The dog on the right is licking the blood oozing from the severed head held by the god. On the other side is an acolyte, naked like his Lord, holding a sword in the right hand raised above the head and a bowl in the left. The deity depicted here is called Kṣetrapāla[167] in the inscription carved on the back wall of the *mūlaprāsāda* in V.S. 1234. This, thus, is a specifically dated interesting image of Baṭuka-Bhairava (*Kṣetrapāla*).

Dr. B.N. Sharma has referred to a Rāvaṇānugraha-*mūrti* (Rāvaṇa uplifting the Mount Kailāśa) on the wall of HH-2[168] but it has not been seen by us anywhere on the said temple. Of the other minor representations, we have already referred to Śiva as leading the gods in the *Samudra-manthana* frieze, Śiva and Pārvatī seated side by side in the central chapel of the *uttaraṅga* of the SMT, Umā-Maheśvara on Nandī in a panel of the lintel of HH-2 and under the cornice of the central projection of the north wall of HH-3. Śiva seated in *sukhāsana* holding a trident and snake occurs on the lintel of the ST-1 and probably ST-2 also. In a composite form, Śiva can be seen in an Ardhanārīśvara image and some Harihara-hiraṇyagarbha figures also. On the east face of the spire of the Satya Nārāyaṇa Temple is a bearded four handed deity seated in *sukhāsana*, perhaps Lakulīśa.

Triśūla-Puruṣa :—It has been depicted on the syncretistic Harihara icons seen on HH-1 to 3 and VT-3.

Nandī :—We have seen above that Vṛṣabha was originally an epithet of Rudra. The *Mbh.* refers to the bull Nandikeśvara as the mount of Śiva.[169] Several other texts like the *Rām.*, *Śiva-Mahāpurāṇa*, *Liṅga Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgvata Purāṇa* also refer to him and narrate the stories of his origin.[170] In art, Nandī is represented in anthropomorphic form as a duplicate of Śiva, in therianthropic (bull-faced human) form or more often as a bull.

A slightly mutilated but beautiful figure of Nandī, the bull, is now preserved in the MT (*Pl. 68*). The seated figure with a serene look is depicted as if looking forward with watchful eyes towards his master (*Devavīkṣana-tatparaḥ*). With a chain in the neck and a belt of beads with alternate bell and pedant design is wound round the back of the humped animal from over the forelegs. Originally it may have belonged to Śiva Temple No. 2. Another beautifully carved headless Nandī, couchant on a double lotus pedestal, can be seen outside Śiva jī kī Derī.

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IV. *ŚAKTI*

Man has ever been a worshipper of Śakti—the universal energy. Her worship can be traced back in India, as in many other countries of the world, to a very remote past. The pre-historic rock paintings and terracotta mother-goddess figurines, the Vedic invocation to Vāk and other female deities, their identification with primaeval energy and depiction as the creator of universe, the mothers of gods, the spouses of supreme deities and the various names and epithets like Umā-Haimavatī, Rudrānī, Bhavānī, Īśānī, Ambikā, Āryā, Durgā, Kālī, Kauśikī, Kātyāyanī, Aparṇā, Nārāyaṇī, Śiva, Jagadambā, etc. in literary works down the *Ṛgvedic* period are not only indicative of her continued worship but also of different Aryan, non-Aryan and other multifarious strands which contributed to the formation of the concept of her composite character. The culmination is reached in the *Devīmāhātmya* section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* which characterises Devī as symbolising supreme energy, highest knowledge and absolute truth.[171] Representative of the three *guṇas* and the malign and benign aspects, Śakti has been conceived of in various forms—as the inherent energy of different deities and as the primaeval, supreme, universal energy itself. As such, we find her represented as the counter part of various gods or assuming different forms to redress the gods and men of their woes and miseries and punish the wicked.[172] We describe below her various manifestations as encountered at Osian.

Pārvatī :—Daughter of the Himālaya mountain, Pārvatī is looked upon as an unmarried girl, representing together with Umā, different aspects of Gaurī.[173] In the *RM* (V. 3) her figure is described as carrying a rosary, images of Śiva and Gaṇeśa and a water-vessel in her four hands. On either side should be an *agni-kuṇḍa* 'fire altar'. She may also be represented as standing on an iguana (*godhā*), holding a lotus and a rosary in two of the hands, the other two being in protection-affording and boon-giving poses.

In the north-western corner niche of the north wall of ST-2, there is an image of standing Pārvatī, 34×28 cm., in *sambhaṅga* pose showing the goddess as holding a full-blossomed lotus in the rear right hand, the normal right raised to the level of the shoulder in *abhaya* (*Pl.69*). The left hands are mutilated, the front left probably held a water-pot and the rear left some long object (*śakti*?) now completely broken and unidentifiable. She wears a *jaṭā-bhāra*, ear ornaments, *akṣa-hāra* with a pendant free end reaching the navel from between the breasts, *akṣa-kayūras*, *valayas*, lower garment tied with a similar *akṣa*-band. A Śiva-*liṅga* is carved on the left over a triple-slab rectangular projection in the middle. On either side is a figure in adoration. Evidently, Pārvatī is depicted as performing penance to win Śiva's love.

The massive youthful bust over the thin waist seems rather disproportionate to the lower portion but the figure seems to radiate the charm of womanhood and is an interesting relief.

Another image of Pārvatī, standing and performing penance, is now studded in the wall of the corridor of the SMT. It is so much encrusted with oil, dust

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and whitewash that it is difficult to discern its details. A quadrumanous image of Pārvatī seated on a bull, holding lotus and water-pot in the normal and snake and mirror in the rear pair of hands can be seen on the spire of Satya Nārāyaṇa Temple.

Durgā :—It is believed by scholars that a number of deities worshipped by hill tribes are traceable in Durgā.[174] As a synonym of Ambikā who is described in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*[175] and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*[176] as Rudra's sister, the name of Durgā Vairocanī appears alongwith Kātyāyanī and Kanyā-Kumārī for the first time in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*[177] as Rudra's consort. The *Āgamas* and the *Purāṇas* refer to her nine manifestations (Nava Durgā) and describe her iconographic features in details.[178]

Rao[179] has described different forms of Durgā as having four, eight or more hands, three eyes, beautiful look with a well developed bust, stout thighs and big hips, clad in garments, adorned with *kuraṇḍa-mukuṭa* and wearing various ornaments. Standing in the *samabhaṅga*, *dvibhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* upon a lotus, head of a buffalo or a lion, she should carry a trident and a noose, or a parrot or mirror and a blue lily[180] if two-handed; a noose and goad with the other two hands disposed in *abhaya* and *varada* poses in four-handed variety or carrying in addition a conch, discus, bow, arrows, sword, scutum etc. if multi-handed.

Osian has yielded some very beautiful Durgā images. The artistically finest piece is now placed in an improvised niche of the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* of SMT (*Pl. 70*). It shows the quadrumanous goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus seat under which are carved two lions back to back with a pillar surmounted by a circular object in between. The goddess bears a carefully carved *dhammilla* hair-coiffure, (*sarpa*) *kuṇḍalas*, a snake necklace with its tail falling from between the breasts on the navel, *aṅgadas*, *valayas*, *nūpuras* and an *adhovastra* of a tiger-skin indicated by the tail falling from over the left leg under the left hand secured again by what seems to be a *nāga-sūtra*. A plain halo with beaded rim is shown at the back. The goddess carries a trident and a noose in the rear hands, while the normal right raised to the level of the shoulder is disposed in *abhaya-mudrā* and the corresponding left holding a rosary is placed on the calf of the left leg in *varada* pose. The beautitudinous smile, tenderly looking eyes, massive breasts, peculiar grace crept in the curves of the body, mixed with simplicity provide this image an expressionism uniquely its own. It is one of the loveliest reliefs from Osian assignable to the eighth century A.D. or perhaps a bit earlier. An image of Gaja-Lakṣmī (*Pl. 71*) in the same hall is so similar in style and carving that the two seem to have been sculpted by the same craftsman.

There exists in the same complex another neglected image[181] of a supple bodied goddess standing in *samabhaṅga* pose on a lotus supported by two lions placed back to back (*Pl.72*). A female fly-whisker stands on either side partially concealed by the lions. The gloriole behind the head is circumscribed by a deeply and exquisitely carved ring. The goddess wears a typical turban like *jaṭā-bhāra*, ear ornaments, *ekāvalī*, *aṅgadas*, *valayas*, *adhovastra* secured by a chain-like waist-band whose free ends fall on her thighs as pendants. The rear right and

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left hands[182] hold the trident and noose respectively. The normal right hand, though broken, seems to have originally been disposed in *abhaya* pose as a careful examination of the image shows traces of the fingers of the upstretched palm. The front left hand, now completely gone, may have been held in the *varada* pose or held a water-pot. Dhaky has identified this image as that of Kṣemaṅkarī.[183]

Two more almost identical images of Durgā with same attributes exist in the north-western basement niches of the north walls of HH-1 and 2 (*Pl. 73*). Measuring nearly 45×27 cm., the deity in both the niches stands in *samabhaṅga* pose on a lotus supported as in the preceding examples, by two lions standing back to back. The trident and the noose in rear hands, a water-pot in the normal left and the front right in *varada* pose can be seen clearly.[184] The goddess wears, besides the usual ornaments, a *vanamālā* also. Two female fly-whiskers, one on either side, are also shown behind the lions. Both the figures are quite worn out but the characteristic features are clearly discernible.

A small panel in the pediment of the principal niche of the north wall of VT-4 depicts Durgā seated on lion in *ardha-paryaṅkāsana*, holding a trident in the upper right and a water-pot in the lower left hands, the other two hands being not very clear.

Kṣemaṅkarī :—As noted above, Dhaky has identified the haloed image of Durgā in the Saciyā porch with Kṣemaṅkarī and build up the hypothesis that it was the original cult-icon of the Saciyā shrine which was dedicated to a Vaiṣṇavī *Śakti* as the preponderance of the Vaiṣṇava images now preserved in the Saciyā complex indicates. This original Vaiṣṇava shrine, he holds, was demolished in about A.D. 1178 to give place to the present SMT.[185]

Kṣemaṅkarī is one of the nine forms of Durgā.[186] In the *Devi-Purāṇa*,[187] she is identified with primaeval energy. She appeared before the gods, when requested by them to kill the demon Subala who had troubled the gods. She is described as having terrific form, appearing as an old emaciated lady whose veins were visible, with open mouth, trampling, frightening the world and equipped with hundreds of weapons. She is called Kṣemaṅkarī for she always protects the gods and worshippers.[188]

According to the *PP*,[189] Kṣemaṅkarī is the most powerful *sāttvikā śakti*, she has a face like a white lotus and large and good eyes resembling blue lotuses. She is surrounded by divine maid servants and friends. Mounted on a throne, the young maiden with blossoming breasts, decorated with various types of flowers is worshipped by the people. Main support of the world, she is a Vaiṣṇavī *śakti* having twenty-four hands which hold the following weapons in the said order: bow, sword *śakti*, arrows, trident, mace, discus, pestle, gun, hatchet, dumb-bell, bell, *śataghnī*, *mudgara*, *bhuśuṇḍī*, noose, banner, lotus etc. She rides a lion to fight with the demon Mahiṣa. She is called Kṣemā or Kṣemaṅkarī for she provides protection and fulfils the desires of the devotees.[190]

Bhaviṣya Purāṇa[191] describes her as nude, having a loathsome face, filling the quarters with her unrestrained shrieks, having a frightful body with a fierce

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expression. The *AP*[192] and the *RM*[193] describe the goddess as capable of giving health, carrying trident, lotus and a drinking vessel in three hands with the fourth disposed in the *varada* pose.

We thus see that the standing haloed image identified by Dhaky as that of Kṣemaṅkarī does not correspond to the description of the deity in any of the texts available to us. Holding a trident and a noose and standing on a lotus borne by lions, it is unmistakably that of Durgā.

The inscription on the back wall of the sanctum of SMT mentions amongst others the image of Kṣemaṅkarī also. It corresponds, in the given order, with the image of a dreadful, emaciated old goddess (*Pl. 74*) seated on a plain bench in *bhadrāsana* with right hand placed on the seat and left mutilated. The round bulging eyes, hanging breasts, ribs and bones are all indicative of the ferocious nature of the deity described in some of the texts cited above. And since all the names mentioned in the said inscription agree with the images on the walls of the SMT in the *pradakṣiṇā* order, there is no doubt that it is this deity, resembling Cāmuṇḍā, which is to be identified with Kṣemaṅkarī.[194]

Durgā Siṁhavāhinī :—A small image of Durgā Siṁhavāhinī lies fixed in the wall of the corridor of the Saciyā shrine. The thick coat of oil, dust and vermilion has concealed its details.

Durgā with Kārttikeya :—In the centre of the *jaṅghā* of the south wall of the south-western *Karṇa-prāsāda* of HH-1 is carved Durgā on a lotus seat with Kārttikeya in the lap held by the front left hand while the back left hand holds a lotus and the normal and rear right hands show trident and rosary. The whole composition measures 42×21 cm. The sculpture emphasises evidently the mother aspect of Devī.

Śṛṅgāra Durgā[195] :—The east wall of the above-mentioned subsidiary shrine also harbours a very interesting image of Śṛṅgāra-Durgā (*Pl. 75*). Measuring 32×22 cm., the relief shows twelve-handed[196] goddess seated at ease on a circular seat. Couchant lion, the vehicle of the goddess, is shown in front to right. A small female figure is carved in profile as seated behind the lion. With the front pair of hands, the goddess is shown as tying an anklet in her right foot. The second right hand held in the *varada-mudrā* touches the head of the small female figure. The third holds a sword, fourth a discus, the fifth is putting a *mukuṭa* with a jewel in the centre on the head[197] and the sixth is drawing an arrow from a quiver at the back. The second hand on the left side holds a scent-pot, the third a bow, fourth a mirror, fifth a *naramuṇḍa* and the sixth a shield.[198] A ten-armed image of Śṛṅgāra-Durgā discovered from Abaneri is almost contemporary with it and is now preserved in the Amber Museum.[199] The intricacy of carving gives this relief a rare distinction.

Bhairavī :—Rao[200] describes the image of Bhairavī as of red complexion, holding *pāśa* and *aṅkuśa*. She may also be shown with twelve arms if the worshipper so desires.

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The *rathikā* on the *kapilā* portion of the *kumbha* of the *vedībandha* of the east wall of VT-5 harbours the image of the fierce-looking Bhairavī seated in *sukhāsana* over a dog. She holds a dagger in the back right hand and a shield in the back left. The front hands hold an arrow and bow. The goddess is shown with hair standing up in horripilation (*jvalatkeśinī*), wide open mouth, side tusks, wearing *ekāvalī*, *vaikakṣaka*, *keyūras*, *valayas*, *uttarīya* and *adhovastra*. Evidently, Bhairavī appears to be the female-counterpart (*Śakti*) of Bhairava, a form of Śiva. And since it figures alongwith the *Mātṛkās*, it may be identified with Yogeśvarī.

Mahiṣāsuramardinī (*Kātyāyanī*)[201] :—Mahiṣamardinī is the most popular manifestation of Devī in her terrific form. The *Vāmana Purāṇa*[202] gives a detailed account of the destruction of Mahiṣāsura[203] at the hands of Devī. Gods, having been defeated by the demon Mahiṣa, approached Viṣṇu under the leadership of Brahmā for protection. Śaṅkara was also present there. On hearing the grievances of the gods, Viṣṇu, and at his command, Brahmā, Śiva and all the gods emitted flames of anger from their eyes and faces as a result of which a mountain of effulgence was formed. From this mountain came forth profusely respledent eighteen armed goddess Kātyāyanī whom Śiva gave a trident, Viṣṇu a disc, Varuṇa a conch, Agni a dart, Yama an iron rod, Vāyu a bow, Sūrya a quiver and arrows, Indra a thunderbolt, Kubera a mace, Brahmā a rosary and a water-pot, Kāla a sword and shield, Viśvakarma a battle-axe and other weapons, Himavān a lion. Other gods also gave her various arms and ornaments. Kātyāyanī then proceeded to the Vindhya mountain where two demons Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa saw her and reported about the beauty of the goddess to their king Mahiṣāsura. Having heard high encomiums of her splendid and beautiful form the demon-king determined to obtain her and marched with his army to the vicinity of the mountain from where he sent Dundubhi, his grandson, as messenger. Devī told him that she would marry the demon Mahiṣa if he vanquished her in combat. A severe battle ensued in which the whole army was routed and killed but the demon-king, because of a boon granted by Śiva, had been rendered invulnerable. Seeing that the army had been destroyed, Mahiṣa advanced for a personal combat.[204] Ultimately, during the terrible duel, Durgā dismounted from her lion and jumped upon the back of Mahiṣa and pierced his neck with a trident by the right hand while trampling on his neck with her right leg.[205] It is this incident of the combat which is very popular in Indian art.[206] Her victory over the demon Mahiṣa is regarded as symbolic of the trimph of virtue over evil.[207] Rao thinks that the story indicates the substitution of the buffalo totem worship by a form of Devī worship among some early primitive tribes in the country.[208] The *Mbh.* and several *Purāṇas* especially the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, also narrate the exploits of Devī.[209]

Rajasthan has yielded some very early images of Mahiṣamardinī[210] indicating the popularity of her worship in this part of the country at such an early date.[211] This popularity seems to have continued and even intensified during the seventh century all over India.[212] Osian too was a great centre of Devī worship during the medieval period and has yielded some beautiful specimens of Mahiṣamardinī figures.

The *pratiratha-rathikā* of the north wall of HH-1 (*Pl. 76*) contains the earliest image of Mahiṣamardinī at the site. It measures 33×14 cm. The goddess

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is shown in the *pratyālīḍha* pose, trampling the neck of the demon Mahiṣa (in his buffalo form) with her right foot having held him from the tail by the proper left hand. She is thrusting the trident, held in her front right hand, into the body of the buffalo. The long spikes of the trident are notable. Lion, the vehicle of the goddess, is attacking the head of the buffalo. Devī holds a sword and a bell (or noose, partly mutilated) in her rear hands. She wears a *dhammilla* hair coiffure, heavy ear-rings, pearl necklace with a ring pendant falling on the stomach from between the breasts, *keyūras*, *valayas*, *nūpuras* and an *adhovastra*. The relief shows remarkable simplicity and vigour and recalls to our mind another beautiful eighth century (brass) image of the four-armed goddess called Lakṣaṇā, carved in almost exactly the same posture.[213]

The corresponding *rathikā* on HH-2 also harbours an image of Mahiṣamardinī (*Pl. 77*) particularly notable for the dynamism it reveals. Measuring 42×12 cm., it shows the mighty Mahiṣa being trampled by the goddess with her right foot at the back, his face being twisted backward by her front left hand. The buffalo is shown with a bell hung round its neck and the tail also forms a beautiful curve on the hind part. As in the preceding example, the goddess thrusts a trident into the back of the buffalo and holds sword and bell in the rear hands. Standing in the *pratyālīḍha* pose, she places her left foot on a cushion (lotus pedestal?) placed on the back of the lion to left, with face turned back. The relief thus creates the impression that the buffalo has been lifted up in the air and attacked by the goddess. The image reveals a remarkable dynamism and the skill of the craftsman to carve out such an elegant relief.

The *pratiratha-rathikā* (39×15 cm.) of the north wall of HH-3 also harbours a similar four-handed Mahiṣamardinī. The principal niches of the north walls of ST-1 and 2 also contain images of Mahiṣamardinī measuring 47×22 cm. and 68×51 cm. respectively. Of these, the latter (*Pl. 78*) is a charming image[214] showing the twelve armed deity standing triumphantly in *pratyālīḍha* pose with her right foot placed on the ground. She has cut the head of the buffalo with the sword held in her front raised right hand and is thrusting the trident, held in another right hand, into his body. From the decapitated trunk of the buffalo the demon has just issued in full human form, holding a sword in the right hand. The goddess is taking out an arrow from the quiver at the back with another of her right hand while the uppermost pair of hands holds a discus.[215] The normal left hand (partly damaged) holds the anthropomorhic demon by the neck and other left hands hold a bow, lotus (or bell) and a shield. The lion attacks the buffalo from the back.[216] The belt worn round the neck of the buffalo shows a beaded string with alternate small bells and pedants hung from it. It is identical to the one seen round the neck of Nandī now preserved in MT. The goddess wears *jaṭāmukuṭa* with a jewel in the centre, beaded necklace with a string hanging from between the breasts to the stomach where it shows a circular jewelled pendant, armlets, wristlets, anklets and a lower garment secured by a waist-band. Dr. B.N. Sharma takes note of 'a male and a female attendant' flanking the goddess.[217] They are both female figures and are not attendants. Such figures are carved on all *bhadra-rathikās*

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of this as well as ST-3 at the base of the floral *śākhās* of the *rathikās* and represent probably Gaṅgā and Yamunā just as they do on the *pedyās* of the doorways of all temples. The multi-handedness of the goddess and the emergence of a human form from the decapitated trunk of the buffalo are notable features of this sculpture. The intricate composition, the utmost care with which it has been carved, the grace and calm repose it exhibits make it undoubtedly one of the most magnificent Mahiṣamardinī images comparable to those of the Ambikā temple at Jagat in Rajasthan.[218]

Another equally elegant image of eight-armed Mahiṣamardinī (*Pl. 79*) is preserved in the sanctum sanctorum of the PDT.[219] The goddess wearing a typical head-dress, adorned with jewels in the centre, and other usual ornaments stands trampling the back of the buffalo with the forepart of her right foot. Out of the severed neck of the buffalo, with head still attached to it, comes out the demon in human form holding a sword in the right hand. The goddess is pressing the left side of Mahiṣa with her normal left hand while the trident held in one of her right hand pierces the back of the buffalo. The other right hands are shown as holding a discus, a sword and taking out an arrow from the quiver at the back. The left hands hold a scutum, a bell and a bow besides the one which presses the demon. The lion attacks the buffalo from behind. An ornamented belt is also shown on the back of the buffalo going around from above the forelegs.

Conceptually almost identical with the image described just above, it shows more detailed care invested in carving the figures, the dress and ornaments and even the attributes. A plain round aureole behind indicates it to be the original cult-icon. It is flanked by Kubera and Gaṇeśa on the right and left respectively.[220]

The principal niche of the east wall of this temple also contains an image of eight-armed Mahiṣmardinī (*Pl. 80*) which is conceptually and compositionally identical to the image in the sanctum sanctorum, corroborating the fact that the latter is the original cult-icon. Instead of the aureole, we find big lotus leaves encirled by flame-like pattern reminiscent of a feature noticed at the back of the Kevala-Nṛsiṁha image at Deogarh.[221] Evidently, the sculptor has tried to create the impression of an aureole.

Next, we come to the SMT which enshrines an image of Mahiṣamardinī of black stone (*Pl. 81*) showing the deity holding a sword and a scutum in her two hands and standing triumphantly on the vanquished buffalo demon. It was probably installed in the sixteenth century.[222] The inscription at the back of the sanctum, however, refers to the image of Saccikā which corresponds to the Mahiṣamardinī image of the principal back niche. The image, 72×48 cm. in size, is carved in continuation of the tradition of the Pīpalādevī images of Mahiṣamardinī but shows a marked change in the style of carving, dress and ornaments. Though not in a good state of preservation yet being precisely dated as V.S. 1234 (=A.D. 1177) and corresponding with the Saccikā devī of the epigarh, it has its own special importance.

SMT also contains the images of four-handed Mahiṣamardinī in the *śukanāsa* as well as the back niche of the spire (*Pl. 31*). These identical images show the

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goddess in the dynamic *pratyālīḍha* pose trampling, piercing and killing the demon. The attributes, clockwise, are a trident, a sword and a scutum while the front left holds Mahiṣa by the hair. The lion, as usual, attacks the buffalo from behind. Five female fly-whiskers on either side stand in the niches on the receding *rathas*. A detached image, now set up in the porch of the Saciyā temple, shows similar features but the style, jewellery, head-dress and habiliments indicate a decline in the art of sculpturing (*Pl. 82*). Plaques preserved in the store of the Saciyā temple provide further evidence to the continuation of tradition and degeneration of style.

Caṇḍikā :—*Devī-bhāgavata*[223] and *Agni Purāṇa*[224] attribute the destruction of Mahiṣa to Caṇḍikā[225] and *VDP*[226] describes Mahiṣāsuramardinī under the name of Caṇḍikā as a beautiful youthful woman in an angry mood, sitting on a lion and carrying different weapons in her twenty hands. Caṇḍikā is mentioned in the SMT epigraph as the first one adorning the *jaṅghā* of the shrine. The first niche (72×48 cm.) in the *pradakṣiṇā* order harbours an image of a ferocious deity (*Pl. 83*) wearing *jaṭābhāra*, sarpa-*kuṇḍalas*, *sarpa-hāra*, osseous *vanamālā* and a tiger skin, having round bulging eyes, wide open mouth, emaciated hanging breasts, bones looking out of the body, holding a trident with a serpent spiralling it, a thunderbolt, and another unidentified object in the back three right hands, the proper one holding a dagger cutting something (fish?) held in the palm of the proper left hand. The other three left hands are shown as holding a goad, a *khaṭvāṅga* and touching the mouth. She rides a corpse. Two small figures, the one on the proper left of the goddess having an animal head, (Caṇḍa and Muṇḍa?) are shown flanking the deity. *Gajaśārdūlas* are also shown on the outer faces of the pillars of the *rathikā*. Though eight-armed as against the prescribed sixteen-handed one, this image of Caṇḍikā bears close resemblance to the description of the goddess as given in the *RM*.[227]

Śītalā :—The second deity mentioned in the said inscription and occupying the second niche (*bhadra-rathikā* of north wall) in the *pradakṣiṇā* order of the SMT is Śītalā (*Pl.84*) seated nude on an ass, holding a winnowing basket in her rear hands at the back of her head. The mutilated front hands may have held a sweeping broom and a pitcher originally.[228] Śītalā images are known from Arthūṇā and Amer Museum in Rajasthan but their comparative paucity renders any new find as important. Though not in a good state of preservation with the front hands of the deity, the face and two legs of the donkey gone, yet it has its importance as the only image of the deity known from Osian.

Sapta-Mātṛkās :—The concept of the Seven Mothers goes back perhaps to the Vedic times[229] yet it is strange that the *Purāṇas* vary in giving their number and names.[230] The usually accepted list, supported by iconographic data, however, comprises the names of Brahmāṇī, Maheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī Indrāṇī and Cāmuṇḍā.[231] The *BS*, the *VDP*[232] and some *Āgamas*[233] state that the *Mātṛkās* should be sculptured in accordance with their respective gods and should have similar emblems. The *Agni Purāṇa*[234], *Āgmas*, *RM* etc., however, detail out their iconographic features thus : Four-faced fair complexioned Brāhmī should ride a swan and hold *kuṇḍa*, *akṣapātra*, *akṣamālā* and *sruk* in her four hands; Maheśvarī should be seated

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on a bull and carry a bow and arrow in her right hands and a discus in the left; Kaumārī should ride a peacock and wield a spear; seated on Garuḍa Vaiṣṇavī should carry *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā* and *padma*; Vārāhī seated on a buffalo should have a boar's face and hold a staff and bowl or plough and *śakti* or *ghaṇṭā*, *cāmara*, *gadā* and *cakra*; Indrānī should be seated on the elephant with a thunderbolt in her left hand; Cāmuṇḍā should ride corpse, have three eyes, erect hair, emaciated middle portion, wear tiger-skin and hold in her hands a bowl and trident with others in *abhaya* and *varada mudrā* or a goad, sword, scutum, noose, bow, staff and hatchet.

The images of *Sapta-Mātṛkās* are carved in a group, in the panels of the lintel of the doorways, in the *rathikās* on the *kumbhakas* of the *vedībandha* or even independently.

Osian has not yielded any single slab representing all the *Mātṛkās* together. That there may have existed such a slab is indicated by an image of Vaiṣṇavī in the Saciyā sanctum and Vārāhī and Aindrī carved together on a panel (*Pl. 85*) now placed in the Saciyā porch. The pedestals of these figures are similar; the dress and ornamentation are analogous and all the three figures show children held on their left arms almost identically. They all stand in dancing poses. Of these, Vaiṣṇavī holds a mace in the upper right hand and a rosary in the lower one. The corresponding left hands hold discus and conch. An anthropomorphic Garuḍa is shown to left near the right foot of the deity, in a flying posture. A mutilated small figure of child is still discernible on the left arm of the goddess. Vārāhī with a boar-face to left holds mace, disc and child in three of the hands while the back right one is mutilated. A beautiful round aureole with lotus-petal design is carved behind her head. Her vehicle has not been shown with her. Indrānī holding a thunderbolt in the preserved right hand and child in the left, has an elephant to right carved in low relief behind her. She had an aureole similar to that of Vārāhī, but it is broken above the head now. These three figures thus represent the central portion of the slab of which the right and left parts containing the other *Mātṛkās* and probably Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra also are now lost.

The small pillared niches on the *kumbhaka* of the *vedībandha* of VT-5 show the *Mātṛkās* on the *bhadra karṇa* and *kapilī* projections, led by Kubera and Gaṇeśa in the *pradakṣiṇā* order. Vaiṣṇavī occupies the *bhadra* niche of the *kumbhaka* on the west wall. Seated in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* on the shoulders of Garuḍa (in human form) flying to right, she holds mace and disc in the rear right and left hands respectively. The front hands are not clear. She wears the usual ornaments also. Kaumārī on peacock, holding a *śakti* and *kukkuṭa* in the back hands is represented on the *karṇa* portion of the *kumbhaka* of this wall. The lower right hand of Kaumārī is disposed in *abhaya mudrā* and the lower left is broken. Then comes Brahmāṇī on the north-west corner of the northern wall. She is three-faced, seated similarly on goose and holds a *sruk* and manuscript in the back hands and a nectar-pot in the lower left. The object in the lower right hand is not clear. On the central projection is represented *Vīrabhadra* ? seated in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* with left leg folded on a cushioned stool, holding a trident in the upper right, a *vīṇā* in lower right and upper left

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and a snake in the normal left hand. In the north-eastern *kumbhaka-rathikā* of the same wall is represented Indrānī riding the elephant and holding a thunderbolt and goad in the rear hands, nectar-pot in the lower left hand and the normal right disposed in *abhaya*. On the east wall, Vārāhī occupies the north-eastern corner. She is shown on a buffalo in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*, holding a *khaṭvāṅga* in the back right hand, a nectar-pot in the normal left, the front right held in *abhaya* and an indistinct object in the rear left hand. The *bhadra-rathikā* of the *kumbhaka* of this wall shows Maheśvarī on bull, carrying trident and snake in rear hands, nectar-pot in lower left and the normal right in *abhaya*. On the south-eastern *karṇa* projection is carved Cāmuṇḍā riding a corpse. She is fierce-looking, emaciated figure having hair raised in horripilation, round bulging eyes and holding a trident and *khaṭvāṅga* in the rear hands, others being not clear can only be presumed to have possessed as usual the nectar-pot and disposed in *abhaya* (normal right). The *kapilī* projection harbours another ferocious deity, corresponding to Bhairava, seated on a dog, with hair raised erect, round eyes, mouth open, holding a dagger in the upper right hand and a scutum in the upper left. The normal hands hold an arrow and bow.[235] It may, however, be identified with Yogeśvarī which was created by Śiva out of the flame that was issuing from his mouth in order to stop the blood of Andhakāsura falling on the earth, as each drop of blood further produced another Andhakāsura. The dog is symbolic of the blood-sucking energy and may have thus been associated with Yogeśvarī as well.

Sapta-Mātṛkās appear on the lintel of VT-2 and 3 also alongwith Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra. Since they are represented in very small panels, their iconographic features are not very distinct. Cāmuṇḍā, however, appears individually also on the southern and western walls of the south-western subsidiary shrine of HH-1. The former is small fierce-looking figure with a *khaṭvāṅga*. The latter occupies the *bhadra* projection and is very interesting iconographically as the emaciated goddess with pendulous breasts and fierce looks kills here the demon Mahiṣa with her dreadful attributes.[236] She is shown standing in *pratyālīḍha* posture, just like Mahiṣamardinī, piercing the body of the buffalo with a trident held in her normal right hand. The rear right hand holds a sword with which she has severed the head of the anthropomorphic form issuing from the neck of the buffalo. She holds this severed head with her proper left hand while the back left is shown as holding a bell. Cāmuṇḍā, killing the demon Mahiṣa is represented very rarely though her images as a ferocious deity are quite well known from Rajasthan[237] and other parts of the country. So this image has its own unique importance at Osian.

Another early image of Cāmuṇḍā (*Pl. 86*) is now preserved in the store of the Saciyā temple. It is broken below the breasts and is quite worn out. The hair, erect in horripilation, round rolling eyes, wide open mouth, pendulous breasts and emaciated body leave no doubt regarding its identification. The front left hand touches the mouth—a feature we noticed in the Caṇḍikā image of the Saciyā circumambulatory and which must have its own significance. One of the right hands probably held a trident. Others are mutilated beyond recognition.

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Lakṣmī :—She symbolizes luck and good fortune. As such she has come to be respected and worshipped by all religious creeds in India.[238] The antiquity of the concept of Lakṣmī has been traced to the Chalcolithic period.[239] Probably folk elements were instrumental in shaping her ideology and form. Even though the word Śrī, which later became a synonym of Lakṣmī, occurs in the *RV*[240] yet the concrete concept about her person can only be traced from the late Vedic period onwards. In the epic and Puraṇic period, she came to be recognised as the *śakti* of Vāsudeva Viṣṇu.[241] As the goddess of wealth, she became naturally associated with Kubera, the god of wealth also.[242] She has been represented on seals and coins from about second century B.C.[243] In Indian art, Śrī-Lakṣmī is associated with lotus flowers—she stands on a lotus amid lotuses and even holding lotus(es). Another popular form of her depiction is the Gaja-Lakṣmī (or Abhiṣeka-Lakṣmī) showing the deity being anointed by elephants inverting pitchers of water over her.[244]

At Osian, Lakṣmī is represented either with Viṣṇu or as Gaja-Lakṣmī, the latter one being a more popular form of her representation. As consort of Viṣṇu she appears embracing her lord in the Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa images adorning the walls of VT-3 to 5 or as seated with Viṣṇu on the *lalāṭa-bimbas* of some temples and elsewhere as we have seen above.

An exquisitely carved Gaja-Lakṣmī image (*Pl.71*) is now placed in the porch of the SMT. It shows Lakṣmī elegantly seated in *ardha-paryaṅkāsana* on a lotus-seat under which are carved two lions placed back to back with a pillar in between, surmounted by some circular object. The goddess wears a beautiful *dhammilla*, adorned in the centre, with a jewel, ear-rings, pearl necklace with a circular pendant falling on the belly with the string hung from between the breasts, armlets, wristlets, anklets etc. In her right hand raised to the shoulder, she holds a stalk with a lotus surmounted by an elephant which too, with its head turned backwards, holds a lotus in its trunk. Behind this elephant is another bigger elephant inverting the water-pitcher held in its trunk over the goddess. Similar elephants occur on the other side surmounting the lotus whose stalk comes winding from behind the left arm of the deity. She holds a small roundish object in the palm of her left hand with the *tarjanī* pointing downwards. Even the thumb of the left foot shows similar disposition. Two beautiful small figures of attendant maidens flank the goddess but are partially concealed by the contours of the principal figure.

Artistically, it bears close resemblance to the image of Durgā placed nearby, described above. The two images actually seem to have been sculptured by the same craftsman and must have adorned some elegant shrine in eighth century A.D.

A Gaja-Lakṣmī image from Osian is now displayed in the Jodhpur Museum also (*Pl. 87*). The goddess is seated similarly on a double lotus-petalled seat, holding lotus stalks, showing one lotus facing the deity and one placed horizontally above which stands caparisoned elephant on either side, inverting the pitcher over her head. The style, habiliments and ornamentation, however, indicate that it belongs to a somewhat later date.

Bhandarkar had seen a Gaja-Lakṣmī figure adorning the principal back niche of the PDT[245] but it is no more there. Gaja-Lakṣmī appears seated on a lotus,

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borne by lions placed back to back, being anointed by elephants standing on a lotus issuing from the back on either side, in the north-eastern niche of the *jagatī* on its northern face, of HH-1 and 2. The posture, style and depiction can favourably be compared with the Gaja-Lakṣmī image in the Saciyā porch, described in the preceding lines. The two niches measure 45×27 cm. and 44×25 cm. respectively.

A small figure of Lakṣmī seated in *ardha-paryaṅkāsana* holding lotus in rear hands, rosary in the front right and water-pot in the front left occurs in the panel of the *udgama* of *bhadra-rathikā* on the east wall of VT-5. A standing image of Gaja-Lakṣmī can be seen over the *śukanāsa* of the VT-1 and a two armed seated Gaja-Lakṣmī somewhat worn out, figures in the *rathikā* of the *karṇa-kumbha* and a *caitya*-mesh panel on the roof of the porch of MT. A small panel on the lintel of the porch of HH-1 also contains a Gaja-Lakṣmī figure. Still another figure can be seen on the spire of Satya Nārāyaṇa Temple.

Sarasvatī :—Sarasvatī appears under the cornice slab of the west wall of HH-3, seated beside Brahmā, in *ardha-paryaṅkāsana* on a cushioned stool, holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in the left hand, the right one disposed in *abhaya* pose. Her two-handed images with *Vīṇā* exist on HH-1, ST-2 (lintel) and VT-2 (lintel), but all of them are small subsidiary panels.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā:—Iconographic texts[246] describe the river-goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā as standing on a *makara* 'crocodile' and *kūrma* (tortoise). The *Agni Purāṇa* prescribes a lotus and a *ghaṭa* (pitcher) in Gaṅgā's hands and only a *ghaṭa* to be carried by Yamunā,[247] while according to the *VDP* a lotus and a *nīlotpala* (blue lotus) should be shown in their hands respectively.[248]

The two river goddesses are depicted independently on the eastern wall of the subsidiary shrine on the north-west corner of HH-2 (*Pl. 65*). In the south-eastern *karṇa-rathikā*, measuring 28×14 cm., Gaṅgā stands in a beautiful *gopālāsana* on the vehicle holding a lotus (or *ghaṭa* ?) in the lelf hand. The right hand is akimbo. The river-goddess is shown with beautifully carved dress and ornaments. The upper garment worn round the back is especially very gracefully carved with its free ends fluttering beautifully on the sides. Yamunā on the other *karṇa* projection is depicted similarly on her tortoise vehicle, carrying a *ghaṭa* in the right hand at shoulder and left hand akimbo.

Gaṅgā and Yamunā appear on the door-jambs of various temples also described in the last chapter. They are often accompanied by male and/or female (or both) attendants. In most of the temples, the river goddesses are canopied by the trees under which they stand and the attendant figures hold lotuses.[249] In VT-3, the river goddesses are shown on the door-side of the *rathikās* at the base of *pedyās* which harbour *Śaṅkha* and Cakra-*puruṣa*. Small figures carrying *ghaṭa* and lotus in analogous poses to those of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, carved at the base of the scroll *śākhās* of the *bhadra-rathikās* in ST-2 and 3, but without vehicles, may also be identified with Gaṅgā and Yamunā. The river goddesses also figure on the pilasters flanking the doorway of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of MT above the brackets.

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Śaktis of Dikpālas:—The female counterparts of Nṛṛti (*Pl. 88*), Vāyu and probably Indra also seem to have been represented in the *rathikās* of some of the Māru-Gurjara temples at Osian. They are depicted with the features and attributes characteristic of their spouses.[250]

V. GAṆAPATI

Gaṇapati,[251] the lord of the *Gaṇas*, popularly known as Gaṇeśa, and also by various other names,[252] is the god of wisdom and success.[253] Though the most popular deity of Hinduism from medieval period onwards, yet his name is found nowhere in early literature.[254] It is in the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* that we get his first unmistakable reference.[255] Probably initially, he was connected with *Yakṣa* and *Nāga* cults of folk divinities.[256] Dr. Sampurananda assigned him a non-Aryan origin.[257] His very name and epithets like Gaṇeśvara, Vināyaka etc. suggest that he represented a group of divinities and stood at the head of that.[258] In the early phase of his worship he was the deity who created obstacles (*vighnas*) but by a natural opposite corollary,[259] he became the 'destroyer of obstacles' (*vighna-vināśana*) and the 'bestower of success' (*siddhi-dātā*).[260] In the *Yājñavalkya Saṁhitā* for the first time, Vināyaka is described as the son of Ambikā.[261] Various *Purāṇas* narrate the stories of his birth and life[262] and the *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa*[263] elevates him to the status of the Supreme God—the creator, protector and destroyer of the universe. A cult seems to have developed round him soon after, if not before or during the Gupta period[264] and spread far and wide in the old world during the medieval period.[265] Though the Amarakośa gives '*ekadanta*', '*gajamukha*' and '*lambodara*' as the synonyms of Gaṇapati,[266] which have their iconographic connotations and significance, yet the *BS* contains the earliest description of the deity.[267] It states that Gaṇeśa should have an elephant's face with a single tusk and a bulging belly and should carry a *kuṭhāra* (hatchet) and a *mūlakanda* (turnip of dark foliage root) in his hands. No such image has come to light as yet. Even otherwise also, it is believed by scholars that two-handed Gaṇeśa is a rarity.[268] That the two handed images existed is indicated by *Vighneśvara Pratiṣṭhā Vidhi* and the *Gaṇeśa Purāṇa* which refer to two-handed Gaṇeśa.[269] The *VDP* describes Gaṇeśa's image as having an elephantine face with one tusk and a bulging belly, wearing tiger-skin and *sarpa-yajñopavīta*, carrying trident and rosary in the right hands and *paraśu* and *modaka-pātra* (plate of sweet balls) in the left and seated in *lalitāsana*.[270] The *Matsya Purāṇa* prescribes that the image of Gaṇapati should have an elephantine face, large belly, large extended three eyes, big trunk, one tusk, strong arms, feet and shoulders and carry a tusk and a lotus flower in the right hands and a battle-axe and a pot of ambrosia in the left ones. He should also be accompanied by his consorts Ṛddhi and Buddhi, and the mount Mūṣaka, the rat.[271] The *Agni Purāṇa*,[272] *AP*[273], *RM*[274] and some *Āgamas* also describe four and more handed images of Gaṇeśa, similarly or with slight differences.[275] Also a variety of his images have been described in various texts[276] and found actually.[277]

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There are numerous representations of Gaṇapati in the *maṇḍovara-rathikās, jagatī-rathikās,* lintel and *udumbara* panels, *udgama-rathikās* and elsewhere. It is something notable, however, that Gaṇeśa is represented with either two or more popularly with four hands at Osian. More remarkable is the fact that the mount Mūṣaka has not been carved at all on any image except the one on the fronton of SMT. Usually, he is shown as seated in *sukhāsana* or standing, also dancing in some instances. He figures as a tertiary deity on the *Samudra-manthana* frieze, an image of Śiva-Pārvatī and on a Govardhana pillar. We describe below some of his important images.

Two-handed Images:—Now housed in the store of the SMT is perhaps the earliest image of Gaṇeśa (*Pl. 89*). It shows the two-armed god seated in *lalitākṣipta* pose, slightly turned to his right, holding *mūlakanda* in the right and a bowl of sweet-balls in the left hand. The realistic elephantine face with one (right) tusk, *śūrpākāra-karṇas* (ears like winnowing-baskets) and temples adorned with a pearl string has its proboscis twirled to the proper left to pick up sweet-balls held in the left hand. The round bulging belly is bound with a snake. The image is sculptured rather crudely. The realistic depiction of the elephant-head together with unadorned ears, heavy limbs, crude execution, simplicity of ornamentation and only a single pair of hands indicate an early date for the image.[278]

Two huge images of two-armed Gaṇeśa were exhumed some years back while removing earth in a street near the MT. They have recently been enshrined in the niches, prepared to their size, on either side of the entrance to the said temple. Both are identical as far as the elephantine proboscis, winnowing-basket like ears, only one tusk on the right hand side, the *lalitāsana*, *mūlakanda* and bowl of sweet-balls in the right and left hand, big roundish paunch with a live-serpent like thread and the leftward curve of the trunk to take up the *modakas* are concerned. The ornaments, though basically similar, differ in designs. One of these, which is comparatively more realistic, shows a small tiara on the head (*Pl. 90*). The forehead is adorned with a floral cross-wreath. The temples and broad fan-shaped ears bear the wreath-loops and pendants. A broad necklace, armlets, wristlets and floral wreath anklets are discernible on the image. The flourish of the undergarment is visible between the feet of the god. The sweet-balls in the bowl are piled up in two rows. The other image shows slight development in the treatment of ornaments. The head is bedecked with beaded pearl strings, the necklace is of bell-type, [279] the armlets also show pearl decorations on the fringes, the armlets and anklets are of the twisted rope pattern. The face has been slightly stylized and a plain aureole is carved behind the head. The sweet-balls in the bowl are piled up in three rows, one over the other. Folds of the undergarment can be seen above the knees.

Since two-armed images of the deity are scarce, these sculptures from Osian are very important representing an early phase of Gaṇeśa images in Rajasthan. Another small figure of two-handed Gaṇeśa occurs in a panel of the lintel of HH-2. It shows the deity seated in *ardha-paryaṅkāsana* with a bowl of sweet-meat in the left hand and the right hand disposed in *abhaya* pose. The trunk takes a curve to left towards the *modakas*. Gaṇeśa in the frieze depicting the scene of *Samudra-manthana* on the *narapīṭha* of VT-5 as well as on a sculpture of Śiva-Pārvatī adorning the *kapilī*

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niche of the west wall of the same temple is depicted as standing and having two arms. In the former, the two arms are engaged in holding the string while in the latter he holds a bowl of sweet-balls in the left hand, the right being *pralamba-hasta*. The trunk is shown as taking a semi-circular curve towards the left shoulder. The god wears a lower garment with innumerous folds and a *vanamālā* besides the sacred thread.

Four-handed Images:—There is a great preponderance of Gaṇeśa images having four hands. The attributes in the hands vary and the deity is depicted as seated, standing and dancing.

Nṛtta-Gaṇeśa:— Also preserved in the store-house of the Saciyā shrine alongwith what we have described above as the earliest two-armed Gaṇeśa image from Osian, is the figure of four-armed dancing Gaṇeśa (*Pl. 91*) probably not far removed in age from the former. The figure is artistically executed with fine bends showing the god dancing in a rhythmic pose. The back right hand is broken, the normal right holds a radish, the rear left is in *gajahasta* pose and the normal left holds a bowl in which sweet-balls have been piled up in three tiers. The pot-belly is adorned with a *nāga*-thread resembling almost exactly the one depicted on the paunches of the two images enshrined at the entrance of MT. The elephant head is turned to right and the tip of the trunk reaches the sweet-bells taking a curve to the right and then turning to the left. The head is adorned with a triangular diaper-like tiara with a chain going around the head. Wristlets, anklets and the lower garment are discernible. Limestone has been used in carving this relief.

Another interesting image of dancing Gaṇeśa can be seen on the lower register of the fronton of SMT on the cardinal offset. The god holds a goad in the normal right hand while the rear right is disposed in the act of dancing. Normal and back left hands show sweet-balls and lotus. A rat has been carved near the feet. This is the only example of the depiction of the mount of Gaṇeśa at Osian.

Images of four-armed Gaṇapati of the size of 45×30 cm. exist in the niche of the *jagatī* of the HH-1 and 2, on the left of the flight of steps, i.e., the first niche in the *pradakṣinā* order.

Six-handed Image:— A six-handed dancing Gaṇeśa exists on the south-eastern corner shrine of HH-1. Clockwise, the hands show *mūlaka*, *varada*, *paraśu*, snake, sweet-balls and *kaṭihasta*. The trunk hangs vertically and then its tip takes a slight turn to the right.

Āsana Gaṇeśa:— Almost identical in all details, there are two interesting images of Gaṇapati,[280] adorning the principal niche of the south wall of ST-2 and 3 (*Pl. 92*). Their respective sizes of 80×51 cm. and 65×51 cm. seems to be their only distinction. Gaṇeśa is shown as seated in *sukhāsana* on a circular seat, wearing a crown and *pādajālakas*, with proboscis twirled to right—a rare feature in the Gaṇeśa images from north India,[281] but not uncommon at Osian.[282] The god puts his lower left hand[283] on the head of a *gaṇa* who is holding the bowl of sweet-balls and holds a hatchet in the back left. A rosary is discernible in the back right hand and the normal right (broken in ST-3 image) holds a radish (or tusk ?).[284] The god

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wears a bell necklace, beaded armlets, wristlets and anklets. A pedestalled vessel full of sweets with two *gaṇas* on its either side are carved before the god. The two female figures at the base of the floral *śākhās* of the *rathikā* on either side have wrongly been identified as Siddhi and Buddhi by Dr. B.N. Sharma.[285] He has also erroneously described the *vidyādhara* figures shown at the top as 'holding an inverted jar in their hands to pour the sacred water on the head of the god'.[286] The image of ST-3 clearly shows that it is not an inverted jar but a crown-like object which is held by the *vidyādharas*. Dr. B.N. Sharma seems to have written his account from a photograph of the figure and this probably led him to identify the image as showing the *abhiṣeka* of Gaṇapati, which in our view is quite unjustified and not supported by facts.

A four armed image of Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana* is now placed in the porch of the SMT. Gaṇeśa sits on a seat adorned with a beautifully carved half-lotus design in the centre on its front face. A plain oval aureole with two parallel lines along its fringes indicates that it must have remained the cult-icon of some sanctuary. The head is adorned with a small half lotus like tiara bound with fillet showing a diamond in the centre and alternating bells and pendants hung by a string, running around the head. Interestingly, a third vertical eye also makes it appearance in this image. Another notable feature is the presence of the left tusk in stead of the right one usually seen on his images.[287] Again, the trunk takes a curve to the right. The four hands hold clockwise a radish, rosary (in *abhaya* posed hand), a hatchet and a bowl full of sweet-balls. The god wears an elaborate necklace beaded with pearls and having alternating bell and oval pendants around. Armlets, wristlets and anklets too are more lavish than seen earlier. The rotund paunch, not as bulging as in earlier examples, is bound by a snake.

Equally interesting is the image placed in the sanctum of the PDT showing the deity in *ardha-paryaṅkāsana* as usual and wearing a small round-crested tiara, thick wristlets and anklets. The aureole behind the head is broken but still partially visible. The four hands hold clockwise a radish (or tusk), rosary, hatchet and the *gaṇa* standing to right on left supporting the bowl of sweets. The eyes, which used to be small ones and realistically carved in earlier images, are bigger. The right tusk is quite long and the trunk takes a simulating turn to right turning further towards the tusk. For the first time, the *nāga* is worn like a sacred thread. Earlier, it used to encircle the paunch. The image measures 90 × 60 cm. We thus see in this image a continuation of the tradition set by earlier images.

The seated four-handed Gaṇeśa in the *karṇa-rathikā* of the *kumbhaka* of *vedībandha* belonging to the west wall of VT-5 shows clockwise a tusk (or radish), goad, lotus and sweet-balls in the hands of Gaṇeśa.[288] These very attributes occur in the Gaṇeśa image of the *udumbara* of VT-4. Small panels depicting four-handed Gaṇeśa occur elsewhere also.[289]

Gaṇeśa with Vaināyakī:—Images of Gaṇeśa with Vaināyakī,[290] seated on his left lap just like the Umā-Maheśvara and Brahmā-Sarasvatī images are very rare. A small panel on the lintel of VT-3, however, shows Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana*,

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holding the tusk and a lotus in his right hands, clasping the breast of Vaināyakī seated on his left thigh, with back left hand and holding a pomegranade (?) in the left.

Sthānaka Gaṇeśa :—The *jaṅghās* of the temples usually contain images of standing deities. The three HH temples at Osian also contain standing images of Gaṇeśa, on the *pratiratha-rathikās* of their southern walls.

HH-1 shows Gaṇeśa standing in *dvibhaṅga* with elephantine face turned to left (*Pl. 93*). The trunk takes a curve to the right. The god wears an ornament running around the head, a broad necklace, a sacred thread bearing beads on both sides, a *kaṭisūtra* resembling the ornament wound round the head, armlets, wristlets and anklets. He wears a lower garment also. The proper right hand seems to have been placed on the goad which rests vertically with its thinner end on the ground. The back right hand holds what looks like a noose or a snake. The rear left probably held a hatchet, now mutilated, while the normal left seems to have held a bowl of sweet-balls. The right tusk is quite prominent. The ear of the god is carved realistically. It is notable that the *nāga-yajñopavīta* has been replaced here with a beaded sacred thread and the paunch is not bulging.

The *ābhaṅga* image in the *pratiratha-rathikā* of HH-2 shows the god wearing usual ornaments. The attributes clockwise are a radish, a noose (or snake), a hatchet and the normal left hand is placed on the paunch which is slightly bulging. The snake-thread is there. The right tusk is quite long and the trunk takes a right turn. This image, like the preceding one, measures 37 × 15 cm.

The image adorning the *pratiratha* niche of HH-3 shows Gaṇeśa standing, wearing *mukuṭa-maṇi*, a beautiful necklace, snake thread, wristlets, lower garment and holding clockwise the tusk, rosary, hatchet and a bowl of sweet-balls. The *rathikā* measures 40 × 13 cm.

We thus see that the two-handed and four-handed images of Gaṇeśa at Osian present a variety of postures and occupy, when *in situ* only, the southern walls of the temples. The trunk, in many cases, takes a turn to right and but for one instance neither the mount of the god nor his spouses Ṛddhi and Buddhi have been depicted anywhere. There is a single example of six-handed god at Osian.

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2. *Bulletin National Museum*, New Delhi, No. 3, 1972, pp. 1-7,
3. *DHI*, pp. 5 and 153.
4. A.A Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Varanasi, 1963, pp. 37-39.
5. *Ibid.*
6. A.B. Keith, *Indian Mythology*, New York, 1964, p. 29.
7. E.W. Hopkins, *The Religion of India*, Boston, 1895, p. 56.
8. J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, Utrecht, 1954, pp. 1-11.
9. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*ŚB*) XIV. 1, 1; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* I. 1, etc.

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10. These Vṛṣṇi heroes were later deified and identified with *parama*, *mahat* or *jīva*, *manas* and *ahaṁkāra*—the first four creative principles of the Sāṅkhya system. The *Purāṇas* attach some allegorical meanings also to these names. For details see R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, Pune, 1929 (*VSMRS*,), pp. 4 ff.; Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu*, New Delhi, 1973 (*IV*), pp. 3 and 37ff.; N.P. Joshi, *Iconography of Balarāma* New Delhi, 1979, pp, 10-15.
11. *VSMRS*, p. 5.
12. *Mbh.* XIII, *Viṣṇu Sahasra-nāma Stotra*, v. 28 : "*Caturātmā caturvyūhaścaturadaṁṣṭraścaturbhujaḥ*"
13. *IV*, pp. 37 ff.
14. *VSMRS*, p. 4.
15. *EI*, XVI, pp. 25 ff; *SI*, pp. 90-91.
16. *SI*, pp. 88-89.
17. Prof. K.D. Bajpai and Dr. S.K. Pandey, *Malhar* Sagar, 1978, pl. X.
18. This, as also the preceding figure, conforms to the Trivikrama form of Viṣṇu according to the arrangement of the attributes in the four hands as given in the *Rūpa Maṇḍana* (*RM*) III, 15.
19. Popularity of the Trivikrama form at Osian is evident.
20. Cf. *IV*, p. 151.
21. Collated from *IV*, *loc. cit.* and Ramashraya Awasthi; *Khajurāho Kī Deva-Pratimāyeṁ*, Agra, 1967 (*RA*), p. 88.
22. All texts agree on the order of attributes of Keśava.
23. *CVC* and *PS* vary but do not describe this order.
24. *Mbh.* I. 29, 16.
25. *HV* II. 99, 11 : "*Śaṅkhacakragadāpāṇiṁ Garuḍasyopari sthitam*".
26. Cf. *IV*, p. 17, fig. 14; *RL*, p. 98, pl. IV. Kalpana Desai (*loc. cit.*) assigns it to 9th century. It has, however, been almost universally accepted that the HH Temple on which it exists belongs to the eighth century A.D.
27. B.N. Sharma (*RL*, *loc. cit.*) describes Garuḍa's pose as *ālīḍha*.
28. *Mārg*, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 54, fig. 3; *ŚP* XX (2), p. 66.
29. R.C. Agrawal (*ŚP*, *loc. cit.*) wrongly describes it as *añjali-mudrā*.
30. *JIM*, XI (1955); *The Jain Antiquary*, XX (1); *Artibus Asiae*, XVII (3-4); *Mārg*, XII (2), p. 22, fig. 20.
31. *Bh.*, p. 109.
32. Kalpana Desai (*IV*, p. 33) mistakes these figures as belongings to "the Surya temple and the Sachia Mata temple at Osian". See also *Bh.*, pp. 106 and 111.
33. *IV*, p. 119, fig. 85. Asha Kalia (*AOT*, p. 86) rightly describes the figure as that of Garuḍa.
34. *Bh.*, p. 106.
35. See for details *DHI*, pp. 388 ff.
36. In those lists which include both Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma as the incarnations of Viṣṇu, Buddha is omitted.
37. B.N. Sharma was the first scholar to notice this frieze (*Śrī Agaracanda Nāhṭā Abhinandana Grantha*, Part II, Bikaner, 1977, p. 21). Earlier, R.C. Agrawal had missed it and stated that the *Samudramanthana* motif has not been found from Osian, Abaneri, Arthuna, Harshnath etc. (*MB*, Vol. XIII, No. 2, p. 3).
38. Mount Mandara, represented here as a round churner of the shape of a vase.
39. Cf. *Mārg*, XII (2), p. 47, fig. 3.
40. *JOI*, VIII (1), p. 56.
41. *Arts Asiatique*, Tome XII, 1965, pp. 113-19, figs. 1-3; N.P.Joshi, *Mathurā Kī Murtīkalā* (Hindi), Mathura, 1965, Appendix 2, pp. 3-6, fig. 101.
42. *EHI*, I, pp. 132-37; *DHI*, p. 413; *AI*, No. 6, p. 41.
43. Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 28, 37, 46 and 65; *Sculptures : Udaipur Museum*, Jaipur, 1960, pls. XXI and XXV; *Researcher*, Vols. V-VI (1964-65), p. 97; IV, fig. 60; *Catalogue Government Museum, Kota*, Jaipur, 1960-61, p. 26 etc.

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44. *IV*, p. 77, fig. 60.
45. Kalpana Desai (*Ibid.*) uses the word 'probably' for the dagger. It is certainly there. The lotuses mentioned by her in the two hands of the goddess Pṛthvī are, however, not there.
46. Kalpana Desai (*Ibid.*) has missed both these figures. Also, she ascribes this image to late ninth century, a date not compatible to the architecture of the shrine on which it occurs. The shrine shows developed Māru-Gurjara morphology and cannot be earlier than the end of tenth century A.D. It can rather be assigned to the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.
47. X. 1.
48. III. 17.
49. *Mbh.* XII. 337, 34-36.
50. *HV*, III, 41-47.
51. *IV*, p. 86. cf. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1971, Appendix III, pp. 265-68.
52. *EHI*, I, pp. 151 ff., pls. XLII-XLV.
53. *DHI*, pp. 415-17, pl. XXIII. 3.
54. *IV*, p. 88.
55. *AI*, No. 6, pp. 42-43.
56. *VDP*, III. 78 :
Pīnaskandhakaṭigrīvaḥ kṛśamadhyaḥ kṛśodaraḥ |
Siṁhāsane nṛdehastu nīlavāsaḥ prabhānvitaḥ ||
Ālīḍhāsanasaṁsthānaḥ sarvābharaṇabhūṣaṇaḥ |
Jvālāmālākulamukhau jvālākesaramaṇḍalaḥ ||
Hiraṇyakaśiporvakṣaḥ pāṭayannakharaiḥ kharaiḥ |
Nīlotpalābhaḥ kartavyo devajānugatastathā |
57. *Agni P.* 49, 4 :
Narasiṁho vivṛtāsya vāmorudhṛtadānavaḥ |
Tadvakṣo dāryanmālī sphuraccakragadādharaḥ ||
58. Cf. Sixth century image of Nṛsiṁha in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras vide IV, fig. 68.
59. *IV*, fig. 67; *MASI*, No. 70, pl. XXII.C.
60. Ch. 269, vv. 31-34.
61. Kalpana Desai (*IV*, pp. 84-96) has not taken note of these images.
62. *RV*, I. 22, 17.
63. *ŚB* I. 2, 5; *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* I. 6, 1. See also *TS* II. 1, 3.
64. *Rām.* I. 27, 12-14.
65. *HV*, III, 58-68.
66. *Agni P.* Ch. 5; *Matsya P.* Chs. 161-67; *PP* Chs. 266-67; *Vāmana P.* Chs. 23-31 etc.
67. *IV*, p. 94.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 105, fig. 76. Kalpana Desai has wrongly stated it as belongings to the outer wall of the Saciyā temple. She has, however, corrected her mistake in the caption of the fig.
69. *Purāṇa*, VIII (2), p. 255, fn. 25.
70. Kalpana Desai (*IV, loc. cit.*) wrongly describes the disc in this hand.
71. These figures have been described as attendants (*Ibid.*).
72. Kalpana Desai (*Ibid.*) has not taken note of it.
73. *RV.* VIII. 84, 3-4.
74. *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*, XXX, 9.
75. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, III, 17, 6.
76. *IV*, p. 123; cf. Sircar (1971), *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27.
77. *VSMRS*, pp. 49-54.
78. V.S. Agrawal, *Mahābhārata Kī Nāmānukramaṇikā*, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, V.S. 2016, pp. 79 ff.
79. *HV*, II.
80. *IHO*, XXX, pp. 350-52; Michael W. Meister has made an analytical and comparatively study of the scenes of 'Kṛṣṇalīlā From Wadhwān And Osian', *JISOA*, Vol. V, Part II, Calcutta, 1972-73, pp. 28-36, pls. XI-XV.

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81. *Lalit Kalā*, No. 8 (October 1960), pp. 55-62. H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, Oxford, 1950, pl. 91; *Catalogue and Guide To Ganga Golden Jubilee Museum, Bikaner*, Jaipur, 1960-61, p. 4, pl. II.
82. *ARASI*, 1909-10, p. 58. See also Suvira Jaiswal, *The Origin and Development of Vaiṣṇavism*, Delhi, 1967, p. 186.
83. Meister, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
84. The system was given up later as we find Kṛṣṇa-*janma* scene depicted on the eastern wall of VT-5 which faces south.
85. Cf. Meister, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31 and R.D.Trivedi, "Pratihāra Mandiroṁ meṁ Śrī Kṛṣṇa Kā Citraṇa aura Bhāgavata-Purāṇa", *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, Nos. 21-24, June 1978-Dec. 1979, pp. 49-57.
86. Omitted in HH-2 and 3 and VT-1
87. Meister, *loc.cit.*
88. *HV*, II, 4, 30-37.
89. In HH-1, Balarāma is shown on the left looking at them.
90. In HH-1, Ariṣṭa is turned upside down while in HH-2 it is Keśi shown upside down. Meister describes Keśi first and Ariṣṭa later, but the sequence is the reverse of it. He has also missed Baladeva in the scene.
91. HH-1 shows a small figure of the ass as falling down from the branch of the tree.
92. Cf. *IV*, p. 127, fig. 92.
93. The original frieze on HH-2 is substituted by a fragment of *jālikā* showing like other temples, Gopas playing on musical instruments.
94. Meister identifies him with Cāṇūra or Muṣṭika. It is, however, to be noted that Muṣṭika was killed by Balarāma and not by Kṛṣṇa. See V.S. Agrawal (V.S. 2016), *op. cit.*, p. 214.
95. On HH-2 also it is Baladeva who is shown as assaulting Lomaharṣaṇa with his plough and not killing Kaṁsa as stated by Meister (*op. cit.*, p. 31).
96. E.g., at Khajuraho. See *RA*, p. 121, fig. 48.
97. Meister, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
98. Ananta is the cosmic serpent Śeṣa. cf. *Mbh.* I. 65, 41; XIII. 150, 61 etc.
99. V.S. Agrawal (V.S. 2016), *loc. cit.*, and N.P. Joshi (1979), *op. cit.*, p. 1 Saṁkarṣaṇa literally means 'transference'.
100. *IHQ*, XXX, pp. 350-52.
101. N.P.Joshi (1979) ,*op. cit.*, pp. 2-5.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
103. They are named as Saṁvartaka and Sunanda respectively according to *HV*, II. 35, 60.
104. *Agni P*, 49, 12 describes him as holding a plough, a pestle, a mace and a lotus—*Lāṅgalī muṣalī Rāmo gadāpadmadharaḥ smṛtaḥ.*
105. *BS*, LVII. 36—
Baladevo halapāṇimadavibhramalocanaśca karttavyaḥ |
Vibhrat kuṇḍalamekaṁ śaṅkhendumṛṇālagauratanuḥ ||
106. *VDP*, III. 47, 12—*Saṁkarṣaṇasya karayostathā musalalāṅgale.*
107. *Ibid.*, III. 65, 2-7; cf. *Agni P*; 49, 6-7 :
Gadālāṅgaladhārī ca Rāmo vātha caturbhujaḥ ||
Vāmordhve lāṅgalaṁ dadyādatha śaṅkhaṁ suśobhanam |
Muṣalaṁ dakṣiṇordhve tu cakraścādhaḥ suśobhanam ||
108. *Agni P, loc cit.*
109. *IV*, pp. 134-38.
110. *JIH*, XXXIX (1), p. 126; *JISOA*, XIV, pp. 26-27. A close examination, however, shows that the normal right hand holds a lotus and is not held in *cinmudrā* as thought by Banerjea and R.C. Agrawal.
111. *Bh.*, p.104.
112. B.N. Sharma (*RL*, XL, Nos. 1-2, p. 97. pl. III) was mistaken in describing the cobra as five-hooded.

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113. Discus in Balarāma's hand is an interesting feature.
114. *HV*, II. 89, 3 refers to Balarāma as wearing a ring in one ear only : *Vāmaikakarṇāmalakuṇḍalaśrīḥ*; cf. *Viṣṇu P*, V. 25, 17 : *cāru gṛhītvaika ca kuṇḍalam*. Some early images of Balarāma show this feature. For details see *JOI* XVII (3), pp. 281-2 and figs; N.P.Joshi (1979), *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40, pls. 12, 13, 15 and 20.
115. *JIH*, XXXIX (1), pp. 126-27; *RL*, XL, pp. 97-98, pl.III. *Āliṅgaṇa-mūrtis* of Balarāma are rather rare.
116. *JIH*, XXXIX (1) pp. 126-27, fig. 1.
117. Bhandarkar (p. 111) had wrongly identified Āśvins as Hayagrīva.
118. V.S. Agrawal, *Mathurā Kalā* (Hindi), Ahmedabad, 1964, pp. 63-64.
119. *BV*, XXXVIII, p. 14.
120. Lalta Prasad Pandey, *Sun-Worship in Ancient India*, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1971, pp.1ff.; V.C. Srivastava, *Sun-Worship in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1971, pp. 122-26.
121. *RV*, I. 164, 46 : *divyassa suparṇo Garutmān*.
122. *Ibid.*, VII, 77, 3.
123. *Ibid.*, I, 115, 3-4; VII, 60, 3; 63, 2 etc.
124. Chamnanlal Gautam, *Devavāda kā Vaijñānika Svarūpa* (Hindi), I, *Viṣṇu Rahasya*, Bareilly, 1967, pp. 375-404.
125. Surya Kanta, *Vaidika Devaśāstra*, Delhi, 1961, pp. 98-103.
126. According to the *Bhaviṣya P*, (Ch. 134) Magas were brought from *Śakadvīpa* (Iran) to serve as the priests of a Sun temple erected on the bank of the river Candrabhāgā by Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa from Jāmbavatī.
127. It is the Indianised form of *Aiwiyaonghen*, the sacred waist-girdle of the Iranians. See *DHI*, p. 437.
128. *RV*, I, 115, 1.
129. *Mbh.*, II. 50, 16.
130. *Bulletin National Museum*, No. 3, p. 1.
131. H. Goetz, "Sūrya as the Supreme Godhead", *Professor P.K. Gode Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1960, pp. 113 and fig.
132. The stone on the upper left corner is replaced, but it carries the same motif. Asha Kalia (*AOT*, p. 119) wrogly identifies this and the following images as those of Dhātṛ-Sūrya.
133. *Infra*, Ch. IV. The bare-footed image of Sūrya in the SMT seated cross-legged on his chariot drawn by five horses as noticed by Asha Kalia (*AOT*, p. 119) has not been seen by us anywhere. Also the figure of a warrior shooting arrow now in the Mandor Museum can hardly be identified with Sūrya (cf. *AOT*, p. 118).
134. Cf. *AI*, No. 6, p. 29.
135. *Infra*, Ch. IV.
136. John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1938, p. 58; E.J.H. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjo-daro*, Vol. II, pl. LXXXVII, figs. 222 and 235 & pl. XCIV, fig. 420; M.S.Vats, *Excavations at Harappa*, Vol. I, Delhi, 1940, pp, 129-30, pl. CXIII, fig. 303; *MASI*, No. 37, pp. 38 and 45, pls. IX-X.
137. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.
138. *DHI*, pp. 446-47.
139. *VSMRS*, p. 148.
140. *ŚB*, IV.1.3, 7.
141. *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* VI.1.9.
142. *DHI*, p. 448; cf. *VSMRS*, pp. 145 ff.
143. *RV*, II. 33, 6-8.
144. *TS*, I. 8, 6.
145. *Mbh.*, VII. 74, 56.
146. *Rām.* I. 36, 9-10.
147. *Ibid.*, VII. 16, 8.
148. *DHI*, p. 448.

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149. *Mahābhāṣya*, II. 387.
150. *VSMRS*, pp. 165 ff.
151. Bhandarkar (*Ibid.*) has identified the Śiva-Bhāgavatas with the Pāśupatas and has placed Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata school, described in the *Purāṇas* as the 28th and last incarnation of Śiva, slightly earlier than or contemporaneous with Patañjali; cf. *DHI*, pp. 450-51.
152. The earliest reference to Śiva-*liṅga* occurs in the *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (III. 2, 16, 19) but the earliest Śiva-*liṅga* known so far is the *Pañcamukha-Liṅga* from Bhita which has been assigned to *c.* second century B.C. See N.P. Joshi, *Catalogue Of The Sculptures In The State Museum, Lucknow*, Part I, Lucknow, 1972, figs. 24-27, pp. 99-101.
153. Kāḍa coins belonging to second century B.C., if not earlier, show a human figure with *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu*. This, according to Dr. A.M. Shastri, is "one of the earliest representations of Śiva in human form so far as the historical period is concerned". See A.M. Shastri, "Symbols On Tribal Coins : An Interpretative Study", in *Seminar Papers On The Tribal Coins Of Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1977, p. 89.
154. This date corresponds well with the literary evidence; cf. *Mbh.*, XII. 14, 231-33.
155. Some memorial stones, however, show a *Liṅga* being worshipped by a male and a female above the inscription. A frieze on the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the western wall of VT-5 also shows a *liṅga* being worshipped. The *Mukha-Liṅga* enshrined in Śiva Temple No. 1 may not be original.
156. For a brilliant exposition of the symbolism involved in Naṭarāja images, see C. Sivaramamurti, *Naṭarāja In Art, Thought and Literature*, New Delhi, 1974, pp. 23-41.
157. R.C. Agrawal, "Some Interesting Sculptures of Jhalawar Museum", *JIM*, XI (1955).
158. *Mārg*, XII (2), p. 12, fig. 1.
159. The legend of Śiva's marriage with Pārvatī occurs in the *Śiva Purāṇa, Rudra Saṁhitā, Pārvatī Khaṇḍa*, 2 ff. and *PP, Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa*, 45 ff.
160. *EHI*, II, pp. 344-48; *DHI*, p. 485; N.K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist And Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Varanasi-Delhi, 1972, pp. 120-23, pl. XLVIII.
161. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-77.
162. E.g., Elephanta (*Ibid.*, pl. CIII), Ellora (*Ibid.*, pl. CIV; *DHI*, pl. XXXVIII, fig. I), Kanauj (V.S. Agrawal, *Śiva Mahādeva*, Varanasi, 1965, pl. XI; K.M. Munshi, *The Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Bombay, 1957, pl. 68; R.K. Dikshit, *Kanauj* (Hindi), Lucknow, 1955, pl. 3; S.B. Singh, *Brahmanical Icons in Northern India*, New Delhi, 1977, fig. 15; S.P. Tiwari, *Hindu Iconography*, New Delhi, 1979, pls. 14-16 etc.); Etah, now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (S.B. Singh, *op, cit.*, fig. 16: *EW* XIX(3-4), p. 418, fig. 8), Khajuraho (*EW*, XIX (3-4), fig. 7) and Urmila Agrawal, *Khajuraho Sculptures and their Significance*, New Delhi, 1964, fig. 31) etc.
163. *Ibid.*
164. Unfortunately, the image has been damaged badly in the recent years.
165. *VDP*, III, 59, 1-7.
166. *RM*, III. 59 ff.
167. Rao, (*EHI*, II, p.498) clearly states that "The so-called Kṣetrapāla is no other than Bhairava."
168. *MB*, XVIII (2), p. 87. See also *AOT*, p. 93.
169. *Mbh.*, XIII. 225, 25.
170. See for details *EHI*, II, pp, 455-59.
171. *JIH*, XLII (Pt. III), pp. 823 ff.
172. Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya P., Nārāyaṇīstuti*, Ch. 91, v. 51—
Itthaṁ yadā yadā bādhā dānovotthā bhaviṣyati /
Tadā tadāvatīryāhaṁ kariṣyāmyarisaṁkṣayam //
173. Cf.
Gaurī Kumārikārūpā dhyāyamānā Maheśvaraiḥ /
Varadābhayahastā sā dvibhujā śreyase sadā //

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Akṣasūtrābhaye padmaṁ tasyādhaśca kamaṇḍaluḥ |
Gauryā murtiścaturbāhuḥ kartavyā kamalāsanā ||

174. *DHI*, pp. 489 ff.
175. III. 57.
176. I. 6, 10, 4-5.
177. X, 1, 7.
178. *EHI*, I, pp. 356 ff.
179. *Ibid.*, pp. 341-2.
180. S.B. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 154.
181. Dhaky (1967), *op. cit.*, p. 67 & photograph facing p. 64.
182. Dhaky (*Ibid.*) has wrongly stated that but for the upper right hand which holds a trident, all the other three are broken. He seems to have described the image from the photograph which may not have been clear as the image being whitewashed does not give a good photograph.
183. Dhaky (1967), *op. cit.*, pp. 63-69.
184. In the image on HH-2, the proper right hand is mutilated. Since all the images of both the HH temples are in perfect harmony, we can presume that this hand was also held in the *varada* pose, like the other example.
185. Dhaky (1967), *loc. cit.*
186. *EHI*, I, p. 342.
187. *Devī P*, 39, 121 ff.
188. *Ibid.*, 39, 166.
189. *PP*, V. 30, 2 ff.
190. *Ibid.*, V. 30, 186.
191. *Bhaviṣya P, Uttara Parva*, 61, 15 :
Digvasanā vikṛtamukhā phetkāroddāmapūritadiśaughā |
Jayati vikarāladehā kṣemaṁkarī raudrabhāvasthā ||
192. *AP*, 222, 32.
193. *RM*, V, 36 :
Varaṁ triśūlaṁ kheṭañca pānapātrañca bibhratī |
Kṣemaṁkarī tadā nāmā kṣemārogya pradāyinī ||
194. Kṣemaṁkarī's description in the *Bhaviṣya P*, as a nude ferocious deity stands nearer to the images of Cāmuṇḍā than any other deity.
195. *RL*, XL, p. 97, pl, II. Asha Kalia (*AOT*, p.101) describes this image as Siṁhavāhinī Durgā.
196. Dr. B.N. Sharma (*Ibid.*) has missed one pair of hands and wrongly describes her as ten-armed.
197. Dr. Sharma (*Ibid.*) has described this hand as arranging the hair.
198. Cf. U.P. Shah, *Sculptures From Samalaji And Roda*, Baroda, 1960, p. 94, fig. 69.
199. *RL*, XL, *loc. cit.*
200. *EHI*, I, p. 366.
201. Ten-handed Mahiṣamardinī is generally regarded as Kātyāyanī.
202. Chs. 17-20.
203. For an account of his birth and exploits see *Vāmana P*, Chs. 17-20. See also *Brahmāṇḍa P*, II. 19, 40-41; *Matsya P*, 122.59-60; *Vāyu P*, 49.37; *Viṣṇu P*, II. 4, 27; etc.
204. *EHI*, I, pp. 350-54.
205. Cf. *Mārkaṇḍeya P., Devī Māhātmya* (III. 37)—
Evamuktvā samutpatya sārūdhā taṁ mahāsuram |
Pādenākramya kaṇṭhe ca śūlenainamatāḍayat ||
206. *DHI*, p. 498.
207. *EW*, XIX (3-4), p. 420; cf. *PP*, I. 35.
208. *EHI*, I, p. 354.
209. *Ibid.*, pp. 348 ff.
210. *Researcher*, V-VI (1964-65) pp. 11 ff. and pls.; *EW*, XVI, pp. 109-11, figs. 1-6.
211. The earliest kaoline figure, now preserved in the Amber Museum, dates back to *c.* first century B.C. (*Ibid.*).

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212. *EW*, XIX (3-4), *loc. cit.* See also *Half Yearly Journal Of The Mysore University*, Section A-Art, XXII (2), 1963, pp. 1-28, pls. 1-43.
213. J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities Of Chamba State*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 138, pl. VII. b.
214. *RL*, XL, pp. 99-100, pl. VI.
215. Dr. B.N. Sharma (*Ibid.*) missed this feature.
216. Dr. B.N. Sharma (*Ibid.*) did not take note of the lion also, probably because it is partially hidden behind the buffalo.
217. *Ibid.* In case of the so-called 'Abhiṣeka Gaṇapati' image of this temple, Dr. Sharma took them erroneously as representing Siddhi and Buddhi.
218. *VIJ*, I, p. 134, pls. III-IV; III, pp. 282-86 and *EW* XVI (1-2), p.110, fig. 5.
219. *Bh.*, p. 107.
220. At Abaneri Gaja-Lakṣmi is flanked by Gaṇeśa and Kubera. See R.C. Agrawal, "Sculptures from Abaneri, Rajasthan," *Lalit-Kalā*, Nos. 1-2 (1955-56), pp. 132-33, fig. 5.
221. *MASI*, No. 70, pl. XXII. c; *DHI*, p. 417, pl. XXXIII. 3; *IV*, p. 87, fig. 87.
222. *RL*, XL, p. 101, Pl. VIII.
223. V. 20; X. 12.
224. Ch. 50, vv. 3-6.
225. *Supra*, Ch. I.
226. *VDP* as quoted by Rao (*EHI*, I, Appendix A, p. 112).
227. *RM*, V. 39-40:
Caṇḍikā krurarūpā ca piṅgakeśā kṛśodarī |
Raktākṣī bhagnanetrā ca nirmāṁsā vikṛtānanā ||
Vyāghracarmaparidhānā bhujaṅgābharaṇānvitā |
Kapālamālinī kṛṣṇā śavārūḍhā bhayāvahā ||
Asha Kalia (*AOT*, p. 105) erroneously describes her as Cāmuṇḍā.
228. *DHI*, p. 383.
229. *ŚP*, IX (4) and XXIII (4), p. 35.
230. *DHI*, pp. 503-05.
231. *Ibid.*, p. 506.
232. III.73.
233. See for details *EHI*, I, pp. 379 ff.
234. Ch. 50, vv. 18-22.
235. See *Supra*, Bhairavī's description.
236. *EW*, XIX (3-4), p. 421, fig. 14.
237. Cāmuṇḍā is known from Kiradu, Jodhpur (Ojha, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 and 55), Baroli (*Lalit Kalā*, X, p. 20, pl. XII. 14), Arthuna and Ajmer Museum (*EW*, *loc. cit.*, p. 421, fn. 59) and other places in Rajasthan.
238. *DHI*, p. 370. Also see Rai Govind Chandra, *Prācīna Bhārata meṁ Lakṣmī Pratimā—Eka Adhyayana*, Varanasi, 1964.
239. B. Chatterjee, "Antiquity of the Concept of Lakṣmi" in *Foreigners In Ancient India And Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī in Art and Literature* (Ed. D.C. Sircar), Calcutta, 1970, pp. 152-57.
240. *RV*, I. 87, 6.
241. *DHI*, *loc. cit.*
242. Cf. *Mbh.*, II. 10, 19; III. 168, 3 etc.
243. *DHI*, pp. 133 ff. Sircar (1970), *op. cit.*, pp. 112-31.
244. Cf.
Padmasthā padmahastā ca gajotkṣiptaghaṭaplutā |
Śrīḥ padmamālinī caiva Kālikākṛtireva ca ||
245. *Bh.*, p. 107.
246. *VDP*, III, 52, 6-7; *Agni P*, 50, 17.
247. *Agni P*, *loc. cit.*
248. *VDP*, III. 52, 19-20.
249. E.g., ST-1 to 3, HH-1 to 3, subsidiary shrines of HH-1, PDT, VT-2 etc.

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250. Nirṛti's *śakti* appears on the juxta-buttress of VT-5 and DK-2; Vāyavī appears on DK-3 and Indrānī seems to have been represented in a niche of DK-1.
251. Cf. *RV*, II. 23, 1 : *Gaṇānāṁ tvā gaṇapatiṁ havāmahe.*
252. E.g., Vināyaka, Vighnapati, Vighneśa, Vighneśvara, Heramba, Gajānana, Guharāja, Ekadanta, Lambodara, Vakratuṇḍa etc.
253. *JISOA*, VII (1940), pp. 41-51.
254. *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*, XIX, 25; *Mādhyaṁdina Saṁhitā*, XVI, 25; XXIII. 19; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, I, 21; *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*, IX. 15 etc.
255. II. 5, 6.
256. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Part I, Delhi, 1971, pp. 7 and 42, pl. XXIII, 1.
257. Dr. Sampurananand, *Hindu Deva-Parivāra Kā Vikāsa* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1964, p. 147.
258. Cf. *VSMRS*, p. 147. The *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* refers to six Vināyakas such as Mita, Sammita, Śāla, Kaṭaṅkaṭa, Kuṣmāṇḍa and Rājaputra.
259. Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Calcutta, XXI, 1955, pp. 92 ff.
260. *DHI*, p. 355.
261. I, 271 ff.
262. See for details *EHI*, I, pp. 35 ff. and Dr. Sampurananda, *Gaṇeśa* (Hindi), Varanasi, V·S. 2001, pp. 6-10.
263. S.B. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
264. Cf. *VSMRS*, pp. 149-50.
265. A. Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, Oxford, 1936; M.K. Dhavalikar, "Gaṇeśa Beyond The Indian Frontiers" in *India's Contribution to World Thought and Culture*, Madras, 1970, pp. 1-16; P. Banerjee, "Hindu Deities in Central Asia," *Ibid.*, pp. 281-88; Amarendra Nath, "Gaṇeśa In Central Asian Art ; An Identification," *JISOA*, Vol. VI, 1974-75, pp. 1-4.
266. *Amarakośa*, I. 1, 38.
Vināyaka-Vighnarāja-Dvaimātura-Gaṇādhipaḥ |
Apyekadanta-Heramba Lambodara-Gajānanaḥ ||
267. *BS.* LVII. 58 :
Pramathādhipo gajamukhaḥ pralambajaṭharaḥ kuṭhāradhārī syāt |
Ekaviṣāṇo bibhranmūlakandaṁ sunīladalakamalam ||
Bhandarkar (*VSMRS*, pp. 148-50) had doubted the authenticity of this verse but Banerjea (*DHI*, p. 357) differs from him.
268. Cf.*EHI*, I, Appendix C, pp. 1-13; *VSMRS*, *loc. cit.*; *BV*, XIII, pp. 29-50; XXXIX (1), pp. 14-19, pls. I-II.
269. *BV*, XXXIX (1), p. 18. See also S.B. Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-40.
270. *VDP*, III, 71, 13-16.
271. *Matsya P.* 260, 52-55.
272. *Agni P*, 50, 23-26.
273. *AP*, 212, 35-37.
274. *RM*, V. 15.
275. See for details *EHI*, I, pp. 48 ff. and Appendix C.
276. D.N. Shukla, *Bhāratīya Vāstuśāstra* (*Pratimā Vijñāna*), Vol. IV, pp. 280-81.
277. *BV.* XIII, pp. 29-50;, Getty, *op. cit.*
278. Cf. The Gaṇeśa figure from Deogarh as represented in a line-drawing by Sivaramamurti (*AI*, No. 6, p. 31, fig. 15. 1, a).
279. Cf. The ornaments worn by Bhumra Gaṇeśa illustrated by Getty (*op. cit.*, pl. 3. a).
280. Dr. B.N. Sharma has described the image adorning the principal back niche of ST-2 as 'Abhiṣeka Gaṇapati'. See for details *RL*, XL, p. 96, pl. 1.
281. *AI*, No. 6, p. 30.
282. The trunk of Gaṇeśa turning to right can be seen at HH Temples and Saciyā lintel also.
283. Dr. B.N. Sharma (*RL*, XL, p. 96) wrongly states the lower right hand as holding a sweet-ball.
284. Dr. Sharma (*Ibid.*) does not identify these objects in the right hands.

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285. *Supra*, description of Sūrya images on ST-2 and 3.
286. *RL*, XL, p. 96.
287. A similar feature is met with at Khajuraho also. See *RA*, p. 50, fn. 4.
288. Cf. *AP*, 212, 35-37.
289. Gaṇeśa seated in *sukhāsana* on a cushioned stool on the southern principal niche of ST-1 is very much damaged.
290. Cf. B.N. Sharma, *Iconography Of Vainayakī*, New Delhi, 1979.

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Hindu Sculptures

Syncretistic Icons
Miscellaneous Icons
Gandharvas, Vidyādharas, Kinnars and Apasaras
Vyālas, Kīrttimukhas etc.
Erotic Sculptures

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CHAPTER IV

Hindu Sculptures : Syncretistic and Miscellaneous Icons

I. *SYNCRETISTIC ICONS*

The Vedic concept of '*sa eṣa eka eva vṛdeka eva*' (he is One and the only One God)[1] and '*Ekaṁ sad viprā bahudhā vadanti*' (The wise call that One by various names)[2] etc.[3] reflects the way of thinking of the Hindus who though divided later in a good number of sects, each having its own set of religious beliefs and observances, did not feel any religious acrimony amongst them and have emphasised through the ages the sentiment of the one eternally existing principle in different ways.[4] The *Upaniṣads*,[5] the *Bhagavadgītā*[6] and the *Purāṇas*[7] show the persistence of this sentiment and the influence it exercised on the people.

The *Purāṇas*, wherein we find the development, growth and expansion of Hindu mythology, show a general tenor and tendency of broad toleration between the various sects of Hinduism.[8] The process of synthesis which started with *mukhaliṅgas*, Hari-Hara and Ardhanārīśvara images culminated in *pañcopāsanā*,[9] well represented in *Pañcāyatana* temples, of which the earliest examples exist at Osian.[10] We describe below the syncretistic images from Osian which are representative of the tendency of reconciliation and synthesis that may have existed at the place when these images were carved.

Ardhanārīśvara :—According to the *Śiva Purāṇa*,[11] Brahmā, the Hindu god of creation, begot a number of Prajāpatis and exhorted them to proceed with the creation of other beings. Brahmā felt discomforted at their slow progress and prayed to Śiva for succour. The latter appeared before him in the composite male-female form of which the former prayed for the female half to proceed with the task of creation. The request having been granted, the work of creation continued satisfactorily. But this story does not present the tendency of religious rapproachment and synthesis which may have truly been the causative factor for the Ardhanārīśvara images. Another story related by Rao, however, suggests the presence of the syncretic tendency. Once, when the gods and sages circumambulated Śiva and Pārvatī at Kailāśa, *Ṛṣi* Bhṛṅgī went round only the former for being Śiva's exclusive worshipper. Pārvatī grew angry at his insolence and reduced him to a skin-covered skeleton. Bhṛṅgī, unable to stand erect on his two skinny legs, was

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provided with a third leg by Śiva who took pity on him. In order to save Pārvatī's honour, however, Śiva united his body with hers in order that Bhṛṅgī would be compelled to pay homage to the goddess while worshipping him. Thus came into being the Ardhanārīśvara form.[12] While describing the Ardhanārīśvara (Gaurīśvara) images, the *VDP*[13] states that it is the representation of *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti* in unison. We know that in Indian philosophy *Puruṣa* stands for, besides other things, the supreme God and *Prakṛti* represents the primaeval energy, Śakti. It is this synthesis of the primaeval parents of the universe, Śiva and Śakti, that has been delineated in the Ardhanārīśvara images, during the Kuṣāṇa periods for the first time perhaps.[14] The *BS*[15] prescribes that Śiva should be represented as having Pārvatī for his left half in the Ardhanārīśvara images. To this, the *VDP*[16], *Matsya-Purāṇa*[17] and the *Āgamas*[18] add some further details.

Osian has yielded only one Ardhanārīśvara image (*Pl. 94*). It is placed in the *pratiratha-rathikā* of the north wall of ST-3. It measures 52×32 cm. and conforms to the canonical description of the deity. One hand on either side is mutilated but the extant ones show a trident in the rear right and a mirror in the back left hand. The right half shows matted locks and the left half a crown (?) on the head. The ear-ring of Pārvatī's side differs from that of the other but the *ekāvalī*, wristlets and girdle is common to both parts. Behind the deity on Śiva's side stands the bull Nandī to left partially mutilated. A female attendant may have originally been represented on the left side as is indicated by the lower half of the body extant there.

Hari-Hara :—During the Kuṣāṇa period Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism too seem to have synthesized resulting in the creation of Hari-Hara (also called Haryardha) images.[19] All iconographical texts suggests that the left half of these images should represent Viṣṇu and the right half Śiva.[20]

At Osian, the cult of Hari-Hara must have remained very popular as is evidenced by the existence of three Hari-Hara Temples belonging to eighth century A.D.

HH-1 and 2, which are almost identical in imagery and conception, contain in the principal back niches icons of Hari-Hara, of the size of 48×32 cm. and 45×26 cm. respectively. Of these the latter is better preserved and is regarded as a 'great masterpiece of the Pratihāra art of the eighth century'.[21] It depicts the deity, standing in contraposto, with Śiva on the right half and Viṣṇu on the left as prescribed in iconographical texts, having half *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and half *kirīta-mukuṭa* on the head. Śiva's third eye (*ūrdhvanetra*) is shown on the forehead and Viṣṇu's *śrīvatsa* on the chest. With tenderly conceived face and serene eyes, the back right hand of Śiva holds the trident while the proper hand is held in protection-affording pose. Discus and conch are shown in the corresponding hands on the other side. The god stands on a lotus seat and wears ear ornaments resembling *nakra-kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvalī*, armlets, wristlets, triple stringed sacred thread and the lower garment secured by a chain-shaped waist-band forming loops on the thighs with free ends falling on the knees. An interesting feature is the *vanamālā* combined with *muṇḍamālā* on Śiva's side. Near the right foot stands Nandī facing to

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front. On either side flanking the deity are Triśūla-*puruṣa* and Cakra-*puruṣa* holding the attributes which they personify on the side of the deity, the other hand placed on their respective thighs. The image on HH-1 shows instead of the *āyudha-puruṣas*, devotees with folded hands kneeling towards the deity. Hari-Hara, harboured in the principal niche of the southern wall of HH-3 (*Pl. 95*) measures 42×21 cm. and shows the deity wearing half *jaṭā-mukuṭa* and half *kirīṭa-mukuṭa* with a jewel in the centre, *nakra-kuṇḍalas*, *graiveyaka*, *yajñopavīta*, *aṅgadas*, *valayas* etc. Both the *kaṭisūtra* and the *vanamālā* on Viṣṇu's side differ from the chain-like waist-band and skull garland of Śiva. The back right hand holds the trident and the proper right a blue lotus near the chest while the corresponding left hands are shown with a discus and a conch. Respective *āyudha-puruṣas*, Śūla on the right and Cakra on the left, both with faces mutilated, flank the deity, as if gazing at him. The pedestal shows *ardha-padma* pattern carved in the centre of its front face. Nandī is missing here. This elegantly carved relief is another Pratihāra masterpiece.

VT-3 also has an image of Hari-Hara. It shows lavish jewellery, *śrīvatsa* on chest, trident spiralled by a snake in the rear right hand and discus in the back left. The front pair of hands is mutilated but the disposition of the *āyudha-puruṣas* flanking the deity indicate that they were placed over Triśūla-and Cakra-*puruṣa*. The entire *vaijayantīmālā* here is floral. Nandī, the bull, on the extreme right is looking at his lord with its head turned up. On the other extreme stands anthropomorphic Garuḍa holding a snake in the left hand. His right hand raised above is probably held in salutation.

Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha :—The Hindu concept of Trinity, i.e., Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa, represents the three functions of only one god, viz., the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe. The three gods came to be regarded as the three manifestations of the one Supreme deity. Later, Sūrya was also added to this Trinity as the main deity of the Saura cult and in the domain of plastic art during the Pratihāra period we see the evolution of composite images of all these gods, called Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha, which display the iconographic characteristics of the respective deities.

Devatā-mūrti-prakaraṇa,[22] a medieval Rajasthani text, provides for the first time, details of such composite images. The image of Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha, according to this text, should have four faces and eight hands: Sūrya, holding a lotus in either hand should be indicated by the central face; Rudra on the proper right side should hold the *khaṭvāṅga* and the trident; Brahmā on the back should be represented as holding a rosary and water-pot and Viṣṇu on the left should be shown with a conch and a discus. The *AP*[23] also gives a similar description of the image.

Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha images have been found from Uttara Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan.[24] Three such images exist on the eastern walls of the three Viṣṇu Temples in the SMT complex at Osian. All of them show three faces, the fourth one at the back can be presumed. They are all octomanous. The main position is occupied by Sūrya who stands fully bedecked in his typical northern dress.

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The upper right hand portion above the waist is mutilated in the image on VT-5. The left side of the face of the deity is only partially visible. But for the proper left hand which holds the disc, all the other seven hands are damaged. On the proper right of the deity near the feet are to be seen a goose, Piṅgala with head and left arm mutilated, and Śiva's bull Nandī to left, with head broken. On the other side are Daṇḍī with a long staff and Garuḍa in human form with the head of a horse in between.

All the three faces of the image on VT-3 have survived though the central one is partially damaged. Sūrya, the central figure, has been shown as wearing a three-band sacred thread besides the usual ornaments and coat of mail. All the eight hands are broken but two lotuses, one on either side held by Sūrya, the pike of the trident on the proper right and the disc on the left are quite clear. The goose, the bull and Kuṇḍī on the right and Daṇḍī, horse-face and Garuḍa on the left can be identified though all of them are mutilated more or less.

The most beautiful and comparatively better preserved image, however, adorns VT-4 (*Pl. 96*). Sūrya, fully bedecked and adorned in the northern style, occupies the central position. Faces of Hari and Hara are intact. Though all the eight hands are broken, yet the blossomed lotus and the prongs of the trident on the right and a similar lotus and the tricephalous cobra on the left are preserved. At the back on either side are carved garland-bearing *vidyādhara* figures. A diminutive female figure representing Mahāśvetā stands at the feet of Sūrya. On either side are shown sitting in profile the horse-headed twin gods Āśvins, Sūrya's sons Dasra and Nāsatya, in *añjali-mudrā*. Behind them are male attendants, one on either side. The one on the proper right is shown with folded hands while the other holds a lotus in right hand with left akimbo. In spite of the intricacy of composition, this exquisitely carved relief is very pleasing.

We thus see that Osian has yielded some very beautiful syncretistic images which verily represent the tenor and tendency of toleration and synthesis amongst the various sects of Hinduism.

II. *MISCELLANEOUS ICONS*

Brahmā :—Born in a golden egg (*Hiraṇyagarbha*) and the first deity of the orthodox Brāhmaṇical triad, Brahmā, could not gather importance comparable to the other members of the Trinity, not even others like Sūrya, Devī and Gaṇapati. It was probably because the act of creation came to be associated by the followers of different cults with their own respective divinities.[25] Though his worship is enjoined upon all those who worship Viṣṇu or Śiva and he figures as one of the most important of the *parivāra-devatās* of the first *prakaraṇa* of a temple dedicated to either of the above-mentioned divinities,[26] yet there is no denying the fact that he enjoyed no success as a cult god and was reduced to the status of a titular deity only to find sometimes, not always as laid down in some scriptures, a niche here or there, in a Hindu shrine. Though even a late text like the *RM* describes Brahmā's temple alongwith its *parivāra-devatās, dvārapālas* etc. yet there are very few temples dedicated to him.[27] Anyway, we do find his images in Hindu temples.

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The earliest iconographic description of Brahmā occurs in the *BS*. It says that the four-faced god holds a ritual water-vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*) in one of his hands and is seated on a lotus.[28] Evidently his images in the early period were two-handed like those of other deities.[29] He is referred to as having four hands in all later texts. The *Āditya Purāṇa* refers to his four faces, lotus seat and Sāvitrī on his left lap.[30] The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* refers to Brahmā with eyes closed as in meditation and seated on a chariot drawn by seven swans (*Saptahaṁsarathasthitam*).[31] By the time of the *Āgamas* great elaboration had taken place in his iconic representations.[32] The *Aṁśumadbhedāgama* (*AMB*) describes the four-handed god as having *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, wearing ornaments, *yajñasūtra*, *kaṭisūtra*, bearded and holding water-vessel, laddle etc. as also showing *abhaya* and *varada* poses. He may be seated or standing on a lotus seat and is also associated with Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī.[33] *Suprabhedāgama* (*SPB*) refers to four-faced and four-armed Brahmā as wearing all ornaments, *jaṭāmukuṭa*, holding *kamaṇḍalu* and *akṣa* 'rosary' with Sāvitrī on his left.[34] The *Śilparatna* (*SR*) also refers to him as seated on a lotus seat (*kamalāsana*) or riding a swan (*haṁsārūḍham*), holding a laddle and *kamaṇḍalu*, with right hand in *varada* pose and the four *Vedas* in front. He should be flanked by Sarasvatī and Sāvitrī on his right and left.[35] The *RM* prescribes a rosary, laddle or lotus, book and water-vessel in hands, a beard and lotus seat for him.[36] We do not agree with Banerjea who holds that 'it is curious that in none of these elaborate accounts there is an explicit reference to his face or faces being bearded'.[37] The *AMB* clearly states that Brahmā should bear *kūrca* (*Kūrccaṁ caiva tu dhārayet*).[38] Since *kūrca*, which is also translated as 'a handful of *kuśa* grass'[39] is never depicted in Indian images, we would prefer its other meaning of 'beard'. Also, we do not subscribe to the view of the learned scholar 'that all the later images of Brahmā have bearded faces'.[40] We shall see presently that facts go against this view.

The earliest representation of Brahmā at Osian comes from the *pratiratha-rathikā* of the north wall of HH-1 (*Pl. 97*). The *rathikā* measures 33×14 cm. and harbours the deity standing in *samabhaṅga*. Three of the four faces of Brahmā can be seen (the fourth at the back can be presumed) as wearing over the combed hair *jaṭāmukuṭa*, ear-rings, necklace, *cīvara yajñopavīta*, beaded *aṅgadas* and *valayas* and a lower garment without the usual *kaṭisūtra*. The rear hands hold a laddle and a book, the normal ones are broken. The disposition of the arms, however, indicates that the left one may have held a *kamaṇḍalu* and the right one a rosary, the attributes we see in the hands of the deity on HH-2. This latter image, occupying the same position on the temple as the former is larger in size (44×12 cm.) and shows the god standing in *ābhaṅga* on a lotus-seat with beautifully carved petals. The three faces, as in the preceding example, are juvenile ones without beard, but supporting *jaṭās* over the combed hair. The god bears ear-rings, pearl necklace, beaded *keyūras*, *valayas*, *kaṭisūtra* and a *vanamālā*. *Vanamālā* has not been prescribed for Brahmā by any of the iconographical texts. Another interesting feature of the image is its single pair of hands, the right one in *abhaya* with a rosary and the left one holding a handled *kamaṇḍalu*, strangely enough, the sacred thread is missing.

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The beardless three-faced Brahmā in the north wall of HH-3, measures 47×13 cm. and is shown as standing in *samabhaṅga* on the lotus seat. The side faces are not as prominant as they were in the images described above. As usual, the god bears *jaṭās* over combed hair, but a central crest-jewel bound with a beaded belt is shown on the *jaṭās*. The ear-rings, *ekāvalī*, three-stringed sacred thread, armlets, wristlets, lower garment secured by waist-band and *vanamālā* adorn the figure. Like the preceding example, Brahmā here too is two-handed, holding a *kamaṇḍalu* which now appears just like a small nectar flask in his left hand. The right hand is mutilated but it seems to have been held in *abhaya* pose. Almost a similar image occurs on the corresponding *pratiratha-rathikā* (47×14 cm.) of ST-1 also but the lotus-seat and the jewel in the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* are missing. The right hand which may have been held in *abhaya* is damaged and the left hand seems to hold a book near the chest. A small panel on the lintel of this temple also contains unbearded three-faced four-armed Brahmā seated cross-legged with a *yogapaṭṭa* around his legs. The attributes in the hands are not clear but a book and water-vessel in the rear and normal left and *abhaya* pose of the normal right and a laddle in the rear right may have been there. This feature of depicting Brahmā with *yogapaṭṭa* in a panel on the lintel is shared by ST-2 also. And this temple contains an interesting image of Brahmā (*Pl. 98*) in the north-eastern *karṇa-rathikā* of the north wall. It measures 35×26 cm. and shows the unicephalous but bearded four-handed god standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose having *jaṭās* over combed hair, ear-rings, *vastra-yajñopavīta*, elaborately carved *keyūras*, *valayas* and the lower garment secured with *kaṭisūtra* which forms a loop and falls as a pendant on the left thigh. The face is serene. Interestingly enough the rear hands hold manuscripts, the right one an *akṣasūtra* in addition, and the normal hands are placed over the heads of attendant figures, one each on the two sides, just like those of the Viṣṇu images on the heads of the *āyudha-puruṣas*. These attendants hold in one of their hands each a manuscript and this fact adds further significance to the image. We have thus Brahmā holding four manuscripts, i.e., four *Vedas*, which are referred to in the *SR*. The attendant figure in simulation of the *āyudha-puruṣas* are also an important feature. Since *ṛṣis* (sages), who are also sometimes depicted on temple walls and bear beards as well, possess only two hands we cannot identify this image as that of any *ṛṣi* nor even as that of Bṛhaspati who shared some personality traits of Brahmā. We have an unbearded *ṛṣi*, probably Bṛhaspati, carved just like Brahmā on HH-3 and a bearded figure of Bṛhaspati,[41] resembling Brahmā on ST-1, but they are both two-handed images. And since ST-2 does not bear any other similar image of a bearded sage, it is unlikely that the figure under discussion does not belong to Brahmā but a sage. That Brahmā has been depicted in the panel of the lintel just like ST-1 which also possesses a standing Brahmā image in its *rathikās*, this bearded figure unmistakably represents Brahmā and none other.

Four-handed tricephalous Brahmā holding a laddle and manuscript in the rear hands, a water-vessel in the front left with proper right in boon-conferring attitude is depicted on the *śukanāsa* of SMT. Three-headed unbearded Brahmā is also depicted on the lintel of this temple.

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We thus see that the images of Brahmā are unicephalous as well as tricephalous, two-handed or quadrumanous, juvenile or bearded, seated or standing, with or without the lotus seat and *vanamālā*, and invariably without any mount. Brahmā with four *Vedas* is, however, a unique piece of art.

Kārttikeya :—Generally regarded as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, Kārttikeya seems to have had a late origin but an early popularity. He is first mentioned in the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtra*[42] where we get his various names like Ṣaṇmukha, Viśākha, Mahāsena and Jayanta. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*[43] makes an unmistakable mention of his images. The *Rām.*[44] refers to him as the son of Agni from Gaṅgā. It was probably because of this parentage that he is associated with *kukkuṭa* (cock) and *mayūra* (peacock) later. He was nursed by six Kṛttikās and is therefore known as Kārttikeya, having six faces (Ṣaḍānana, Ṣaṇmukha)[45]. Literary, numismatic and sculptural evidence shows that he was a very popular deity during the Kuṣāṇa period. Different legends have been woven around his personality in the *Purāṇas*.[46] His worship got completely merged in that of Śiva in northern India during the post-Gupta period as a result of which we do not find any independent shrines dedicated to him.[47]

BS describes him as boyish in appearance holding a *śakti* (lance) and having peacock as his cognizance—'*Skandaḥ kumārarūpaḥ śaktidharo varhiketuśca*,[48] *VDP*, however, carries a more detailed description of the deity and describes him as six-faced, *śikhaṇḍaka*, wearing red garment, riding on a peacock, holding a cock, a bell, a victory flag and a spear or javelin (*śakti*). Two-, four-, six- and twelve-armed Ṣaṇmukha has been referred to in the *AMB*[49]. Different types of his images have been described in various other *Āgamas* and *Tantras*.[50] Numerous images of the deity have been found from different parts of the country.[51]

ST-3 contains in the *rathikā* of its northern wall a two-handed standing image of Kārttikeya (*Pl. 99*) measuring 52×29 cm. The image has been whitewashed and the face has been blackened with greasy material. The god stands in *ābhaṅga*, wearing *śikhaṇḍaka* type of coiffure, *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvalī*, wristlets, lower garment secured with a waist-band and a scarf. He holds a noose in the right hand while the left is *kaṭyavalambita*. A beautiful realistically carved peacock is depicted to right behind the god. On the left is a twig with two leaves, carved to fill up the blank space. A notable thing is that a plain round gloriole has been carved behind the head of Kārttikeya but it has been cut horizontally above the level of the head to fix the image in the niche. Evidently the image has subsequently been fixed here and is not original. Similarly some other images like those of Pārśvanātha and Kubera on the eastern wall seem to have been put in their places subsequently.

A niche measuring 45×27 cm. on the southern wall of the *jagatī* of HH-1 harbours an image of Kārttikeya standing in *ābhaṅga*, holding a sword and a scutum in the rear hands and a dagger (?) and long javelin in the front right and left hands respectively. A peacock to left with spread plumage has been carved behind the god. The image is much mutilated. The corresponding niche of HH-2

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also contains an image of Kārttikeya, measuring 43×28 cm., standing gracefully in *tribhaṅga* pose, with a peacock to left behind and a small attendant figure on the right. The legs are crossed in *gopālāsana*. The image is very badly mutilated but *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, ear ornaments, *kaṭisūtra* and *vanamālā* can be seen. The only surviving rear right hand holds a plough.

Small panels on the lintel of the porch of HH-1, under the cornice on the northern wall of HH-3 and the lintel of SMT also show Kārttikeya with his mount peacock. Kārttikeya holding the *śakti* in the right and a cock in the left hand standing on the lower right hand side corner of the standing Śiva-Pārvatī image on VT-5 is significant for being the only image of Kārttikeya with cock known so far from Osian.

Candra :—Soma, which later on came to be identified with Cadnra, is one of the most important deities in the *RV*.[52] One hundred and twenty hymns are dedicated to him fully and many others partially.[53] His name Indu also is very common in the *RV*. Soma is described as the embryo of the waters[54] and the drop which grows in the water.[55] This seems to have stood at the base on which the origin of moon from the ocean at the time of its churning was established in the epic mythology.[56] His association with rituals and origin from water seems to have made him the lord of priests and plants.[57] The colour, qualities and effects of Soma juice being analogous with these features of Candra led to their identification ultimately.[58] Soma's association with Parjanya (clouds), Pūṣan (sun), Rudra, Agni (fire), Varuṇa (ocean) etc. is natural.[59] His brilliance is praised and he is described as having been brought by an eagle. His car and steeds are also referred to in the *Vedic* mythology[60] and may have served as the basis of Candra's association with goose as his mount or the chariot drawn by ten horses as his car at a later period. Indra is associated with the myth of the rape of moon.[61] Candra rapes Tārā later on.[62] He is the son of Atri and father of Budha from Tārā.[63] The stories of Dakṣa as having given him twenty-seven of his daughters in marriage, his excessive love for Rohiṇī amongst them, complaint of others to their father, Dakṣa's curse and Śiva's boon[64] are nothing but mythicization of some natural phenomena elaborated further in the *Purāṇas*.[65]

The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* equates Candra and Prajāpati (Brahmā) and it is said that this identification may have led to the transference of Brahmā's mount *haṁsa* to Candra.[66] We have seen above that Candra is described in the *Vedic* literature as having been brought by an eagle. *Haṁsa* is associated with water and as a natural corollary with deities associated with water—Varuṇa and Candra for example. Prajāpati's association with water is also evidenced in the *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā*, *TS*, and *ŚB*.[67] So the swan is connected with him also. Fish and crocodile, both aquatic, as the vehicles of Candra[68] further corroborate our viewpoint.

Sūrya and Candra are the celestial luminaries and have been described in the Brāhmaṇical literary tradition so alike that sometimes it becomes difficult to distinguish them. Sūrya's chariot drawn by seven horses may have inspired the concept of Candra riding a chariot drawn by ten horses.[69] Sūrya's depiction with Uṣā and Pratyūṣā and/or his two queens similarly may have led to the concept of

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Candra's representation with his two wives Śobhā and Kānti which may be said to symbolize dusk (*sandhyā*) and twilight (*godhūli*).[70] And again Sūrya's charioteer Aruṇa seems to have inspired the depiction of Ambara (sky) as driving Candra's chariot. Seven geese drawing his chariot, [71] are comparable to *sapta-haṁsa ratha*[72] of Brahmā[73] and Varuṇa[74] and the seven steeds drawing Sūrya's chariot. Both hold lotuses in their hands. Candra, being a planetary divinity like Sūrya, followed him closely but seems to have been unable to keep pace with which the worship and popularity of the former grew.

Candra may have been represented symbolically like the sun initially.[75] His early representations in art do not seem to be different from those of the Sun. The two discs in the hands of the earliest Varāha-*mūrti* discovered by N.P.Joshi depict Sūrya and Candra and not only the sun on both sides as held by him.[76] Varāha's description as '*ahorātrekṣaṇadharaḥ*' in the *Matsya Purāṇa* as quoted by Joshi himself indicates this. The similarity of description of Sūrya and Candra in the Brāhmaṇical literary tradition seems to have created confusion in their representation and some early figures of Candra may have actually been confused as belonging to Sūrya.[77]

The *VDP* describes Candra's images as holding two lotuses in the two hands, riding a chariot drawn by ten horses accompanied by his wives Kānti and Śobhā.[78] According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*,[79] Candra should hold a mace in one hand and the other should be in the boon-conferring attitude. *SR* prescribes lotuses in the two hands.[80] The *Agni Purāṇa* describes him as '*kuṇḍikājapyamālīnduḥ*,'[81] i.e., Candra holding a nectar-flask and a beaded rosary. It is exactly this form which we find represented on the walls of Osian temples.[82]

The earliest representation of Candra at Osian belongs to the *pratiratha-rathikā* (33×22 cm.) of the south wall of HH-1[83] and shows the god, unfortunately with face mutilated, sitting in *sukhāsana* on a crescent-shaped seat (*candrāsana*) under which are depicted two swans placed back to back (*Pl.100*). Matted locks over combed hair, *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, necklace etc. are, however, discernible. A crescent, which seems to have been a popular device to distinguish the deity from others, is carved behind the head. This device can be seen on the head of the Paharpur image[84] and behind the heads of images from Pengore, Chittorgarh and Sikar[85] also. The god holds a small water- (or nectar-) pot in the left hand while the right one held near the shoulder, now mutilated, may have held a rosary.[86] R.C. Agrawal has rightly remarked that "there is nothing to reflect any Buddhist impact on it; the entire complex of these temples at Osian is Brāhmaṇical and hence the existing carving of a *Candra relief 'with two swans' on a Hari-Hara Temple at Osian is of great artistic and iconographic interest*".[87] It is the earliest relief depicting Candra with swans and the tāntric Buddhist literature which refers to *haṁsa* as the mount of Candra seems to have borrowed the idea from Hindu icons.

HH-2 harbours in the corresponding niche (40×13 cm.) the image of Candra[88] (*Pl. 101*) standing gracefully in *tribhaṅga* pose wearing matted locks over combed hair, ear ornaments, *ekāvalī*, *vastra-yajñopavīta*, *keyūras*, *valayas*, *kaṭisūtra* with *urudāma* and *muktadāma*, *vanamālā* and *adhovastra*. The crescent appears

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behind the head and a lion is depicted as the mount near the right foot of the god who holds the *kuṇḍikā* in the left and rosary in the right hand held in *abhaya* pose near the shoulder.[89] The depiction of lion as the vehicle is interesting. It is notable that Buddha, son of Candra, also has the lion as his mount.[90]

The most beautiful image of Candra, however, exists in the *pratiratha-rathikā* of the west wall of HH-3[91] (*Pl.102*). It measures 47×17 cm. The two-armed god stands gracefully on a lotus seat in *ābhaṅga* pose wearing matted locks, ear-rings, necklace, armlets, wristlets, lower garment tied with *kaṭisūtra*, *vanamālā* and with a crescent behind the head. In the suspended left hand is shown the water-pot. The right hand is broken. It may have been disposed in the *abhaya* pose near the shoulder, holding a rosary as in the preceding example. There is no mount or any other accessory figure but the blank space on either side near the feet is filled by exquisite branches of plants with broad leaves. Aesthetically, this is the best image of Candra, a veritable masterpiece of the Pratihāra art of eighth century A.D.

ST-1 also contains in its *pratiratha-rathikā* of the south wall (47×13 cm.) an image of Candra standing in *ābhaṅga*, wearing a necklace, sacred thread, wristlets, *vanamālā*, lower garment secured with waist-band and a crescent behind the head which is gone. The hands too are broken.

Interestingly enough, Candra is represented on the pilaster, to the right hand side of the entrance, of VT-3, with a crescent behind the head (*Pl.38*). On the other side too is a similar figure but without crescent. The hands of these figures are broken. They may be representative of the moon with ascending and descending nodes.

Revanta :—The worship of Revanta—son of Sūrya and Sañjñā and the lord of the Guhyakas—began sometime during the Gupta period and became popular all over northern India during the medieval period.[92] His stone images show him invariably two-armed and riding on a caparisoned horse, all by himself, or accompanied by a hunting party, conforming to the description of the deity in the *Purāṇas*[93] and the *BS*.[94] *Kuvalayamālā* of Udyotana Sūri, which was completed in Jābālipura (modern Jalor in Rajasthan) in Śaka 700 (=A.D.778) enumerates the fruits of Revanta worship thus : "Revanta, son of Sūrya and Sañjñā, and the king of the Guhyakas, delivers people from the terrors of forests and other lonely places, of great conflagrations, of enemies and robbers and bestows upon his worshippers comfort, intelligence, happiness, kingship, perfect health, fame and exalted position."[95] Revanta's worship also formed part of the performance of the Nirājana ceremony by kings and commanders in the month of Āśvina before marching to the field.[96] Nakula's *Aśvaśāstram* indicates that chanting of the twenty-eight names of the god every morning was believed to protect one's horses from evil spirits.[97] Revanta's worship was also enjoined upon those who had riches and possessed horses.[98] Sahai has expressed the opinion that the worship of Revanta became popular in the first few centuries of the Christian era, probably when the horses became the most important elements of war.[99]

Not only the earliest representation of Revanta in art but also the largest number of his icons comes from Rajasthan. Of the total number of 45 stone

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images of Revanta illustrated by Dr. B.N.Sharma in his monograph on the '*Iconography of Revanta*', 14 come from Rajasthan, 11 from U.P., 6 each from Bihar and Madhya Pradesh, 2 from Gujarat and one each from Haryana, Bengal, Orissa, Bangla Desh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu.[100] So his worship seems to have been more popular in Rajasthan than any other region.

Two icons of Revanta from Osian have already been described and illustrated by Dr. B.N.Sharma.[101] Two more, still unpublished, exist there. One is studded in the wall of the verandah of the SMT and bears a very thick layer of encrustation caused by a coating of oil, vermillion and dust. The basic features of the image, however, are still quite clear and one can easily detect the figure of Revanta on horseback with an attendant at his back holding an umbrella over him. This image probably adorned some niche of a Sun temple in the eighth century A.D. It may have belonged to ST-3. One more image of Revanta is known to have existed on a wall of the south-east *karṇaprāsāda* of HH-2 at Osian.[102] Still another image, now placed in the store of the SMT, shows Revanta on horseback to right, holding the reins of the horse in the left hand and a wine-cup (?) in the right hand held near the chest. An attendant standing behind the horse holds an umbrella over Revanta's head. The face and hind legs of the horse are broken. Two figures, both defaced (Daṇḍa and Piṅgala?) are shown as standing before the steed while the hound attacking a pig is carved below it. Not in a good state of preservation, this image is ascribable to the Pratihāra period.

We thus see that the single site of Osian has yielded as many as five images of Revanta—not an insignificant number considering the comparative rarity of such images in general at other places. There is no evidence of Osian being a centre of horse-trading. It is, however, well-known as the cradle of the Oswal *baniās.*[103] As such the town seems to have been inhabited by rich traders,[104] adhering to both Jainism and Hinduism. Hindu and Jaina shrines at Osian bear testimony to the affluence of its denizens which seems to have found expression in more than a dozen images of Jīvantasvāmi (otherwise quite rare)[105] and five images of Revanta worshipped by the Jainas and the Hindus.[106] Worship of Revanta seems to have become popular as part of the Sun worship, more so because it was a seat of the trading class whose members sought protection from the terrors of the forests and lonely places, conflagrations, enemies and robbers and wanted comfort, happiness, health etc.,—the fruits of Revanta's worship.

Āśvins :—Very prominent during the *Rgvedic* period, Āśvins have been celebrated in more than fifty entire hymns and in parts of several others, their name recurring more than 400 times in that text.[107] Their epithets '*dasra*' (wondrous) and '*nāsatya*' (=*na -asatya* 'not untrue' later became their proper names. The name Āśvins implies 'those possessing horses'[108] but there is no evidence of their possession of or even riding on horses.[109] In one passage of the *RV* they are said to be the twin sons of Vivasvat and Tvaṣṭṛ's daughter Saraṇyu[110] who probably represented the rising sun and dawn.[111] Āśvins have been variously identified but their identification with the twilight and the morning star is the most probable.[112]

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The *ŚB* narrates the story of Āśvins curing Cyavana.[113] The story of their birth from Sūrya (Vivasvān) and Saraṇyū or Sañjñā in the form of horses is met with in the *Mbh.*,[114] *HV*[115] and some *Purāṇas* like the *Viṣṇu*,[116] *Mārkaṇḍeya*[117] etc. The epics and the *Purāṇas* refer to them as great doctors (*vaidyas*) and there are some *tīrthas* also sacred to them.[118] In art, they are depicted as horse-headed twins.[119] The inspiration for these figures may have come from the horse-faced *Yakṣī* images which are known to us from Sanchi,[120] Bodh Gaya,[121] Patna,[122], Mathura[123] etc. all belonging to the Śuṅga period, and later ones from Mandor[124] and elsewhere.[125] Āśvins are generally associated with their father and appear on the images of Sun or his syncretic forms which have been found from various places in the Punjab,[126] Haryana,[127] U.P.,[128] Nepal,[129] Madhya Pradesh,[130] and Rajasthan.[131]

At Osian, Āśvins appar on the Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha image on the VT-4 as we have already seen. Asha Kalia wrongly states that Āśvins exist on all the three Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha images. There is another independent representation which was wrongly identified by Bhandarkar as depicting Hayagrīva.[132] It has since remained unnoticed.

A small panel measuring 19×13 cm. on the lintel of VT-4 contains an image of the twin gods (*Pl.103*) standing side by side in *ābhaṅga* pose. They bear horse-heads on human busts and wear sacred thread, armlets, wristlets and lower garments. Both of them are standing identically holding a nectar-pot in the suspended left hand with right hand raised to the shoulders in the pose of protection.[133]

Navagrahas :—In Hindu mythology, astronomy and astrology Sūrya, Soma (Candra), Maṅgala (Bhauma), Budha, Bṛhaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu are regarded as '*grahas*'[134] and are collectively known as *Navagrahas* because of their number nine. Though individualy some of these planets, particularly the first two, have been referred to in literature from very early times, yet collectively they are first mentioned in the *Yājñavalkyasūtra*.[135] Besides the text, the *VDP*, *Agni Purāṇa*, *Matsya Purāṇa*, *AMB*, *SR* and some Buddhist texts like *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, *Kṛtyasaṁgrahapañjikā*, *Dharaṇīsaṁgraha*, *Dharmakośasaṁgraha* and *Pūjā vidhi*[136] describe them in details. These texts sometimes differ and the extant reliefs too show further variations.

We have already discussed the iconography of Sūrya and Candra in the preceding pages noting that the most distinctive (feature of these planetary divinities) is that they both hold lotus flowers in their hands according to most of the available texts.

Maṅgala or Bhauma (Mars) is described variously as seated upon a goat, *siṁhāsana* or a golden chariot drawn by eight horses. The hands should be in *abhaya/varada* and holding *śakti*, *gadā* and *śūla*[137] or rosary and *śakti*.[138] Buddha, son of Candra, should possess a bow and rosary according to *Agni Purāṇa*,[139] sword, scutcheon and mace with fourth in boon-conferring attitude according to the *Matsya Purāṇa*[140] and *SR*, the later text prescribing lion mount as well for the god.[141] Bṛhaspati and Śukra should be four-handed with one in the *varada* pose

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and the other three carrying rosary, water-vessel and staff according to the *SR* or holding a book and rosary and a treasure and book respectively according to the *VDP*.[142] *Agni Purāṇa*,[143] prescribes only water-vessel and rosary for Bṛhaspati. Śani, according to the *Maṭsya Purāṇa*, should have one hand in *varada* pose and the other three carrying a trident, bow and arrow.[144] *VDP* prescribes *daṇḍa* and *akṣamālā* in his two hands.[145] Rāhu is described in the *SR* as seated upon a *sīṁhāsana*, terrific looking, holding clockwise *varada*, *khaḍga*, *kheṭaka* and *śūla*. Elsewhere he is described as holding in one of the hands a blanket and book and other empty.[146] Ketu should carry a mace and *varada* pose in the other hand, and be mounted upon a kite.[147] *Agni Purāṇa* prescribes sword and lamp in his two hands[148] while the *Matsya Purāṇa* states that he should hold a *gadā* in both hands.[149] The *AP*[150] and *RM*[151] also describe the *Navagrahas*. These texts lay down that all the divinities should be adorned with all ornaments; Budha should be seated in *yogamudrā* on *sarpāsana*; Bṛhaspati should hold rosary and water-vessel and have *haṁsa* as his mount; Śukra with similar attributes should be represented with a frog (*dardura*); Śani with buffalo, holding *daṇḍa* and *kamaṇḍalu* in his two hands; Rāhu should be represented in the sacrificial pit with only the upper half of the body and Ketu in *añjali-mudrā* should have anguine lower portion.

We do not have any independent images of the *Navagrahas* on the temple walls at Osian.[152] The *Navagrahas* are seen on the lintels or sur-lintels of almost all the Hindu shrines at Osian but the panels are so small and the *grahas* have generally been carved so roughly that it is not always easy to make out their attributes and distinctive features. Generally they are shown seated but in *PDT* and VT-4 they appear as standing. The mounts are nowhere traceable but the depiction of Rāhu in the sacrificial pit and Ketu with serpentine lower half indicates that the *AP* and *RM* system of their representation had been adopted.

Aṣṭa-Dikpālas:—The Hindu concept of *Dikpalās* or *Lokapālas* the guardians of the quarters or the world owes its origin to the *Atharva-vedic* description of the regents (*adhipati*) and wardens (*rakṣitā*) of the six quarters which it recognised—the gods Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Viṣṇu and Bṛhaspati as the regents of the eastern, southern, western, northern, fixed and upwards quarters with the *Nāgās*, Asita, Tiraścirāji, Pṛdāku, Svaja, Kalmāṣagrīva and Śvitra as the wardens of those quarters respectively.[153] The *ST* substitutes Viṣṇu by Yama.[154] The *Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra*,[155] however, recognises ten *dikpālas* of which eight, with some variations, of course, seem to have been adopted ubiquitously later on as the protectors of the four main and four minor quarters. The said *Gṛhyasūtra* supplies the following list: Indra (E), Vāyu (SE), Yama (S), Pitaras (SW), Varuṇa (W), Mahārāja (NW), Soma (N), Mahendra (NE), Vāsuki (downwards) and Brahmā (upwards).[156] The *Rām.* recognised Indra (E), Yama (S), Varuṇa (W), and Kubera (N) as the guardians of the four chief quarters.[157] The *Mbh.* also agrees with the above at one place[158] while at another Agni replaces Kubera.[159] Hopkins thinks that 'the grouping Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and Indra seems older than when Kubera is substituted for Agni'.[160] That the worship of Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera and Vāsava (Indra) as *lokapālas* had been fairly well recognised by the first century B.C. is indicated

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clearly by the Nanaghat Inscription of Nāganika.[161] In the Buddhist literature, we find the Brāhmaṇical conception of the four *dikpālas* or *lokapālas* represented by more elaborate and definite ideas of the four Mahārājas.[162] Later, the number of the *dikpālas* or *lokpālas* was raised to eight: Indra, Anila (Vāyu), Yama, Arka (Sūrya), Agni, Varuṇa, Candra (Soma) and Vitteśa (Kubera) in the *Manusmṛti*[163] and Indra Vahni (Agni), Pitṛpati (Yama), Nairṛta, Varuṇa, Marut (Vāyu), Kubera and Īśa (Īśāna), beginning from the east to north-north-east in the *Amarakośa*.[164] This conception of the eight *dikpālas* grew traditional in the medieval period and sometimes Brahman in the zenith and Ananta in the nadir were also added to the list.[165] Like the temples of Khajuraho[166] the depiction of the *dikpālas* is a characteristic feature of Osian temples, both Hindu and Jaina.[167] They all occupy their fixed quarters[168] and in rare instances their *śaktis* have also been depicted separately.

A. *INDRA*

The foremost god of Vedic mythology,[169] Indra was reduced to the position of a mere *dikpālas* of the eastern quarter later. In the *RV* we hear of a thunderbolt and goad,[170] bow and arrow[171] as his weapons. Even a noose is associated with him.[172] The cutting of the wings of mountains with his thunderbolt,[173] shattering Vṛtra with his weapons[174] and releasing the waters[175] are some of the feats especially lauded in the *RV*. The last trait persists indirectly later when we find him eulogised as a god of rain. His immoral and capricious traits though referred to in the *RV*,[176] do not show him sexually malpheasant as he is in the epics.[177] Indra's car and steeds also find mention in the *RV*[178] but the *Samudramanthana* episode acquaints us of the acquisition of the elephant Airāvata by Indra, which finds mention in literature as his mount.[179] Indra's name occurs in the *Avesta*[180] and Boghaz Kui inscription[181] indicating his antiquity going back to the Indo-Iranian period.

Agni Purāṇa,[182] *Matsya Purāṇa*[183] and *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*[184] describe Indra as having a thunderbolt as his attribute and elephant as his vehicle. The latter two prescribe a lotus also in the other hand. *SPB* and *SR* provide thunderbolt and an elephant-goad in the two hands,[185] while the *AMB* substitutes *śakti* for the thunderbolt and a lion-throne as an alternative of the mount elephant.[186] According to the *BS*, Mahendra's mount should be the four-tusked white elephant and the god should hold a thunderbolt in his hand, and bear a horizontal third eye on his forehead.[187] The *VDP*[188] contains a detailed description of the deity as four-armed, three-eyed, having four-tusked elephant as his vehicle, holding the thunderbolt, elephant-goad and lotus in his hands and embracing his consort Śacī seated on his lap, with the fourth. *AP*[189] and *RM*,[190] too, describe him as seated on the elephant with the normal right hand in *varada* pose and others holding clockwise a thunderbolt, goad and water-vessel. Some other texts[191] including the Jaina ones[192] also describe the four-handed god with varying attributes, seated on the elephant.

It is interesting to note that all early images of Indra at Osian are two-handed while the later ones are four-handed. All images, however, show the vehicle of the god invariably.

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The south-eastern niche of the east wall of HH-1 shows the god seated in *sukhāsana* on the couchant caparisoned elephant to right. There is a *yogapaṭṭa* around the right leg and middle portion of the god who wears a *kirīṭa-mukuṭa*, ear ornaments, pearl necklace etc. The right hand probably possessed a thunderbolt (now mutilated) and the left one is placed on the left knee. The figure measures 30×17 cm. The face of the god, too, is damaged. HH-2 shows the deity standing in *dvibhaṅga*, wearing the *kirīṭā-mukuṭa*, *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvalī*, *keyūras*, *valayas*, *vanamālā* and *abhovastra* secured with *kaṭisūtra*. The sash of the lower garment covering the thighs partly is held on the left by the god and it gives the semblance of a noose. The right hand holds a three-pronged thunderbolt. Elephant to left is carved behind the god and the blank space in the composition is adorned with branches and leaves of a plant. The size of the niche containing this image is 49×18 cm. The placidity and beautitudinous smile on the face of the god is worthy of note.

A similar image (40×13 cm.) on HH-3 with the elephant to right at the back, is remarkable for its exquisite carving and grace. Similar in conception and composition but not as graceful as above are the images belonging to the VT-1 and ST-1, measuring 35×18 cm. and 47×12 cm. respectively. Indra on PDT shows the deity in *tribhaṅga* pose, holding a noose in the *kaṭyavalambita* right hand and the thunderbolt in the left near the head. The mount is represented by a small facing elephant head carved on the proper right of the deity behind the fore-arm. VT-2 contains the image of Indra as seated on the elephant facing with a tree-canopy over the head. It is, however, very much defaced. MT shows the god with a three-peaked tiara and an elephant to left behind, holding the (noose-like) loop of the lower garment in the left hand, the right being mutilated.

Of the later four-handed images, we have the best examples on the walls of VT-4 and 5. The former, which is complete and undamaged, shows the deity profusely bedecked with all ornaments including a *vanamālā*, standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose, holding a rosary in the *varada* right hand, a thunderbolt in the back right, a goad and a water-pot in the back and normal left hands. Elephant to front is carved near the left foot of the god. A *śrīvatsa* mark can also be seen on the chest. Blank space has been bedecked with leaf designs. The latter (*Pl.104*) is more lavishly bedecked with ornaments and shows a goad and a trident in the rear right and left hands and a water-pot in the lower left hand while the normal right is broken. A female attendant has been added in the composition on the proper right of the god. She is looking at him. All the four-hands of the image on VT-3 are broken. DK-1 in the MT complex shows the god with *varada* and *vajra* in the preserved right hands.

A very interesting image of Indra in a dancing pose is carved on the lower register of the *śukanāsa* of SMT. The god holds a goad and thunderbolt in the rear hands, *kamaṇḍalu* in the front left and the front right is disposed in boon-conferring attitude. Elephant to right is carved on the right and a female in salutation on the other side.

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The two-handed female, holding the hanging scarf in the right hand with left hand broken and an elephant carved near the left foot, on the north wall of DK-1 may be Indrānī or some Jaina *Yakṣī*.

B. *AGNI*

Next to Indra in importance in the Vedic pantheon, Agni, the chief terrestrial deity, is described variously in the *RV* as having a burning head or three heads, one, three or seven tongues and is called an archer who sharpens his flames like a blade of iron.[193] The tongues obviously are the flames of Agni. He formed a triad with Sūrya and Indra, the latter substituted by Anila in the *Mbh*.[194] The triple character of Agni has been referred to in many passages of the *RV*.[195] His description as a priest and a seer[196] probably led to his depiction with a beard. His description as one who protects his worshippers with a hundred iron walls,[197] preserves them from calamities or takes them across calamities just like a ship in the ocean,[198] seems to have provided the basis for his appointment as a protector of the quarter. Latin *igni-s*, Slavonic *ogni* etc. indicate that the worship of Agni has come down to us from very early times.

Though there are metaphorical imageries and figurative descriptions of Agni in the Vedic literature[199] and the epics,[200] yet the first detailed iconographic description of Agni is met with in the *VDP*[201] which lays down that the god should be bearded, four-armed, four-tusked, having three eyes, riding upon a chariot with smoke standard drawn by four parrots and driven by the wind, with his consort Svāhā on his left lap and holding flames, trident and rosary in his hands.[202] No image conforming to this elaborate description has, however, come to light as yet. The *Agni*[203] and the *Matsya Purāṇa*[204] prescribe a halo of flames, sacred thread, long beard and goat as vehicle for the two-armed Agni holding rosary and water-vessel. The *SR* refers to ram as the vehicle of two-armed Agni holding rosary and *kamaṇḍalu*.[205] Hemādri mentions flames and trident in the right hands of Agni and a rosary in the left, the otner left clasping the breast of Svāhā seated with a pot of jewels on his left thigh.[206] *SPB* describes four-armed and three-eyed Agni with red matted locks holding laddle and lance (*śakti*) in the right and left rear hands and front ones disposed in *varada* and *abhaya* poses. His vehicle is *aja* (goat).[207] *PKA*, however, refers to *meṣa* (ram) as his vehicle, the young god wearing *vastra-upavīta*, seated on a *kuṇḍa* (a basin or a bowl),[208] having a *yogapaṭṭa* around, holding a rosary and *śakti* in the right and left hands and a flaming halo at the back.[209] The *AP*, quoted verbatim in *RM*, prescribes *varada*, *śakti*, lotus with stalk and water-vessel in the four hands of Agni seated on a ram with an aureole of flames.[210]

Agni seems to have been represented in Indian art from about the first century B.C.[211] It has been stated that the 'sculptural representations of Agni are not many in northern India'.[212] More than two dozen images from Khajuraho and nearly two dozen more from Osian alone, however, go against this assertion. Many more exist on the walls of the medieval temples of North India.

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ST-3 contains an image of two-handed juvenile Agni (60×30 cm.) standing in *samabhaṅga*, wearing matted locks over combed hair, ear-rings, *ekāvalī*, armlets, wristlets and an undergarment with a halo of flames originating from the back of the shoulders. The right hand raised to the shoulder in *abhaya* is slightly mutilated and may have held a rosary. The hanging left hand holds a water-vessel. A ram, slightly damaged, is carved on the proper right of the god as walking to left. Much more important image of Agni, aesthetically as well as iconographically, exists in the south-eastern *karṇa-rathikā* of HH-1 which measures 28×17 cm. Two-armed Agni is seated on the couchant goat to right in *sukhāsana* with the left leg tucked up and right leg hanging down, with foot placed on the earth (*Pl.105*). A *yogapaṭṭa* goes around the calf of the right leg and the thigh of the left. The god bears matted locks, *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvalī*, *valayas* and an undergarment. The beard is also shown on the serene face smiling beatifically. The right hand raised to the level of the shoulder shows the first finger touching the thumb in *cinmudrā* and the left hand holds beautiful small water-vessel stylistically. Flames rise above covering the whole space at the back. The image is a masterpiece of the Pratihara art of the eighth century A.D.

A development is discernible in the Agni image of HH-2. 48×18 cm. in size, it shows Agni standing gracefully turned to left in *dvibhaṅga*, wearing elaborate *jaṭābhāra* with a central jewel in front, ear ornaments, *ekāvalī*, *vastra-yajñopavīta*, *vanamālā*, *keyūras*, *valayas*, and chain-shaped *kaṭisūtra* forming an *urudāma* on the right thigh and its free end (*muktadāma*) falling on the left thigh as pendant. Flames rise at the back above shoulders. The face of the god is juvenile, serene and placid. The right hand holding a rosary and raised to the shoulder is held in *cinmudrā* while the hanging left hand holds a nectar-flask-like *kamaṇḍalu*. The goat is carved near the right foot of the deity. The figures on HH-3 (43×19 cm.), VT-1 (35×19 cm.), ST-1 (47×17 cm.) and MT are almost the copies of the image just described.

Agni image on the *PDT* shows the *dikpāla* standing in *tribhaṅga* with a goat to left behind. The bearded god wears a triple stringed sacred thread, matted locks and usual ornaments but not *vanamālā*. The right hand with a rosary is raised to the shoulder in *abhaya* while the left one holds a round water-pot. Interestingly enough, the flames are not shown at the back. On VT-2, Agni (28×10 cm.) is seated in a strange pose on the back of the goat to left with hood-shaped flames at the back and over his head (*Pl.106*). The image is very much worn out and it is difficult to give other details.

All late images of Agni on the walls of the DKs in the Saciyā and Mahāvīra complexes are four-handed, lavishly ornamented and show the deity standing with goat or ram near the right or left foot or behind. Agni standing in *dvibhaṅga* on a lotus pedestal wearing *jaṭābhāra* and *vanamālā* besides the usual ornaments, bearded and slightly pot-bellied, holding a laddle and a fruit (?) in the rear hands and water-vessel in the hanging front left hand adorns DK-2. The lower right hand is damaged. Goat stands to left near the right foot of Agni. Agni on VT-3 bears a

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bejewelled *jaṭābhāra* and beard besides profuse ornamentation and the *vanamālā*. He is slightly pot-bellied. All the four hands as well as the mount behind are damaged. There are, however no flames at the back. VT-4 contains the bearded pot-bellied image of the god with the typical lavish ornamentation of about eleventh century A.D. The god holds a laddle and a book in the rear right and left hands and rosary and flask in the corresponding front hands. Flames are shown behind the head. The image on VT-5 is also bearded and even moustached. The pot-bellied god wears a *vastra-yajñopavīta* besides the *vanamālā* and other usual jewellery. A ram is carved near the right foot and a devotee near the left. Flames rise above the shoulders. An image of Agni in dancing pose exists on the lower register of the fronton of SMT. The god holds the attributes as in the preceding example. The upper left hand is broken. The DKs in the Mahāvīra complex also show the bearded, pot-bellied Agni with similar attributes and accompanied by his mount goat or ram.

We thus see that all early images of Agni at Osian are two-armed, showing the deity as seated on or standing with the mount (goat or ram) behind. The face is either juvenile or bearded and the god shows *cinmudrā* with rosary in right hand and a water-vessel in left, with or without *yajñopavīta* and *vanamālā*. There are single instances of *yogapaṭṭa* and the absence of flames at the back. These images thus conform in general to the description of the *Agni Purāṇa*, *Matsya Purāṇa* and *SR*. *Vastra-ūpavīta* and *yogapaṭṭa* are mentioned in the *PKA*. The later four-armed images robably followed the tradition recorded in the *Āgmas*, the *AP* and *RM*.

C. *YAMA*

Yama, son of Vivasvant Mārtāṇḍa[213] by Saraṇyū,[214] the daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ, was the first of the mortals that died.[215] Yama and his twin sister Yamī are identical with the Persian Yima and Yimeh in the Avestan literature.[216] They are regarded as the primaeval pair, the parents of mankind.[217] In the *AV* Yama is described as the lord of men and manes and has been identified with death.[218] He is associated with the terrors of death, equated to and identified with Dharma who punishes the wicked[219] and is described as carrying a rod of justice (*daṇḍa*) with which he himself is also often identified.[220] He also carries a noose to catch souls.[221] Citragupta, Yama's scribe, keeps a record of the good and bad deeds of man and Yama passes the judgement accordingly.[222]

The *TS*[223] and the *Āpastamba Śrauta Śutra* [224] refer to the golden-eyed and iron-hoofed steeds of Yama, whereas in the epics, he is described as riding on a car or going afoot.[225] The buffalo as his vehicle appears for the first time in the *HV*.[226] Though two dogs are described as his regular messengers[227] yet a bird, either the owl or the pigeon, is also said to be his messenger.[228]

The *BS* describes Yama simply as holding a staff and riding a buffalo.[229] The *Agni Purāṇa*[230] and the *PKA*[231] also give a similar description whereas some other texts[232] refer to a noose also in the other hand. The *VDP*,[233] however, furnishes a detailed description of the four-armed god seated on a buffalo with his spouse Dhūmorṇā on his left lap, his right hands holding a *khaṭvāṅga* and a sword and the

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left ones a trident with flames and a rosary, accompanied on his right by Citragupta dressed as a Northerner (*udīcya-veśa*), holding a pen and a leaf in his hands and by fierce looking kāla holding a noose in his hand, on his left. The *AMB*[234] describes the two-armed deity as holding a sword and a shield while *SR*[235] describes him as holding a staff and a noose in two hands and a bow in the other two. Yama is said to be having terrible tusks (*Karāla-daṁṣṭra-vadana*), frightful (*Karāla*) and possessing fire-coloured eyes (*pradīptāgnivilocanam*).[236] *AP* and *RM* describe Yama as riding a buffalo and holding a pen, a cock and a staff in his four hands.[237] According to the Jaina texts, Yama should be shown as riding on a buffalo and holding a staff.[238]

There are some interesting representations of Yama on the walls of Osian temples. ST-3, shows Yama seated cross-legged on the buffalo to left. Beautifully combed hair are bound with a fillet at the back giving a semblance of screwed locks piled together. The god wears ear-rings, necklace, armlets, wristlets, scarf and a lower garment. The left hand is placed on the left knee and the right hand probably held originally a staff or *khaṭvāṅga* whose lower portion only is now left. A broad plain aureole is shown behind the head and back of the god. The figure, 42×29 cm. in size, has been whitewashed and is not in a good state of preservation. A much more important image, however, exists in the south-western *karṇa-rathikā* of the southern wall of HH-1 (*Pl.107*). The god wears frizzled locks bound with a fillet over combed hair, earrings, necklace, armlets, wristlets, and an undergarment, holding a *khaṭvāṅga* in the left hand. The right hand is broken. The god sits facing on the couchant buffalo to left and what is interesting iconographically is that a cock has been carved on the body of the animal in the centre. This is a unique feature. The figure measures 28×17 cm.[239]

Images of Yama on HH-2 (44×19 cm.), HH-3 (39×17 cm.), VT-1 (34×17cm.) and ST-1 (47×18 cm.) are conceptually identical and show the deity standing in a graceful triple flexion pose, wearing a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* with a central jewel, ear ornaments, pearl necklace, armlets, lower garment secured with a waist-band and *vanamālā*. *Khaṭvāṅga* is held vertically in the right hand and the *kaṭyavalambita* left hand holds the looped end of the sash giving the semblance of a noose. The mount buffalo is carved behind with head turned upward, looking at the master. A similar image exists in MT also but the buffalo is depicted to left behind the god and the attribute in the right hand, which may have been a *khatvāṅga* is broken.

Yama on PDT, like all other images on this temple, is shown with simple jewellery and dress between two bisected ringed pillars. The right hand is *kaṭyavalambita* and the left one holds an indistinct object. Buffalo to left is carved behind the legs. The composition measures 49×17 cm. The image of Yama (30×23 cm.) on VT-2 is in indifferent state of preservation. It shows the god seated in *sukhāsana* on the buffalo. The *vanamālā* is missing as in the preceding example. Both the hands are broken.

Later images are all quadrumanous and lavishly ornamented. The image on the south wall of VT-3 shows the deity wearing a beautiful *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, pearl necklets and necklaces, triple stringed sacred thread, *vanamālā* and other elaborately carved ornaments. All the four hands are unfortunately broken as also is the head

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of the buffalo near the right foot of the god. The image, however, is representative of the sculptural art of tenth century at Osian.

The subsidiary shrines in MT also contain images of four-handed Yama accompanied by his mount buffalo. The image on DK-1 shows the deity wearing a *jaṭābhāra* with skull in the centre. Other ornaments including *vanamālā* and a *śrīvatsa* on the chest are important for their elegant carving. All the four hands are broken but the *varada* normal right hand and *khaṭvāṅga* in the rear right are clear. The buffalo is carved behind the legs to right.

Iconographically interesting is a representation of four-handed Yama (*Pl.108*) standing in *tribhaṅga* on a lotus in a pillared niche on the southern wall of DK-2. Mahiṣa, the vehicle, is carved near the left foot of the god as turned slightly to right. The god holds a *khaṭvāṅga* in the rear right hand and a *kukkuṭa* (cock, which actually looks like a pigeon) in the rear left; the natural hands hold repectively a stylus and a leaf. Yama wears a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, a pearl necklet, ear ornaments, armlets, wristlets, anklets, a long *vanamālā*, undergarment with its sash having beautiful folds on the thighs, *kaṭisūtra* with *urudāma* and *muktadāma*. The bearded god (*Hariśmaśruḥ*) is frightful, possessing round open eyes.

The image conforms to the description of *RM*. Datable around A.D.1000, this icon is important for its artistry and attributes. A similar figure exists on the upper panel of the *śukanāsa* of the SMT. A female figure, probably Dhūmorṇā, with a bowl in her right hand and left hand in salutation, stands turned to left towards the god on his right. Buffalo is shown on the other side.

D.*NIRṚTI*

Nirṛti (Decease) as a personification presiding over death, appears about a dozen times in the *RV*.[240] In the later *Saṁhitās*, Nirṛti is mentioned alongwith Yama, Antaka and Mṛtyu.[241] The *Mbh.* rafers to Nirṛti as one of the eleven Rudras, son of Sthāṇu and grandson of Brahmā[242] as also the wife of Adharma who gave birth to three terrific demons (Nairṛtas) named Bhaya, Mahābhaya and Mṛtyu.[243] *Mansumṛti* refers to Nirṛti as the regent of the south-western quarter.[244] In the *VDP*[245] Nirṛti has been described as the wife of Virūpākṣa. It also identifies Virūpākṣa with Kāla (Time) and Nirṛti with Mṛtyu.[246] Hemādri erroneously took the description of Virūpākṣa in the *VDP* as the characterisation of Nirṛti.[247] Nirṛti does not figure in literature like other gods and even his sculptures are stated to be extremely rare.[248] A large number of the images of this regent at Khajuraho,[249] Osian and elsewhere,[250] however, belies Banerjea's assertion regarding the extreme rarity of Nirṛti's images.

The *VDP*, as indicated above, refers to Nirṛti as the spouse of Virūpākṣa who has actually been described under the caption '*Nirṛti-rūpa-nirmāṇa*'.[251] It says that Virūpākṣa should have two hands and a terrific face with wide open tusked mouth, hair erect, seated on an ass. He should have a staff in his hand, be bedecked with all ornaments and accompanied by his wife Nirṛti on the left.[252] The *Agni Purāṇa* refers to sword as Nirṛti's attribute and probably an ass as his mount.[253] Nirṛti has been described as '*khaḍga-hasta*' and '*Vājivāhana*' elsewhere

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also.[254] The *Matsya Purāṇa*[255] also refers to the same attribute but describes man as his mount. *SPB* describes Nirṛti as terrific, having hideous appearance, two eyes, holding a sword and scutcheon and riding a lion.[256] *SR* too prescribes the same attributes, all ornaments and man is his vehicle.[257] *PKA* states that Nirṛti, the lord of the demons, should have large eyes, sword in his hand and corpse as his vehicle.[258] The *AMB* agrees with *SPB* and *SR* in assigning sword and scutum to Nirṛti but gives an elaborate account of his ferocity and says that the god should be shown on a *bhadra-pīṭha* in *samabhaṅga* attended by seven celestial damsels.[259] The *AP* and *RM*, however, describe Nirṛti with tusks and terrific appearance as riding a dog and holding in the four hands a sword, a scutum, a small sword and enemy's head.[260] According to the Śvetāmbara Jaina texts, Nairṛta is made to ride a corpse or a goblin, wears a tiger's skin and holds a club or a sword and a bow while the Digambara tradition represents him as riding a bear and holding a club.[261]

An interesting image of Nirṛti can be seen on the proper left of the doorway of HH-1 (*Pl.I09*) in a small niche of 30×10 cm. Nirṛti is shown as seated in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* on an ass,[262] holding a sword in the right hand and resting the left on the knee. The regent of the south-western quarter is shown as wearing an *ekāvalī* and a lower garment. His face is placid but ferocity is indicated by the hair standing erect in horripilation. The ear also seems to be like that of some animal. We thus see that this image conforms to the description of Nirṛti in the *Agni Purāṇa* which says that Nirṛti should hold a sword and ride an ass.

The images on HH-2 and 3, 45×19 cm. and 40×22 cm. respectively, show the *dikpāla* standing elegantly in *tribhaṅga* pose, holding a *khaḍga* in the right hand and the left hand *kaṭyavalambita* holding the looped end of the sash, which adorns the thighs. The *dikpāla* is shown with a placid face wearing *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, *ekāvalī*, *keyūras* and *kaṅkaṇas*, *kaṭisūtra*, *adhovastra* and a *vanamālā*. Frizzled locks of hair over the head produce the effect of the canopy of a milticephalous snake. Man as the vehicle is depicted as lying near the right foot of the regent. These images thus correspond to the description of the *Matsya Purāṇa*. The image on ST-2 is also similar but shows a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* over the head of the *dikpāla* and the *vanamālā* is missing. The man vehicle lies prostrate at the back with bust and legs raised up. It measures 35×13 cm. ST-1 and VT-1, too, have images of Nirṛti, 41×9 cm. and 33×7 cm. respectively in size, resembling the images on HH-2 and 3.

Nirṛti on the MT, too, may have been similar, holding a sword in the right hand and the left resting on the waist, with a goblin at the back to left, lying prostrate. It, is, however, damaged. The image on DK-5 is interesting. It shows the *dikpāla* holding sword in the right hand and *kaṭyavalambita* left hand, bedecked with all ornaments and frizzled raised hair simulating a crown, standing on the back of the vehicle man who lies with folded legs and cheek rested on the palm of the right hand. The face of the *dikpāla* is serene.

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Nirṛti, carved on the PDT, shows the two-handed regent standing holding a sword in the right hand and the left hand resting on the waist. The vehicle is not clear. The image measures 47 × 17 cm. A notable image of Nirṛti, however, exists on VT-2. Measuring 29 × 16 cm., it shows Nirṛti seated on a man who supports the right foot of the *dikpāla* on the palm of his right hand just like Garuḍārūḍha Viṣṇu images. The figure is mutilated and whitewashed but the four hands are evident. The front right hand holds the sword vertically and the rear carries some indistinct object. One of the left hand is placed on the respective knee and the other is held near the chest in *cinmudrā* which is quite unusual for Nirṛti.

The later images of Nirṛti as found on the walls of the smaller shrines of Māru-Gurjara style are all four handed and generally lavishly ornamented. Nirṛti on the south-western offset of VT-3 is adorned with a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, exquisite ornaments, triple-stringed sacred thread and a *vanamālā*. The *dikpāla* stands gracefully in *tribhaṅga* pose holding a sword in the normal right hand. Other hands are unfortunately broken. A man, with head broken now, is carved on the left near the right foot of the regent. Nirṛti on VT-4 is an interesting piece. The *dikpāla* stands in *tribhaṅga* pose and wears anguine ear-rings, necklace, wristlets and waist-band.[263] A double row of frizzled locks of hair bound with a fillet and *vanamālā* are other note-worthy features. The man vehicle is depicted near the right foot with bust raised to front and right hand supporting the right cheek. The right hand of the *dikpāla* hold a sword and a *karttikā* (small sword) while the rear left hand holds a bowl. The object held by the front left *pralambahasta* is broken.

Iconographically very interesting and stylistically very exquisite is the image of Nirṛti on VT-5 (*Pl.110*). The *dikpāla* is carved nude, wearing serpentine ornaments, a *vastra-upavīta* and a *muṇḍa-mālā*, standing on lotus flowers in a triple flexion pose. The frizzled erect hair bound with a fillet in the middle are indicative of the terrible nature of Nirṛti. The attributes in the hands clockwise are a sword, a dagger, a bowl and the normal left hand is broken. Near the right foot of Nirṛti is his vehicle man lying prostrate with bust raised up and supported by the right hand. The man vehicle is also adorned with ornaments. Interestingly enough, a dog with hind legs on ground and forepart of the body raised up has been carved on the other side near the left foot of the *dikpāla*. The depiction of two vehicles is interesting and has a parallel in an image from Khajuraho.[264] Another similar image of Nirṛti with anguine ornaments but nude is found on DK-2. DK-5 also shows a beautiful image of two-handed Nirṛti holding a sword in the right hand and left akimbo, standing on man vehicle (*Pl. 111*).

Female counterpart of Nirṛti seems to have been depicted on the *pratiratha* projection adjacent to this image (*Pl. 88*). She is bedecked with all ornaments lavishly including a *muṇḍamālā* and holds a snake in the right hand, *khaṭvāṅga* with dumb bell attached to it and a drinking bowl in the left. A small female figure is carved near her right foot and a dog (with head broken) leaping upward near the left foot. She stands on a lotus pedestal in *dvibhaṅga* with left leg slightly bent and raised up. The *jaṭābhāra*, adorned with jewellery, has a skull in the centre, in front. The image is a fine specimen of eleventh century art of Osian. An exactly identical image occurs on DK-2 also.

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E. *VARUṆA*

One of the greatest gods of the *RV*, Varuṇa is very often associated with Indra, Mitra and Agni.[265] He is described as sun-eyed,[266] beautiful-handed (*supāṇi*),[267] wearing a golden mantle (*drāpi*) and putting on a shining robe.[268] King of all[269] and of the whole world,[270] Varuṇa is called a self-dependent ruler[271] and a universal monarch.[272] He is the upholder of physical and moral order.[273] He is the regulator of the waters and a lord of the rivers.[274] He is also connected with the sea.[575] The fetters (*pāśāḥ*) with which he binds the sinners are mentioned very often in the *RV*.[276] It has been aptly remarked that "with the growth of the conception of Prajāpati as a supreme deity, the characteristics of Varuṇa as a sovereign god naturally faded away, and the dominion of the waters, only a part of his original sphere, alone remained to him. Thus he ultimately became in post-Vedic mythology an Indian Neptune, god of the Sea".[277]

The epics know Varuṇa as the lord of waters and the regent of the western quarter, holding a noose in hand.[278] He is one of the twelve Ādityas, son of kaśyapa by Aditi.[279] Varuṇa had attacked Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna with a noose and '*aśani*.'[280] He granted the divine bow, quiver and '*kapidhvaja*' to Agni.[281] Gaurī has been mentioned as his spouse in the *Mbh*.[282] The *Rām.* calls him Pāśī 'possessing a noose' and Pracetas 'wise'[283]. The *Purāṇas* describe Varuṇa as the god of ocean. It is because of this association with ocean that things connected with waters—lotus, conch-shell, jewel-box, noose, swan and crocodile—are associated with Varuṇa.[284]

The *BS* describes Varuṇa as riding a swan and holding a noose (*haṁsā-rūḍhaśca pāśabhṛd-Varuṇaḥ*).[285] The elaborate description in the *VDP*[286] says that the lord of waters should be slightly pot-bellied, riding a chariot drawn by seven swans, holding a lotus, a noose, a conch-shell and a jewel-box in the four hands, with Gaurī on his left lap and Gaṅgā and Yamunā on their respective mounts on his right and left. Hemādri, too, quotes this description.[287] No image conforming to this elaborate description has, however, been found.

The *Matsya Purāṇa* describes Varuṇa as a placid god, wearing crown, necklace and armlets, holding a noose, and seated on a fish (*jhaṣāsanagatam*).[288] Some Jaina texts also assign to Varuṇa the vehicle of a fish of a dolphin.[289] The *Agni Purāṇa*, like the *BS*, describes him as holding a noose and riding a *makara* 'crocodile'.[290] The *AP*[291] and the *RM*[292] describe the four-handed Varuṇa as riding a *makara* and holding noose, lotus and water-vessel, with one hand in *abhaya* pose. The *Rūpāvatāra*[293] prescribes one hand in boon-conferring attitude and others holding a noose, a snake and a *kamaṇḍalu*. The *AMB* describes the two-handed Varuṇa wearing all ornaments, a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, *yajñasūtra* 'sacred thread', as placid, riding a *makara* and holding a noose.[294] *SPB* says that the god, bedecked with all ornaments (*sarvābharaṇabhūṣitam*) should have one hand in the boon-conferring pose and hold a noose in the other.[295] *PKA* refers to the noose in one hand of Varuṇa seated or standing on the *makara*.[296]

There is no veracity in the statement that "Images of Varuṇa are comparatively rare in northern India".[297] No less than 25 images of Varuṇa from Khajuraho[298]

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and about a dozen and a half from Osian alone disprove the assertion. The fact is that most of the medieval temples in northern India contained the *dikpāla* images in their *karṇa-rathikās*.

A small niche, 30×10 cm., on the proper right of the doorway of HH-1, contains a very interesting image of Varuṇa (*Pl. 112*) seated on a swan,[299] in *sukhāsana*, holding a noose in the right hand and an indistinct object (water-pot ?) in the left. The god wears *jaṭābhāra*, ear ornaments, necklace, armlets and a lower garment. The face is placid. Metropolitan Museum, New York also contains such an image as has a swan as the vehicle of Varuṇa.[300] Depiction of swan as vehicle is in conformity with the description furnished by the *VDP*.

Varuṇa on HH-2 is shown as standing, wearing a crown, ear-rings, necklets, armlets, wristlets and a lower garment with a knot of the sash on the left thigh. The god holds a simple noose in the right hand near the chest and the left is *kaṭyavalambita*. The left leg is slightly bent and raised with toe touching the ground. No vehicle has been depicted. The image measures 34×8 cm. An almost identical image (33×9 cm.) exists on VT-1. ST-1, too, has got a similar image (41×9 cm.) but it is not in a good state of preservation.

HH-3 contains an elegant image of Varuṇa, 47×23 cm. in size, showing the *dikpāla* standing in *ābhaṅga*, wearing a three peaked tiara, beautiful spiral rings in the ears, pearl necklace, *aṅgadas*, *kaṅkaṇas*, chain-like *kaṭisūtra* securing the undergarment, a magnificent *vanamālā* with a blossomed flower in the centre at the legs, holding a noose vertically in the right hand and left hand at waist holding the free end of the sash. The vehicle *makara* is carved to right near the left foot of Varuṇa. Blank space in the composition is filled with beautiful leaf decorations. The image is a materpiece of Pratihāra art. Varuṇa on ST-2 is also shown as standing in *dvibhaṅga* holding a noose in the right hand and the left akimbo. *Makara* near the left foot of the god has been carved elegantly with the snout raised up and looking towards the *dikpāla*. It measures 35×13 cm. Similar in conception is the image of the *dikpāla* on PDT but the vehicle *makara* is carved below. The elongated figure measures 50×13 cm. The MT and DK-5 also contain images of two-armed Varuṇa. The latter (*Pl. 113*) shows some interesting iconographic features. The placid *dikpāla* stands in *ābaṅga* in a small niche with a *jaṭā-jūṭa* ear-rings, necklace, *keyūras*, *valayas* and an undergarment, holding an elaborate and intricatedly entwined noose in the left hand and *kaṭyavalambita* right hand. Interesting, however, is a small lion head under the right hand indicating the tiger-skin worn by the deity. Also, a very stylized figure of the vehicle is carved below, with a *svastika* shaped body and the face appearing as that of a lion, though actually it must have been intended to be a *makara*.

Another iconographically interesting image of Varuṇa exists on the north-western *karṇa-rathikā* of VT-2. Measuring 29×16 cm., it shows Varuṇa seated cross-legged on a platform with a stylized *makara* carved to left below. The *dikpāla* is shown with locks of hair on the head some of which are frizzled and erect, as generally seen on the head of ferocious and terrific deities. The face is mutilated

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slightly but it does not seem to have been terrific. Ear-rings, necklace, wristlets etc. are also discernible. Interesting, however, is the fact that the front right and back hands are shown as holding a noose and a lotus while the rear right and front left are placed on the platform and the left knee respectively.

All later images on Osian temples are invariably four-armed, standing, with *makara* as vehicle and are profusely embellished. The cumulative evidence shows that the attributes clockwise are rosary, noose, lotus and water-vessel in the four hands. *Vanamālā* is another ubiquitous feature. The images on the DKs of the MT show poor workmanship. The only remarkable features worth recording is that a small figure is shown as holding the *vanamālā* on the left in the Varuṇa image of DK-2. All the images on the subsidiary shrines in the Saciyā complex, however, are very exquisitely carved. The one on VT-4 (*Pl. 114*) is perfectly complete and shows a *śrīvatsa* also on the chest of the *dikpāla*. The lower right hand is held in *varada* pose with rosary. The noose, the blossomed lotus and the water-vessel in other hands are elegantly carved and stylistically held. The image shows the eleventh century artistry of Osian at its best. The image on VT-5 shows a female fly-whisker, beautifully bedecked with all ornaments, on the proper right of the *dikpāla*. Mention must, however, be made of another image of Varuṇa on the *śukanāsa* of Saciyā shrine, which shows the *dikpāla* wearing all ornaments, holding a rosary, noose, *kamāṇḍalu* and lotus, standing in *atibhaṅga*, with *makara* on left hand and right hand held above the head in salutation.

We thus see that these later four-handed images of Varuṇa at Osian correspond, in general, is the description of the deity as given in the *AP* and *RM*.

F. *VĀYU*

Vāyu, the divine personification of winds and the regent of the north-western quarter, is known to us since the Vedic period.[301] Dyāvā-pṛthivī are said to have generated him for wealth.[302] He is also once referred to as the son-in-law of Tvaṣṭṛ.[303] In the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, Vāyu is said to have sprung from the breath of *Puruṣa* 'world-giant'.[304] Väyu is generally associated with Indra and rarely with Maruts in the *RV*.[305] Vāyu (or Pavana) begot Hanumān from Añjanī and Bhīma from Kuntī.

In the *Mbh*.[306] Vāyu is represented as riding a stag. The *Agni Purāṇa* refers to him as holding a banner and riding a stag.[307] The *Matsya Purāṇa* also prescribes a banner and a flag in his hands and stag as his mount.[308] Stag has almost invariably been described as the vehicle of Vāyu in all iconographical texts. The *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi*[309] and the *SR*[310] describe Vāyu with *varada* right hand and a flag in left hand. The *AMB*[311] and *Śrītattvanidhi*[312] prescribe *dhvaja* 'banner' and *daṇḍa* 'staff' in his hands; the former also lays down a lion-throne (*siṁhāsana*) for him. *SPB* substitutes goad for the banner in the right hand.[313] *PKA* also mentions *aṅkuśa* in the right hand of Vāyu.[314]

The *VDP* describes the two-armed Vāyu as supporting the ends of a scarf inflated by wind, his mouth open and hair dislevelled, with his wife Śivā on his

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left ready to move.[315] The *AP*,[316] *RM*,[317] *DMP*[318] and *Rūpāvatāra*[319] describe the four-handed Vāyu showing *varada mudrā*, *dhvaja*, (or *daṇḍa*) and *kamaṇḍalu*. Jaina authorities agree in providing deer as the vehicle to Vāyu but differ in giving him the attributes of a thunderbolt or a banner (Śvetāmbara) and a wooden weapon (Digambara).[320]

Vāyavī, the *śakti* of Vāyu, is also described in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* as having a deer as her vehicle.[321]

Vāyu is being represented sculpturally from Kuṣāṇa period onwards and his images have been discovered from various parts of the country.[322] Khajuraho alone has yielded twenty-two images of Vāyu.[323] A dozen and a half of his images adorn the walls of Osian temples. So we shall not be justified in saying that the sculptural representations of Vāyu are very rare.[324]

HH-1 at Osian is a treasure-house of unique sculptures, one of which is that of Vāyu (*Pl. 115*) in the north-western *Karṇa-rathikā* (30×17 cm.) of the north wall of this shrine. It displays the two-armed *dikpāla* seated astride on the *mṛga*[325] (deer) to left, wearing curled locks of hair (falling backward), ear-rings and pearl necklace. The god holds the two ends of the scarf which is inflated with wind and forms a circular ring around the head. The vehicle is strangely depicted just like an ass but having long horns like that of a stag.[326] It is notable that an image of Vāyu from Khajuraho also shows an ass as the vehicle[327] and the animal in the images of Vāyu belonging to the Hayagrīva Mādhava Temple at Hajo and Aśvaklānta temple in north Gauhati in Assam[328] too seems to be an ass.

Vāyu on HH-2 is a pleasing figure bedecked with ornaments, standing gracefully in *tribhaṅga* pose, holding the scarf inflated by wind not from its ends but from its sides, with right hand near the shoulder and *pralamba* left hand. The ends of the scarf fall fluttering sinuously making a loop behind the head. The mount is carved to left behind, with head turned up towards the deity. The figure measures 42×17 cm. Similar images occur on the walls of HH-3 (41×16 cm.), VT-1 (35×16 cm.), ST-1 (47×19 cm.), PDT (48×18 cm.) and MT. ST-3 also contains the elongated image of Vāyu (60×15 cm.) on a pedestal carved with lotus pattern on its front face. The *dikapāla* stands in *dvibhaṅga* holding the inflated scarf with both hands raised to the level of shoulders as on HH-1. The loop formed by the inflated scarf behind the head simulates an aureole. Another notable feature is that a small figure of stag is seen behind the right leg of the *dikpāla* as if in the act of jumping and running away swiftly to left.[329]

All other figures of Vāyu at Osian are four-handed. Of these, the one belonging to VT-2 which is an early temple, shows the deity seated on the animal, holding the scarf with front two hands and two flags (or a flag and a banner) in the rear two hands. The figure measures 28×17 cm. and is much mutilated.

The Māru-Gurjara shrines in the Mahāvīra and Saciyā complexes[330] contain lavishly carved four-armed standing images of Vāyu with mount docile or swiftly moving near the feet. They all bear *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* on the head, a *śrīvatsa* on the

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chest and wear a *vanamālā* also. The images on DK-1 shows a rosary in the *varada* lower right hand and a water-vessel in the corresponding left while the rear hands hold a banner and *patākā* 'flag'. The docile stag is carved to front near the right leg of the deity, standing on a lotus pedestal. The figure on DK-2 is similar but the stag is shown as running swiftly. Remarkable in this group, however, is the exquisitely carved image of Vāyu adorning the north-west *karṇa-rathikā* of DK-3 which shows profusely ornamented Vāyu standing elegantly on a lotus pedestal which is placed on a *kīrtimukha*. The normal hands are broken but the rear ones hold a *dhvaja* and a lotus by stalk in right and left respectively. The swiftly moving stag is carved near the right foot of Vāyu and the corresponding left side shows a small male figure, with head damaged, holding the *vanamālā*. Garland bearing *vidyādharas* are carved on either side of the head of the deity. An identical image of Vāyavī exists on the adjacent *pratiratha-rathikā*.

Vāyu on VT-4 is a pleasing figure, wearing *jaṭā-mukuṭa* bedecked with jewels and all other ornaments. It is a perfectly complete figure without any damage. The normal right hand is held in boon-conferring attitude with a rosary and the front left *pralambahasta* holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. The rear hands support a *dhvaja* and a *patākā*. The docile stag is carved to left in profile near the right foot. A Similar image with a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* exists on VT-5, but for the back left, all its hands are broken. The vehicle, with head mutilated, is carved near the left foot as jumping with forelegs raised in air. On the corresponding other side is a female figure with folded hands.

Both these figures are masterpieces of the medieval art of Osian.

G. *KUBERA*

Kubera literally meaning 'deformed in body'—for having three legs, only eight teeth, and a yellow mark in place of one eye—is the god of riches and treasures and the regent of the northern quarter.[331] He is the everlord of the *yakṣas*, *kinnaras*, *rākṣasas*, *gandharvas*, *guhyakas* etc. and is referred for the first time as Yakṣarāja in the *AV*.[332] Being the son of Viśravā by Iḍāviḍā[333] and grandson of Pulastya, he is well known by his patronymics Vaiśravaṇa and Paulastya. He is known as Naravāhana for riding *nara-yāna*.[334] His various names as found in the *Mbh*.[335] are indicative of his lordship of the riches and treasures; *guhyakas* and *rākṣasas*, *yakṣas* and *rājās*; his lineage, abode and capital; his mount and attribute. He is known as Gadādhara for possessing a mace[336]—an iconographic feature. He also rides an elephant called Sarvabhauma.[337] Padma and Śaṅkha, the personified treasures—iconographic traits also—are his councillors.[338] He is united with Ṛddhi (prosperity) and Bhadrā or Lakṣmi (wealth) who are later described as his consorts also.[339]

Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra[340] reckons Kubera as a god. The myth of his origin is recorded in the *Varaha Purāṇa* : "When Brahmā entertained the desire to create the universe, a shower of lime-stones began to pour forth from his face attended with a hurricane. After sometime the fury of the storm broke down and everything became calm by the wish of Brahmā. He asked the mass of stones which thus fell from him to assume the form of a divine person of peaceful countenance and appoin-

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ted him as the Lord of Wealth and commanded him to be also the guardian of the riches of the gods".[341]

The Buddhists know Kubera as Vessavana (Vaiśravaṇa) and Jambhala, the god of riches and the guardian of the northern quarter of the universe, the lord of *yakṣas* and husband of Hārīti.[342] In the Jaina mythology Kubera, besides being the Protector of the northern region, is the *yakṣa* attendant of the nineteenth *tīrthaṅkara* Malli.[343]

Kubera has been described as pot-bellied, wearing a diadem turned towards left and having man as his vehicle in the *BS* : *'Naravāhanaḥ Kuvero vāmakirītī vṛhatkukṣiḥ"*.[344] The *Agni Purāṇa* refers to Kubera with a mace and ram as his vehicle,[345] According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*[346] Kubera should be big-bodied, corpulent, possessing eight *nidhis* 'treasures', surrounded by several *guhyakas* wearing white clothes. ear-rings, necklace, armlets and crown, bearing a mace and riding a man. Hemādri also lays down that Vaiśravaṇa should have a *gadā* in his hand.[347] *SPB*[348] too refers to the terrific looking, two-armed Yakṣeśa as holding a *gadā*. *PKA*[349] also prescribes a mace in the hand of the Kubera who rides on a man, wears a crown, ear-rings, necklace and armlets and is accompanied by two *nidhis*, Śaṅkha and Padma. The *SR* characterises Kubera as riding a chariot drawn by men, holding *gadā* in one hand and conferring boon with the other, pot-bellied, long-armed, wearing crown and ear-rings, accompanied by eight treasures and *guhyakas* on all sides.[350] The *AMB* gives an elaborate description saying that the two-armed god showing *varada* and *abhaya* poses and holding a club as well in the left hand, should have a ram as his mount and be attended by his consort and the two *nidhis*, Śaṅkha and Padma, in the form of two powerful spirits.[351]

The *VPD*[352] gives a fairly detailed description of the *dikpālā* saying that the god should wear all ornaments, have man as his vehicle, be bearded and bi-tusked, wear northerner's dress (*āpīcya-veśaḥ*), armour (Kavacī) and necklace, have a large belly and four hands carrying a *gadā* and *śakti* in his right hands and a jewel and bowl (vessel or pot) in the left ones, with his consort Ṛddhi seated on his lap. The *AP*[353] and *RM*[354] describe Kubera (Naravāhana)[355] as four-armed, holding a club, a purse (*nidhi*), a citron and a water-vessel and riding an elephant.

According to Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition, Kubera rides a man, bears gems and a club and the Digambara view refers only to his chariot (*vimāna*) Puṣpaka.[356]

References to Kubera's images in the *Arthaśāstra*[357] and *Mahābhāṣya*[358] indicate that his worship started quite early. His images have been found from various regions of India[359]—both as an independent or an associate deity and as a *dikpāla*.

An image of Kubera in the sacrarium of PDT on the right of Mahiṣamardinī seems to have been the cult image. The two-armed corpulent god sits in *sukhāsana* holding *nakulaka* (*nidhi*, mongoose) in the left and a bowl in the right hand. He wears an *ardha-mukuṭa* 'tiara' on the beautifully combed curled and arranged locks of hair, ear-rings, *graiveyaka*, *yajñopavīta*, *aṅgadas*, *kaṅkaṇas*, and *pādavalayas*. A plain aureole behind the head, though partially broken, indicates the status of the icon in the adytum.[360] A small figure is shown behind the right arm of the god. It measures 90×60 cm. It is notable that the central image of the sanctum sanctorum

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is that of Mahiṣamardinī flanked by Kubera and Gaṇeśa on the right and left respectively. It is comparable to the images of Gaṇeśa-Caṇḍikā-Kubera at Sakrai,[361] Gaṇapati-Gaja-Lakṣmī-Kubera at Vasantgarh and Gaṇeśa-Mahiṣamardinī-Sūrya at Vīradhavala in Rajasthan.[362]

Gaṇeśa and Kubera as the gods of success and fortune figure on various temples at Osian as elsewhere. They flank the flight of steps of HH-1 and 2, appear on the *udumbaras* and *uttarangas* of doorways, on the *kumbhaka-rathikās*, *udgamas*, *śukanāsa* and *karṇa-śṛṅgas* of the shrines. Kubera in small panels on the above-mentioned members of the temples, is generally shown as seated in *sukhāsana* holding a cup and a mongoose in two-handed variety. The four-handed variety shows variations in the attributes. On the *udumbaras* of DK-2 and 4, Kubera is shown as seated in *sukhāsana* on a stool holding clockwise *nakulaka*, *gadā*, *padma* and *vījapūraka*. On the *udumbara* of VT-4, Kubera seated similarly, shows the front right hand in *varada* (?) pose, carrying a lotus in each of the rear hand and a mongoose in the front left. The corresponding figure on the *udumbara* of VT-5 shows the god with a bowl, *gadā*, *padma* and *nakulaka*. On the *kumbhaka-rathikā* of the same temple, the god is depicted as supporting a *nakulaka* with both of his rear hands and holding a cup and a flask with the front right and left respectively. A *śaṅkha* is also shown near the right foot of the deity.

Kubera as a guardian of the northern quarter can be seen generally in the niches of the northern walls of the temples but Osian shows certain exceptions. Images of Kubera can be seen on the eastern, southern and western walls of ST-3 and 2 and PDT respectively.

Of the two-handed seated images without vehicle, the best figure can be seen in the *pratiratha-rathikā* of the southern wall of ST-2. It measures 35×27 cm. and shows the deity seated on a cushion in *lalitāsana*, holding a cup in the right hand and a mongoose in the left which is damaged below the elbow. Kubera wears a beautiful *ardhamukuṭa* adorned with jewels and chains. Beautiful frizzled locks are also visible on the head. Broad ear-rings, *graiveyaka*, *aṅgadas*, *valayas* and a lower garment can also be seen on his person. The plump god possesses a bulging belly. Eyes indicate drunkenness. The figure gives an impression of a *yakṣa* in true sense and it seems to be the Yakṣarāja depicted here.

The image on ST-3 is slightly damaged. It measures 60×30 cm. and may have been put here subsequently like some other images of this shrine. It shows Kubera seated on a cushion in *sukhāsana* holding a mongoose in the left hand. The right hand is broken but it may have held a cup. Frizzled locks of hair standing on their ends are arranged beautifully on the head and are perhaps indicative of the fierce nature of Yakṣendra whose face, however, is depicted as placid. Locks of hair fall on his shoulders also. A sacred thread is also worn by him. The god is slightly pot-bellied. Similar small figures exist on the *karṇa-kumbha* of the *mūla-prāsāda* and the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of MT on the west in the *saparikarma-rathikā* of the *bhadra* balcony of its superstructure on the west and in a framed panel of the *simhakarṇa* on the north.[363]

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An iconographically interesting image of Kubera (*Pl. 116*) adorns the north-eastern *karṇa-rathikā* of the north wall of HH-1. 30×17 cm. in size, it depicts the *dikpāla* seated in *lalitāsana* on a man, his mount. Hair are arranged in curled locks a bunch of which falls at the back. Drooping eye lids are indicative of drunkenness. Broad ear-rings, a necklet and a necklace, armlets, wristlets etc. are also visible. Unfortunately, the face is partially mutilated and so is the right hand which may have held a cup originally. The left hand holds a mongoose. Corpulence has not been emphasized but just indicated. We thus have here a figure in the tradition of the description of the *BS*.

Another masterpiece occurs on the corresponding niche of HH-2. The *dikpāla* here is depicted as standing, facing, with face slightly turned to left, on a platform supported by a man. The god wears a tiara bedecked with jewels, ear-rings, pearl necklet, a floral wreath touching the *kaṭisūtra*, *keyūras*, *kaṅkaṇas* and a lower garment with a sash on the thighs held by the *kaṭyavalambita* left hand which also holds a mongoose. In the right hand seems to be a fruit. The blank space in the composition, which measures 43×13 cm., is filled with exquisitely carved leaves and flowers.

HH-3 has the Naravāhana (47×18 cm.) carved beautifully and bedecked with all ornaments standing gracefully, holding a cup and mongoose in the two hands. Identical images but with decadent elegance can be seen on VT-1 (36×18 cm.), ST-1 (47×18 cm.) and PDT (49×13 cm.) also.

VT-2 shows the four-armed deity seated facing on a ram (which actually looks like a boar) with right leg hanging down and left bent upwards with foot placed on the back of the animal. The figure is quite worn out but the locks of hair standing erect can be seen clearly. The lower right hand is broken. The right and left rear hands hold respectively a lotus and a mongoose. The normal left near the heart shows a fruit.

Of the Māru-Gurjara shrines, which contain four-armed and lavishly carved images, we have two notable examples each from the Mahāvīra and Saciyā complexes. DK-1 shows Kubera standing on a lotus pedestal in *dvibhaṅga*, wearing a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and *vanamālā*, besides usual profuse jewellery, with *kaṭyavalambita* (slightly broken) right hand, rear hands holding a mongoose at the back and normal left hand holding a *vījapūraka*. The image on DK-2 shows in addition an elephant, as the vehicle, carved near the left foot.

Exquisitely carved image on VT-4 (*Pl. 117*) shows the god with a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*, *vanamālā*, *śrīvatsa* and *yajñopavīta* besides other ornaments, standing gracefully in *dvibhaṅga* with a bulging belly, holding a mongoose at the back with rear hands. Normal hands are broken but the *gadā* with its thicker end resting on the ground and the fingers on its handle indicate that the right hand was placed over it. The left normal hand is irretrievably lost but may have held a *vījapūraka* as in the foregoing examples. A ram as vehicle has been carved near the left foot of the deity. The image on VT-5 shows a *vastra-upavīta*. Rear hands holding the mongoose are there but the front ones are gone. An elephant, with head broken,

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appears as the vehicle. On the right side of the god is a female figure with folded hands and on the other, the female figure supports a cup or vessel in the right and a mongoose in the left, indicating thereby that both the female figures attending the god are his wives. A garland-bearing female figure is carved on the right upper corner.

We thus see that images of Kubera at Osian present a good variety of attributes, vehicles, postures, hands etc.

H. *IŚĀNA*

Īśāna, the regent of the north-eastern quarter, represents a particular aspect of Śiva as his name indicates.[364] According to the *Matsya Purāṇa*,[365] Īśāna should have three eyes and a trident and seated on a bull. *PKA* also describes him similarly.[366] The *VDP* strangely enough describes Gaurīśvara (Ardhanārīśvara) instead of Īśāna.[367] *AMB* describes the two-handed Īśāna as placid, wearing all ornaments, *jaṭa-mukuṭa*, standing on a white lotus and holding trident and skull in his right and left hands.[368] *SR* prescribes *jaṭamaṇḍala*, a crescent, three eyes, *nāga-yajñopavīta*, *maṇi-kuṇḍalas*, tiger-skin, one hand in *varada* pose and *triśūla* in the other hand of the god riding a bull.[369] According to *SPB*, Īśāna should have matted locks, three eyes, four hands showing *varada* and *abhaya* and holding a trident (fourth one left out unspecified), and riding a bull.[370] The *AP*[371] and *RM*[372] describe Īśāna riding a bull and holding a trident, snake and *vījapūraka*, with one hand in the boon-conferring pose.

The north-eastern niche of the east wall of HH-1 harbours an unique image of Īśāna, 30×17 cm. in size, depicting the deity seated in *lalitāsana* on the couchant humped bull to right (*Pl.118*). The god wears matted locks, elaborate *maṇi-kuṇḍalas* (ear-rings), pearl necklace, three-stringed sacred thread, beaded armlets, bracelets, an upper and lower garment indicated by incised lines of folds and a *muṇḍa-mālā* showing alternate skulls and bones. The front right hand is disposed in *abhaya* pose with a rosary and the left in *varada*. The back right hand holds a snake and the left one a trident. The third eye is put vertically on the forehead. The image thus stands close to the description of the deity in *SPB*.

The corresponding *karṇa-rathikā* of HH-2 contains the image of Īśāna with body bent in triple flexion. The ornaments include jewelled ear-rings, pearl necklet, armlets, bracelets, lower garment etc. besides *jaṭā-mukuṭa* adorned with a jewel in front and a *vanamālā*. The end of the sash which comes winding from the back on the right thigh is held by the *kaṭyavalambita* left hand of the deity. The front right holds a *nīlot-pala* (lily) near the chest. The rear right and left hands hold a trident and a snake respectively. Bull, the mount of the deity, is depicted behind the legs to left. Similar figures of Īśāna occur on HH-2 and 3 (43×18 cm. and 46×17 cm. respectively), VT-1 (38×17 cm.), ST-1 (48×18 cm.) and PDT (48×18 cm.). Īśāna on MT (*Pl. 119*) is also similar but shows an anthropomorphic figure (*Vṛṣa* ?) instead of the bull. VT-2 contains the image of Īśāna as seated in *lalitāsana* on the bull to left. All the four hands are broken but the rear hands seem to

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have held a trident and a snake. The figure, 27×14 cm. in size, is very much worn out.

All later images on the Māru-Gurjara shrines are four-handed and profusely ornamented. *Vanamālā* is also invariably shown in these images. The best and perfectly complete specimen comes from VT-4. A *jaṭā-mukuṭa* adorned with jewels and chains, *sarpa-kuṇḍalas*, a *yajñopavīta*, *śrīvatsa*, *vanamālā* and all other ornaments are carved in the typical medieval style. The god stands gracefully in triple flexion with normal right hand disposed in *varada* pose and also possessing a rosary. The rear right holds a trident and the corresponding left a three-headed serpent. The front left *pralamba-hasta* holds a water-pot. The bull is carved near the right foot of the god as couchant with a vessel full of sweat-balls (?) in front.

Further development can be observed in the Īṣāna image of VT-5 where the bull is carved on the left and a *gaṇa* appears on the right.

These four-handed images conform closely to the description of *AP* and *RM* but show a *kamaṇḍalu* instead of the *vījapūraka* as prescribed in these texts. Images with similar attributes are, however, known from khajuraho also.[373]

III. *GANDHARVAS, VIDYĀDHARAS, KINNARAS AND APASARASES*

"The *gandharva* minstrels and the *vidyādhara* angels, the *kinnara* bird-men and the *apasaras* maidens add, by their presence, material meaning to the spiritual content of a medieval Indian temple."[374] They are classed as demigods and occupy subsidiary rungs on the ladder of celestial hierarchy. It has, however, been aptly remarked that "in terms of plastic expression, they, all the same, rival and occasionally excel their superiors, the higher gods".[375]

It has been said that "the Gandharva, handsome in appearance, should be made as conferring boon on his devotees, wearing a crown and ear-ornaments, holding a club, and engaged in playing on a lyre".[376]

Some beautiful specimens of *gandharva-yugalas* displaying a variety of moods and quieter actions can be seen on the undersides of the pillar-brackets of the pavillion in the main step-well at Osian.[377] A *gandharva* playing a lyre and the *gandharvi* playing cymbals, the couple in leisurely intimacy (*Pl.120*), drinking wine or love-making are some of the best examples datable to the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.[378]

Vidhyādharas, *vidyādharīs* or the couples are generally shown as garland-bearing semi-celestials on the upper corners of the images flanking the head. *Kinnaras* occur on some of the *udumbras*. All these figures require a closer and detailed study.

The essence of the ocean-water (apsu-rasa) produced at the churning,[379] born of Brahman's fancy (*saṁkalpa*) or as Dakṣa's daughters[380] and referred to in varying numbers from six to sixty crores,[381] *apasarases*, also called *Devakanyās* "gods' girls", are the personification of female beauty and sexual pleasure. They sing, dance, play

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on musical instruments, sport and seduce [382] They are also described as lewd and pitiless, abandoning their children after birth and lovers after seduction. They reside on mountains, in forests, lakes and rivers, even *banyan* (*nyagrodha*) and sacred fig-trees (*aśvattha*)[383]

The *apasarases* adorn temple walls at Osian assuming various beauteous forms: slender, seductive, sensual; singing, dancing, coquettishing, disrobing, revealing their physical charm, sporting with ball, yawning, pedicuring, binding anklets, bedecking themselves, rinsing water from the wet plaits of the hair, removing thorn, fondling a baby, playing with pets, applying collyrium etc.

Yawning Līlāvatī on DK-1 and 3 and VT-4 (*Pl. 121*) Sundari on VT-5 and DK-3, Śubhāṅginī[384] removing a thorn from her foot on DK-2 and VT-4 (*Pl. 122*), Nūpuravādikā binding an anklet on VT-4 (*Pl. 123*), Padminī on PDT, Putravallabhā on VT-4 (*Pl. 124*), Keśagumphinī[385] on HH-1(*Pl.125*), Śukasārikā playing with her pet parrot on her shoulder on DK-1 (*Pl. 126*), Māninī[386] on VT-5 (*Pl.127*), Cāmarikās on the steps of SMT, Śālabhañjikās in Saciyā and Mahāvīra complexes, Nirvasanā on VT-4, Kandukī playing with a ball on DK-2 (*Pl. 128*), Āmralumbikā with a branch of mango tree on VT-5, Cāpavatis with bows on HH-1 (*Pl. 129*), and VT-5, Āñjalikā applying collyrium in her eye on DK-1, Vājintra-vādinīs playing on different musical instruments on the brackets of the ceilings of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of Saciyā and *valānka* of MT present the beautiful young nymphs attired in the choicest garments and ornaments and full of winsome grace and charm at their best.[387]

IV. *VYĀLAS, KRĪTIMUKHAS etc.*

Some beautiful specimens of *vyālas*, mainly *siṁha* and *gaja*, are to be seen on VT-3, DK-5 and on the sides of various images.

Kīrtimukhas occur on various parts of the temples : walls, pillars, pilasters, pedestals, doorways, *caitya* apexes etc. and present a good variety of forms.

Some very beautiful mythical animal aquatic avian and other figures exist on the basement mouldings of HH-1 (*Pl. 130 and 131*) and 2, *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of SMT, doorframes of various temple, pillars of the *maṇḍapa* of the main step-well etc. at Osian.

V. *EROTIC SCULPTURES*

Some erotic sculptures comparable to Khajuraho exist at Osian on the rafter-end projections of the *tulāpīṭha* which interrupts the *kalaśa* of the *vedībandha* of ST-2. A couple in a sitting *bandha* (a posture of sexual union) seen in one of the panels is comparable to a similar scene from the Liṅgarāja Temple, Bhubaneswar.[388] Mutually done oral congress—women sucking the penis (called *fellatio*) and man licking the vagina (called *cunnilingus*)—is shown in another panel. In Sanskrit, it is called *Kākila*.[389] It is interesting to note that two other figures are shown as witnessing the *kākilā* here. Devangana Desai has referred to the above-mentioned panel as belonging to 10th-12th century without mentioning its specific position.[390]

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We may point out that the *vedībandha* of the ST-2 on which it occurs belongs to the eighth century. It thus appears to be the earliest *Kākila* depicted anywhere in Rajasthan.

Bestiality representing an animal mating with a woman from the rear[391] is portrayed in yet another panel of the *tulāpīṭha* of the same temple (*Pl.132*). It is significant that another figure with folded hands is also carved in this panel. Does the animal represent a deity whom she salutes ? we are not sure.

An orgiastic group (*Pl.133*) appears on the *kumbha* on the *vedībandha* of VT-4. It shows a woman cohabited by a man from behind, she herself being engaged in fellation. The man whose penis she sucks has got a long beard and seems to be an ascetic. He, in his turn, touches the breast of another nude maiden who stands to front with her eyes covered with her hands out of shyness.[392] It is, thus, some sort of chain comparable in conception to an orgiastic group on a pillar of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* at Modhera[393] and on the *kumbha* of a temple at Bavka in Gujarat.[394] Interestingly enough, the *mithuna-śākhā* of VT-4 depicts a series of amorous scenes culminating in copulation in a standing posture.[395] Incidentaly, we may point out here that the depiction of scenes of copulation on the doorway of the sacrarium of any sanctuary is a rare occurrence.

Plural intercourse (*Pl. 134*) can be seen at Osian on the *narapīṭha* of VT-5 which depicts (i) *puruṣāvita* or *viparītarata*, in which the woman acts the role of man,[396] in sleeping pose; (ii) promiscuous orgiastic scene showing a woman cohabited from the rear and herself engaged in oral congress, and (iii) a couple engaged in coitus.[397]

Nudity exposing figures also occur at Osian. Females with lower garments slipping down or exposing the genital intentionally can be seen on the walls of VT-4 and 5, DK-1 etc.

All these amorous scenes are very much worn out and mutilated generally. It is, however, significant to note that the other sculptures on all these shrines are quite well preserved. VT-4 has got all the images fully and completely intact. So it appears that these amorous friezes were mutilated by the devout who could not bear the sight of such scenes on the sacred sanctuaries. The coitus depicted on the *mithuna-śākhā* of VT-4 (*Pl.135*) has, however, escaped the notice and fury of these *bhaktas* and has preserved for us an important evidence. Morphologically analogous with the amorous friezes of Khajuraho, Bhubaneswar and other places,[398] these carvings seem to have been depicted on the temples because of certain magico-religious beliefs and practices associated with sex under the influence of tāntricism and conventionalism.[399]

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REFERENCES

1. *AV*, XIII. 4, 20.
2. *RV*, I. 164, 46.
3. *Ibid.*, II. 1, 3-4; III, 54, 17; VIII, 1, 27; 58, 2; X. 5; 114,5; *AV*. XIII. 4; *Yajurveda* (*Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*) XXII. 1 etc.
4. B.N. Sharma, "Pauranic Message of Religious Tolerance and its Limitations," *Purāṇa*, Vol. XIII, No. 1 (Jan. 1971), p. 4.
5. *Aitareya Upaniṣad* X. 114, 5; *Nṛsiṁhatāpan Upaniṣad* I. 3, 9 etc.
6. VIII. 9; IX. 23 etc.
7. *Agni P*, I. 1; *Viṣṇu P*, I. 2, 66; *Śiva P*, 55-56; *Skanda P*, XXIII. 41; *PP*, *Sṛṣṭi Khaṇḍa* XXIII. 60; *Pātāla Khaṇḍa* XXVII; *HV* II. 125, 26 ff. etc.
8. B.N. Sharma (1971), *op. cit.*, pp. 4-25, Syncretism became all the more necessary as a measure of self-preservation against the invading Muslim hordes in the medieval period. Cf. U.C.Bhttacharjee in *The Struggle For Empire*, pp. 465-66.
9. *DHI*, pp. 541-42.
10. Devendra Handa, "Syncretistic Icons From Osian (Rajasthan)" under print.
11. *EHI*, II, pp. 321 ff.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 322-23.
13. *VDP*, III. 55, 1-6.
14. *DHI*, p. 546.
15. *BS*, LVIII. 53.
16. *VDP*, *loc. cit.*
17. *Matsya P*, 258, vv. 1-7.
18. *EHI*, p. 323.
19. *DHI*, p. 546; Cf. A. Barth, *The Religion of India*, London, 1882, pp. 183-84. Also see S.B. Singh, *Brahmanical Icons In Northern India*, New Delhi, 1977, p. 187, fn. 2 referring to the discovery by K.D.Bajpai of a Hari-Hara image with a Brāhmī inscription of *c.* second century B.C. from Malhar in district Bilaspur of Madhya Pradesh.
20. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, pp. 168-78.
21. *RL*, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99. Also see K.M. Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Bombay, 1955, pl.55; *Mārg*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (March, 1959), p. 57, fig. 10 and Bhagwant Sahai, *Iconography of Minor Hindu And Buddhist Deities*, New Delhi, 1975, p. 138.
22. *DMP*, VI. 44-46.
23. *AP*, 213, vv. 32-34.
24. *IV*, pp. 54 ff.
25. *DHI*, p. 510.
26. *EHI*, II. pp. 502-03.
27. Cf. *Ibid.*, and *DHI*, p. 515.
28. *BS*, LVII, 41—"*Brahmā kamaṇḍalu karaścturmukhaḥ paṅkajāsanaṁsthaśca*".
29. Cf. *AI*, No. 6, p. 21.
30. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 245.
31. *Viṣṇu P*, as quoted by Rao, (*Ibid.*,) cf. *VDP*, III. 44, 6.
32. *DHI*, p. 516.
33. *EHI*, II; Appendix B, pp. 243-44.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *RM*, II, 7.
37. *DHI*, p. 516,
38. *EHI*, II. p. 243.
39. V.S.Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Delhi—Varanasi—Patna, 1959, p, 157.
40. *DHI*, p. 517. Sivaramamurti also states that Brahmā in Rajasthan and Gujarat is represented with a beard like an old sage, emphasizing the *Pitāmaha* (grandfather) aspect of the god. See *AI*, No. 6, p. 35.

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41. It had a book in the right hand and water-vessel in the left hand originally (*ŚP*, XXIII (4), p. 35) but now both the hands are broken.
42. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II. 5, 8.
43. *Mahābhāṣya*, ed. by Kielhorn, Vol. II, p. 429.
44. *Rām.* I. 37. The *Mbh.* (III. 229, 15-19) substitutes Svāhā for Gaṅgā.
45. Cf. *Mbh.* III. 188; *Śalya Parva*, Ch. 39; XIII, chs. 74-75. See also *Matsya P*, 158, 26 ff; *Vāyu P*, 72, 20 ff; *Brahma P*, 128; *Brahmavarta P*, III. 1-2; *Brahmāṇḍe P*, II. 40; *Varāha P*, 25, 52; *Saura P*, 60-62 etc.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *DHI*, p. 364. For details about the deity, see Upendra Thakur, *On Kārttikeya*, Varanasi, 1981, pp. 1-114, figs. 1-44 and Kanchan Sinha, *Karttikeya in Indian Art and Literature*, Delhi, 1979.
48. *BS* LVII, 41.
49. *EHI*, II; Appendix B, p. 205.
50. *Ibid.*, pp. 206 ff.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 444 ff.; *DHI*, pp. 365-67; Sahai, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-117, Thakur, *op. cit.*
52. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 104.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *RV.* IX. 97, 41.
55. *Ibid.* IX. 85, 10; 89, 2.
56. *Mbh*, I. 66, 13; 75, 9; IX. 35, 45; *PP.* V. 257; *Bhāgavata* P, IX. 14 etc.
57. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 82, 90 ff.
58. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 112-13 and 129.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 108, 110, 128-29 etc.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 108 ff.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
62. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 and 89; *Devībhāgavata* p. I. 11.
63. *Mbh.* VII. 144, 4.
64. *Ibid.*, IX. 35, 45-86; *Varāha* P, 35 etc.
65. *Varāha P*, *loc cit.*, *Viṣṇu P*, II. 11; *Devī P*, 58, 10-18.
66. P. Pal and D.C. Bhattacharyya, *The Astral Divinities of Nepal*, Varanasi, 1969, pp. 21-22.
67. *Kapiṣṭhala Kaṭha Saṁhitā*, VI. 7, *TS*, VII. 1,5,1; *ŚB*, XIV. 1,2,11 etc.
68. *Journal of the Asiatic society of Bengal, New Series*,, Calcutta, Vol. VII, Nos. 1-2, 1965, pp. 13-38, figs. 8, 15 & 22 and Pal and Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, fig. 7.
69. *VDP*, III. 68.
70. *Ibid.* Cf. *Journal of the Asiatic society, Letters*, Calcutta, XXI, 1955, pp. 90 ff.; Pal and Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
71. Pal and Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff., figs. 14-15.
72. *VDP*, III. 44, 6.
73. *Ibid.* A relief at Elephanta represents the three headed Brahmā seated on a lotus seat marked by seven swans in a single row. See C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Sculpture*, New Delhi, 1961, p. 58, fig. 10.
74. *VDP*, III. 52, 18.
75. Pal and Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
76. N.P. Joshi (1965), *op. cit.*, fig. 101. See also R.C. Agrawal, "Candra Images From Rajasthan", in *Agaracanda Nāhaṭā Abhinandana Grantha*, Vol. II, Bikaner, 1977, p. 47.
77. Pal and Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
78. *VDP*, III. 68.
79. Ch. 94, v. 2.
80. *EHI*, II. pp. 318-19.
81. *Agni P*, 51, 10.
82. For some early and medieval images of Candra, see *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, XXIII, 1942, pp. 262-70 and Pls.; *JASB*, N.S., V. II (1-2), 1965, pp. 13-38 and figs.; R.C. Agrawal (1977), *op. cit.*, pp. 44-48, figs. 3-7 etc.
83. R.C. Agrawal (1977), *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

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84. S.K. Sarasvati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1962, pl. IX. 24.
85. R.C. Agrawal (1977), *op. cit.*, figs. 6-7 and p. 48.
86. Cf. *śata Caṇḍīvidhāna*, p. 23: "*Cintayecchaśrnaṁ dānamudrāmṛtakarāmbujam*".
87. *Ibid.* Cf. Pal and Bhattacharyya (*op. cit.*, p. 21) who remark that "In the Brahmanical tradition the *haṁsa* is a mount of Brahmā, Varuṇa and Sarasvatī, but never of Candra. According to the tāntric Buddhist literature, however, it is the mount of Candra...."
88. *Ibid.*, fig. 3.
89. Cf. *JASB, NS., op. cit.*, fig. 19.
90. *EHI*, I. p. 320. Asha Kalia (*AOT*. p. 129) erroneously describes. The mount of Candra on HH-2 as *haṁsa*. Also she has wrongly stated the presence of swan with the deity on ST-1.
91. R.C. Agrawal, *loc. cit.*, fig. 4.
92. See for details Dr. B.N. Sharma's excellent monograph "*Iconography of Revanta*", New Delhi, 1975 and Sahai, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-97.
93. *VDP*, III. 70, 5 : '*Pṛṣṭhe'śve Sūryavat kāryo Revantaśca tathā prabhuḥ*'; *Bhaviṣya*, Bombay, V.S. 1967, Ch. 79, *v.* 78 : '*Revanto nāma yo'rkasya rupeṇārkasamaḥ sutaḥ*'; *Kālikā*, ch. 85, *vv.* 46-49; *Skanda P*, *Prabhāsa Khaṇḍa*, ch. 164, *vv.* 1-4; *Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa*, ch. 29, *v.* 13 etc.
94. *BS*, ch. 58, *v.* 56 : '*Revanto'śvārūḍho mṛgayā krīḍādiparivāraḥ*'. Cf. *CVC*, *Vratakhaṇḍa*, p. 137 : '*Priṣṭhasthaḥ Suryavat kāryo Revantaśca tathā prabhuḥ*' and *Mārkaṇḍeya*, ch. 75, *v.* 24 :
'*Retaso'nte ca Revantaḥ khaḍgī carmī tanutradhṛk |*
Aśvārūḍhaḥ samudbhūto bāṇa-tūnasamanvitaḥ ||
95 *Kuvalayamālā*, p. 68.
96. Dr. B.N. Sharma (1975), *op. cit.*, p. 29.
97. S. Gopalan (ed.), *Aśvaśāstram*, Tanjore, 1952, p. 7, *vv.* 1-6.
98. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
99. *Ibid.*
100. Dr. B.N. Sharma (1975), *op. cit.*
101. Dr. B.N. Sharma (1975), *op. cit.*, p. 45, figs. 11-12. Asha Kalia (*AOT*, pp. 120-1) has missed the other images.
102. *Bh.* p.104. Since the image discussed here differs stylistically from the sculptures of HH-2, it cannot be regarded the image referred to by Bhandarkar.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
104. A hoard of more than 373 silver coins of the Arab Governor Ahmad found from Osian also indicates that Osian was inhabited by merchants.
105. Devendra Handa, "Jīvantasvāmi Images From Osian" *Research Bulletin* (*Arts*), Panjab University, Chandigarh, Vol. XIII, Pt. 1 (April, 1982), pp. 11-14, figs. 1-7.
106. Even the Jainas may have worshipped Revanta. Udyotana Sūri, the author of *Kuvalayamālā*, has also referred to Revanta's worship by all those who wanted protection, health, happiness, fame etc.
107. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
108. They pervade (√as) everything—one with moisture and the other with light. So their name Āśvins. See for details, L.P. Pandey, *Sun-Worship In Ancient India*, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1971, p. 45 and V.C. Srivastava, *Sun-Worship in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1971, pp. 122-26.
109. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
110. *RV*, X, 17, 2.
111. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
112. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54; Srivastava, *loc. cit.*
113. *ŚB*, IV. 1, 5.
114. *Mbh.* I. 66, 354 XIII. 150, 17-18. Cf. *Mbh.* I. 1, 34.
115. *HV*, I. 9, 51-55.
116. *Viṣṇu P*, III. 2, 2-7.
117. *Mārkaṇḍeya P*, 105, 6-12.
118. V.S. Agrawal (V.S. 2016), *op. cit.*, p. 28.
119. *JIH*, XL(1).

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120. Stella Kramrisch, *Art of India*, London, 1955, Pl. XIV.
121. A.K. Coomaraswami, *La Sculpture de Bodh Gaya* (French), Paris, 1935, p. 26, Pl. LIII.
122. N.G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, Delhi, 1937, Pl. XI. D.
123. H. Goetz, *Art of the World*: *India*, New York, 1959, p. 49; N.P.Joshi (1965), *op. cit.*, p. 40, Pl. 16; M.M.Nagara, *A Guide to the Archaeological Museum Mathura* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1947, p. 27, Fig. 62.
124. R.C.Agrawal, "Some Interesting Sculptures from Rajasthan in Jodhpur Museum", *JASB*, XXIII(1); "Animal-faced Sculptures in Rajasthan" *BV*, Vols. 20-21.
125. *MB*, X(2), pp. 64-65.
126. A small fragment of the pedestal of a Sun image from Kharar in Punjab (still unpublished) shows Āśvin.
127. Two Sūrya images from Beri (Haryana) also shows Āśvins. See *RL*, LIII (1-2), p.43, figs. 6-7.
128. Mathura, Gorakhpur, Varanasi etc. have yielded Sun images with Āśvins.
129. Pal and Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 15, fig. 5.
130. Āśvins appears on Sun images found from Khajuraho Bheraghat, Bundelkhand etc.
131. Images from Jhalawar, Harshnath, Varmana, Iswal, Chittor etc. show the twin horse-headed deities.
132. *Bh.*, p. 111.
133. Cf. Āśvins with swords and *abhaya* poses found on the right side of the eighth century Kālikā Mātā Temple at Chittor. See *MB*, X(2), p. 64.
134. '*Graha*' literally means 'siezer'. The word was used to mean a planet because of the belief that the planets influence or sieze the destinies of man. See Pal and Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
135. *DHI*, p. 443.
136. Pal and Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.
137. *EHI*, I, pp. 319-20.
138. *Agni P*, 51, 11.
139. *Ibid.*
140. Ch. 94, v. 4.
141. Shukla, *op. cit.*, p. 250. Cf. *VDP* III. 69, 2.
142. *EHI*, I, Appendix C, pp. 95-96.
143. *Agni P*, 51, 11-12.
144. *Matsya P*, 94, 6.
145. *VDP*, III. 69, 6-7.
146. *EHI*, I, *loc. cit.*
147. *Ibid.*
148. *Agni P*, 51, 12.
149. *Matsya P*, 94, 8.
150. *AP*, 214, 10-19.
151. *RM*, II. 18-24.
152. There are two images which have been identified with Bṛhaspati by R.C.Agrawal (*ŚP*, Vol. XXIII, No. 4, pp. 33 & 35). These exist on the juxta-buttresses of the southern walls of HH-3 and ST-1. The former is depicted just like Brahmā and is attended by a small figure on either side. But for the two additional faces and a jewel in the centre of the matted locks, the figure of Brahmā is carved exactly like this figure. Unfortunately, both the hands are broken. The latter is a bearded figure with both hands broken, but wearing matted locks, ear-rings and *vanamālā*, standing in *gopālāsana*. Since both the images occur on the temples which show Brahmā alongwith the *dikpālas*, is it not likely that the images identified with Bṛhaspati actually belong to Ananta ?
153. *DHI*, p. 521. See also *AV*, III. 26, 1-6 and III. 231-6.
154. *TS*, V. 5, 10.

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155. IV, 7, 41.
156. *DHI, loc. cit.*
157. *Rām.* II. 16, 24.
158. *Mbh.* I. 74, 85; VII. 70, 45 & 91, 3.
159. *Ibid.*, VII. 55, 6. The *Karṇa-Parva* (VIII. 45, 31-32) mentions Agni, Yama, Varuṇa and Soma as representing east, south, west and north and the *Udyoga-Parva* mentions Kubera, Yama, Soma and Varuṇa (V. 16, 27 ff.).
160. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
161. *SI*, p. 193.
162. Sircar (1971), *op. cit.*, pp. 238-40.
163. VII. 4-7.
164. II. 2, 6. See also Sircar (1971), *op. cit.*, p. 243.
165. Sircar (1971), *op. cit.*, p.245.
166. *RA*, pp. 202-03.
167. ST-2 and 3 do not contain all the *dikpālas*.
168. Kubera on the east wall of ST-3 is an exception, but it may have been put in its present place later like some other images.
169. See for details Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.
170. *RV*, I. 32, 2; VIII, 33, 11.
171. *RV*, VIII. 45, 4; 66, 6-11; X. 103, 2-3. See also *Mbh.* VIII. 17, 92.
172. *AV*, VIII. 8, 5-7; *Mbh.* III. 234, 17.
173. *RV*, I. 57, 6. Cf. *Maitrāyaṇī Sāṁhitā* I. 10, 13.
174. *RV*, I. 35, 5; 61, 10; X. 89, 7.
175. *RV*, I. 57, 6; V. 32, 1-2; 33, 1; X. 89, 7.
See also M. Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, New York and London, 1908, p. 178.
176. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
177. *RA*, p. 204.
178. *RV*, I. 111, 1; V. 31, 4.
179. *Mbh.* I. 60, 61; *Agni P.* 51, 14.
180. *Macdonell, op. cit.*, p. 66.
181. O.R.Gurney, *The Hittites*, Pelican, 1961, p. 105.
182. *Agni P*, 51, 14 : "*vajrī gajārūḍhaḥ*".
183. *Matsya P*, 260, 66 ff.
184. III. 1, 811.
185. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, pp. 251-52.
186. *Ibid.*
187. *BS*, LVII, 42.
188. *VDP*, III. 50, 2-6.
189. 213, 9.
190. *RM*, II, 31.
191. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
192. *JI*, pp. 108-09.
193. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.
194. *Ibid.*, p. 93; Surya Kanta, *Vedic Devaśāstra*, p. 240.
195. *Ibid.*
196. *RV*, IX. 66. 22; III, 21, 3; VI, 14, 2 etc.
197. *Ibid.*, VII. 3, 7; 16, 10. Cf. I. 189, 2; VI. 48, 8 etc.
198. *Ibid.*, III. 20, 4; V. 4, 9; VII. 12, 2.
199. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-100.
200. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
201. *VDP*, III. 56, 1-10. *BS* does not describe Agni's images.
202. Hemādri (*CVC, Vrata-Khaṇḍa*, ch. I, p. 144) has also quoted this description of the *VDP*.
203. *Agni P*, 51, 15.

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204. *Matsya P*, 261, 9-12. Also see V.S. Agrawal, *Matsya Purāṇa—A Study*, Varanasi, 1963, p. 362.
205. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 254—
Meṣapṛṣṭhastham devaṁ bhujadvaya-samanvitam |
Dakṣiṇe cākṣāsūtraṁ syat kare vāme kamaṇḍaluḥ ||
206. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 28.
207. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, pp. 253-54.
208. Apte's *Dictionary*, p. 153.
209. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 255.
210. *AP*, 213, 10; *RM*, II, 32 :
Varadaḥ śaktihastaśca samṛṇāla kamaṇḍaluḥ |
Jyālāpuñjanibho devo meṣarūḍho hutāśanaḥ ||
211. Cf. John Allan, *Catalogue Of The Coins Of Ancient India*, London, 1936, pp. cxvii ff. and 109-201.
212. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p.29.
213. *RV*, X. 14, 5.
214. *Ibid.*, X. 14, 5.
215. *AV*, XVII. 3, 13.
216. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
217. *RV*, X. 10.
218. *AV*, V. 28, 31 and 43, 1.
219. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
220. W.J. Wilkins, *Hindu Mythology*, Varanasi-Delhi, 1972, pp. 82-83.
221. E. Max Muller (Ed.) *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIV, p. 135; Vol. XXV, p. 217.
222. Wilkins, *op. cit.*, p.82; James Hastings (Ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, New York, Vol. II, 1967, p. 806 b.
223. VI. 5, 2.
224. XVI. 6.
225. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 116, Cf. *HV*, 52, 30
Śatavājiyuktaṁ rathaṁ samārohita-Sūrya-kalpaṁ.
226. *Ibid.*
227. *RV*, X. 14, 10-12.
228. *Ibid.*, X. 165, 4. Cf. X. 123, 4.
229. *BS*, LVIII, 57: *Daṇḍī Yamo mahiṣago.*
230. Ch. 71, v. 14.
231. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 257.
232. *Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi* III. 1, 811; *Matsya P*, 261. 12; 268, 13; *Śrītattvanidhi*, p. 105 etc. *SPB* refers to *phala-pallava* 'fruit and tender leaf' instead of the noose.
233. *VDP*, III. 51, 1-7.
234. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, pp. 255-56.
235. *Ibid.*, pp. 256-57.
236. *Ibid.*, *SPB* (*Paṭala* 48) refers to Yama as holding a staff and *phala-pallava* :
Yamaṁ sudaṇḍahastaṁ tu mahiṣāsanasaṁsthitam |
Karālaṁ kālavarṇaṁ ca phalapallavapāṇinam ||
237. *AP*, 213, 11; *RM*, II. 33 :
Lekhanīṁ pustakaṁ dhatte kukkuṭaṁ daṇḍameva ca |
Mahiṣārūḍho Yamaḥ kṛṣṇāṅga īritaḥ ||
238. *JI*, p. 110.
239. *ŚP*, XXIII (4), pp. 32-33.
240. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 120.
241. *AV*, VI. 29, 3; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* II. 5, 6.
242. *Mbh.* I. 66, 2.
243. *Ibid.*, I. 66, 54-55. See also XII. 122, 46.
244. *Manusmṛti*, XI. 119.
245. *VDP*, III. 57, 3.

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Bhāryā ca tasya kartavyā devī Ninṛtitastathā |
Banerjea (*DHI*, p. 526) has rightly pointed out that Ninṛtita should be Nirṛti in this metre which is corrupt.

246. *Ibid.*, III. 57, 4 :
Kālaḥ prokto Virūpākṣo mṛtyurhi Ninṛtistathā |
247. *DHI*, *loc. cit.*
248. *Ibid.*
249. *RA*, pp. 220-23, figs. 92-93.
250. *EHI*, II, pp. 528-29, Pl. CLIV; *DHI*, p. 526.
251. *VDP*, III. 57.
252. The text according to Rao refers to his four wives—
Bhāryaścatasraḥ kartavyā devī ca Nirṛtistathā |
Kṛṣṇāṅgī Kṛṣṇavadanā Pāśahastā tu vāmataḥ ||
Evidently, the text seems to be somewhat corrupt and Awasthi (*RA*, p, 220, fn. 4) has remarked that Devī, Kṛṣṇāṅgī, Kṛṣṇavadanā and Pāśahastā should not be taken to be the four names of Nirṛti's wives but the epithets of one wife.
253. *Agni P*, 51, 14 : "*Nairṛtaḥ khaḍgavān kare*" B.C. Bhattacharyya (*Indian Images*, Part I, Calcutta-Simla, 1921, p.30) has emended the word *Kare* to *Khare* and takes ass as the vehicle of Nirṛti. He was not incorrect as we find that some images actually show Nirṛti on an ass.
254. "*Nirṛti khaḍgahastañca śyāmalaṁ vājivāhanam*" as quoted by Shyamanand in *Śatacaṇḍī Vidhāna*, Prayāga, V.S. 2006, p. 4.
255. *Matsya P*, 261, 15-16.
256. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 258.
Khaḍgakheṭakasaṁyuktaṁ Nirṛtiśyāmavarṇakam |
Karālam vikṛtākāraṁ siṁhārūḍhaṁ dvinetrakam ||
257. *Ibid.*, p. 259.
258. *Ibid.*
Rākṣaseśa viśālākṣaḥ pītavastraśśavasanaḥ |
Nirṛtissusthitāsīnaḥ khaḍgahasto mahojjvalaḥ ||
259. *Ibid.*, p. 258.
260. *AP*, (213, 12) describes Nirṛti as a female—
Khaḍagaṁ ca kheṭakaṁ haste karttrīṁ caivārimastakam |
Daṁṣṭrā-lamba-mukhīṁ kuryācchavāsanārūḍhāṁ ca Nirṛtīm ||
261. *JI*, p. 111.
262. Bhandarkar (p. 114) had thought it to be a horse.
263. *RA*, p. 222.
264. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
265. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.
266. *RV*, VII. 66, 10.
267. *Ibid.*, V. 64, 7.
268. *Ibid.*, I. 25, 13.
269. *Ibid.*, X. 132, 4; II. 27, 10.
270. *Ibid.*, V. 85, 3.
271. *Ibid.*, II. 28, 1.
272. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
273. *Ibid.*
274. *RV*, VII. 64, 2.
275. *Ibid.*, VII. 64, 2 refers to him as '*Sindhupati*'. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
276. *RV*, I. 24, 15; 25, 21; VI. 74, 4; X. 85, 24 etc.
277. Macdonell, *loc. cit.*
278. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 116 ff.
279. *Mbh.* I. 65, 15.

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280. *Ibid.*, I. 226, 32-37.
281. *Ibid.*, I. 224, 1-6.
282. *Ibid.*, V. 130, 49.
283. *Rām.* VI. 71, 34. See also Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
284. Bhattacharya, *Indian Images*. I, p. 29; Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
285. *BS*, LVII. 57.
286. *VDP*, III. 52, 1-21.
287. *CVC*, *Vrata-Khaṇḍa*, ch. I, pp. 145-46.
288. *Matsya P*, 26, 17-18.
289. *JI*, p. 112.
290. *Agni P*, 51, 15.
291. *AP*, 213, 13.
292. *RM*, II. 35.
293. As quoted by Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
294. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 260.
295. *Ibid.*
296, *Ibid.*, p. 261.
297. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 48.
298. *RA*, pp. 242-43.
299. Bhandarkar (p. 111) mistook the vehicle as a peacock. Cf. *ŚP*, XXIII (4), p. 31.
300. Lippe, *op. cit.*, Pl. 32.
301. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff.
302. *RV*, VII. 90, 3.
303. *Ibid.*, VIII. 26, 21-22.
304. *Ibid.*, X. 90, 13.
305. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
306. *Mbh.* I. 123, 12.
307. *Agni P*, 52, 14.
308. *Matsya P*, 261, 18-19.
309. III. 1, 811.
310. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 262.
311. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
312. *Śrītattvanidhi*, p. 105.
313. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 262.
314. *Ibid.*
315. *VDP*, III. 58, 1-6.
316. *AP*, 213, 14.
317. *RM*, II, 36.
318. IV. 64.
319. Ch. XIV as quoted by Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
320. *JI*, pp. 112-13.
321. Sahai, *op. cit.*
322. *Ibid.*, pp. 54. 58.
323. *RA*, pp. 228-30 and 243-44, figs. 95, 97 and 98.
324. Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
325. '*Mṛga*' is generally taken to mean 'a deer, an antelope or a stag' but also means 'a quadruped, an animal in general'. See Apte's *Dictionary*, p. 445.
326. Bhandarkar (p. 102) had recognised the vehicle as horse but R.C. Agrawal (*ŚP*, XXIII (4), p. 31) thinks that it is a stag.
327. *RA*, p. 230, fig. 97.
328. Arun Bhattacharjee, *Icons And Scuptures Of Early And Medieval Assam*, Delhi, 1978, p.49, figs. 127-28.
329. Cf. Vāyu from Abneri in Rajasthan. See Munshi, *Saga of Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 57, b; Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 55, fig. 8.

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330. VT-3 facing north does not possess the images of Vāyu and Kubera.
331. Apte's *Dictionary*, p. 153.
332. *DHI*, p. 337.
333. *Mbh.* V. 139, 14.
334. *Ibid.*, I. 275, 2. See also Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 142. 145 etc.
335. V.S. Agrawal (V.S. 2015), *op. cit.*, p. 73.
336. *Mbh.* I. 226, 32.
337. *Rām.* (South India Ed.) IV. 43, 36.
338. *Ibid.*, VII. 15, 17.
339. *Mbh.* I. 199, 6; III. 136, 8; 168, 13 etc.
340. II. 2, 19, 1.
341. *EHI*, II, pp. 534-35.
342. *Ibid.*
343. *JI*, pp. xxiii and 113-14.
344. *BS*, LVII, 51.
345. *Agni P*, 51, 15.
346. *Matsya P*, 261, 20-22. See also V.S. Agrawal (1963), *op. cit.*, p. 362.
347. *DHI*, pp. 338-39.
348, *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 263.
349. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
350. *Ibid.*, p. 264.
351. *Ibid.*, p. 263.
352. *VDP*, III. 53, 1-7. Also quoted in *CVC*, *Vrata-Khaṇḍa*, ch. I, pp. 146-47.
353. Ch. 213, v. 15.
354. *RM*, II. 27.
355. '*Naravāhanaḥ*' should be taken as the name and synonym of Kubera. Cf. *DHI*, p. 528; Sahai *op. cit.*, p. 61.
356. *JI*, p. 113.
357. *Arthaśāstra* translated by R. Shamasastry, Mysore, 1956 (5th ed.), p. 54.
358. As quoted by Sahai, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
359. *Ibid.*, pp. 62-72; RA, pp. 232-36.
360. Cf. V.A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1930, p. 128, Pl. 79, a.
361. *Bh.*, p.115.
362. *ŚP*, XXII (3), p. 69.
363. See also Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, pp. 314-16.
364. *DHI*, p. 529.
365. *Matsya P*, 261, 23.
366. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 266.
367. *DHI*, *loc. cit.*
368. *EHI*, II, Appendix B, p. 265.
369. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
370. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
371. *AP*, 213, 16.
372. *RM*, II, 38.
373. *RA*, pp. 237-38, figs. 102.
374. *JOI*, XX (2), p. 143.
375. *Ibid.*
376. *DHI*, p. 352. Cf. R.S. Panchamukhi, *Gandharvas & Kinnaras in Indian Iconography*, Dharwar, 1951.
377. *JOI*, XX (2), p. 145.
378. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46, figs. 3-8.
379. *Bhāgavata P*, VIII. 6-8; *Agni P*, 2 etc. *HV* (III. 30) narrates the myth of the churning of the ocean but does not refer to the *apasarases*.
380. Cf. *HV* I. 3.

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381. Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 ff.
382. *Ibid.*
383. *AV*, IV. 37, 4.
384. *Mārg*, XII (2), pp. 54-55, figs. 2 and 6.
385. *Ibid.*, p. 57, fig. 12.
386. She may be identified as Ketakī-bharaṇā also.
387. The identification of the *apasarases* is based on Prabhashankar O. Somapura's description and illustrations in his book "*Bhāratīya Śilpasaṁhitā*, Bombay 1975, pp. 64-78.
388. Devangana Desai, *Erotic Sculpture of India*, New Delhi, 1975, fig. 49.
389. Vatsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1891), p. 174.
390. Devangana Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
391. Cf. *Ibid.*, figs. 129-30; Vidya Prakash, *Khajuraho*, Bombay, 1967, Photo 101.
392. Cf. Devangana Desai., *op. cit.*, fig. 143; Mulk Raj Anand, *Kama Kalā*, Ganève-Paris-Munich, 1958, Ph. XXVII.
393. Devangana Desai, *op. cit.*, fig. 74.
394. *Ibid.* fig. 81.
395. Cf. Vidya Prakash, op. cit., Ph. 92; Anand, *op. cit.*, p. 41 and Pl. XXVIII.
396. Devangana Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 75, fn. 2.
397. Cf. *Ibid.*, Figs. 141-42; Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-04; Anand, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXX-XXXIV.
398. Devangana Desai, *loc. cit.*, Vidya Prakash, *loc. cit.*, Anand, *loc. cit.*
399. Cf. Devangana Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

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Jaina Sculptures

Tīrthaṅkaras
Yakṣas
Yakṣīs
Śrutadevī and Vidyādevīs
Jivantasvāmi
Hindu Deities in Jaina Fold

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CHAPTER 5

Jaina Sculptures

Though tradition bestows a hoary antiquity to Jainism[1] and scholars have tried to advance evidence regarding Ṛṣbha, the first of the twenty-four Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*, as having been mentioned in the *RV*,[2] yet the undoubted history of the religion starts with Varddhamāna Mahāvīra, the last *tīrthaṅkaṛa*, and his predecessor Pārśvanātha, who probably lived between 877-777 B.C.[3]—two hundred and fifty years before the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, which is generally placed in 527 B.C.[4]

Neminātha or Ariṣṭanemi, the twenty-second pontiff, is mentioned as a cousin of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Nami, his predecessor, is said to have belonged to the family of king Janaka of Mithilā.[5] Regarding Ṛṣabhadeva, also known as Ādinātha, the first *tīrthaṅkara*, there is a tradition that he "was the first person to start the institution of marriage. He is said to have initiated use of *asi* and *masī*. He is also known to have been the originator of agriculture. The Brāhmī-*lipi* and the art of writing (with ink, *masī*) is also attributed to him. It is not possible to uncover the mist of legend and to bring to light the personality of this traditional originator of the Jaina doctrine".[6] Asceticism and the doctrine of renunciation, so characteristic of Jainism, seem, however, to have a very great antiquity and the enumeration of the *tīrthaṅkaras* preceding Pārśva and Mahāvīra, who may have actually systematically codified the Jaina canon, probably attempts "to commemorate and glorify earlier or contemporary exponets of this doctrine of renunciation so as to bestow a hoary antiquity to the religion".[7]

Initially, Jainism was confined to Bihar, western West Bengal and eastern Uttara Pradesh but in the second century B.C. Mathurā became an important centre of Jainism[8] and by the beginning of the Christian era and its early centuries, the field of activity of Jainism shifted from the eastern to the central and western parts of India.[9] It could, however, make a headway in Rajasthan, Gujarat and central India only in the post-Harṣa period.[10]

Two schisms, viz., Bahuraya and Jīvapaesiya which took place during the very lifetime of Mahāvīra, did not evoke as much response as the last schism, i.e., the Digambara-Śvetāmbara,[11] that left its impact on the regional spread, monastic practices and iconography of the two sects.[12]

An atheistic religion like Buddhism initially, Jainism later adopted, paradoxically like the latter, image-worship and the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* came to be

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Table

S. No.	*Jina*	Cognizance	*Yakṣa*	*Yakṣī*	*Kevala-Vṛkṣa*
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Ṛṣabhanāha or Ādinātha	*Vṛṣa*=Bull	Gomukha	Cakeśvarī or Apraticakrā	*Nyagrodha* 'Banyan tree'
2.	Ajitanātha	*Gaja*=Elephant	Mahāyakṣa	Rohiṇī (Dig.) Ajitabalā (Śv.)	*Saptaparṇa-druma*
3.	Sambhavanātha	*Aśva*=Horse	Trimukha	Prajñapti (Dig.) Duritāri (Sv.)	*Śāla-taru*
4.	Abhinandananātha	*Kapi*=Monkey	Yakṣeśvara or Īśvara (Dig.) Nāyaka (Śv.)	Vajraśṛṅkhalā (Dig.) Kālikā (Śv.)	*Piyāta or Veśāli* tree
5.	Sumatinatha	*Krauñca*=Heron	Tumburu	Puruṣadattā (Dig.) Mahākālī (Śv.)	*Priyaṅgu*
6.	Padmaprabha	*Raktabīja*=Red-Lotus	Kusuma	Manovegā or Manoguptā (Dig.) Śyamalā (Śv.)	*Chatrābha*
7.	Supārśvanātha	*Svastika* (Dig.) or *Nandyāvarta*= (Śv.)	Varanandin (Dig.) Mātaṅga (Śv.)	Kālī (Dig.) Śāntā or Śānti (Śv.)	*śirīṣa*
8.	Candraprabha	*Śaśī*=(Half) Moon or Crescent	Vijaya or Śyāma (Dig.) Vijaya (Śv.)	Jvālāmālinī (Dig.) Bhṛkuṭi (Śv.)	*Naga-keśara*
9.	Suvidhinātha or Puṣpadanta	*Makara*= Alligator	Ajita (Dig.) Jayā (Śv.)	Mahākālī (Dig.) Sutārikā (Śv.)	*Nāga* or *Malli*
10.	Śītalanātha	*Svastika* (Dig.) *Śrīvatsa* (Śv.)	Brahmeśvara (Dig.) Brahma (Sv.)	Mānavī (Dig.) Aśokā (Śv.)	*Vilva*
11.	Śreyāṁsanātha	*Gaṇḍaka*= Rhinoceros	Īśvara (Dig.) Yakṣeṭ (Śv.)	Gaurī (Dig.) Mānavī (Śv.)	*Tumbara* or *Tinduka*
12.	Vasupūjya	*Mahiṣa*= Buffalo	Kumāra	Gāndhārī (Dig.) Caṇḍā/Caṇḍī (Śv.)	*Pāṭalika* or *Kadamba*

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Place of Birth 7	Place of *nirvaṇa* 8	Father 9	Mother 10	Fanner/Acolytes 11
Vinītanagara	(Kailāśa Dig) Aṣṭāpada (Śv.)	Nābhi	Marudevī	1. Bharata & 2. Bāhubali
Ayodhyā	Sametaśikhara	Jitśatru	Vijayā	Sagaracakrī (fanner)
Śrāvastī	,,	King (K.) Dṛḍharāja	Suṣenā	Śatyavīrya ,,
Ayodhyā	,,	K. Svayaṁvara	Siddhārthā	
,,	,,	Megharatha	Maṅgalā	Mitravīrya
Kauśāmbī	,,	Susīma/ Dhara	Susīmā	K. Yamadyuti ,,
Vārāṇasī	,,	K. Supratiṣṭha	Pṛthvī	Dharmavīrya ,, (Jina canopied by 5 of 9 hooded snake)
Candrapurī (=Vārāṇasī)	,,	Mahāsena	Lakṣmaṇā	Dānavīrya (fanner)
Kākandīnagara[19]	,,	K. Sugrīva	Rāmā	Maghavatarāja
Bhadrapura[20]	,,	K. Dṛḍharatha	Sunandā	K. Sūmandhara ,,
Siṁhapura (=Sarnath)	,,	K. Viṣṇu	Viṣṇudevī	K. Tripiṣṭa Vāsudeva ,,
Campāpurī (=Bhagalpur)	Campāpurī	K. Vasupūja	Jayāvatī	K. Darpiṣṭa Vāsudeva ,,

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Table

S. No.	*Jina*	Cognizance	*Yakṣa*	*Yakṣī*	*Kevala-Vṛkṣa*
1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	Vimalanātha	*Śūkara*=Boar	Caturmukha (Dig.) Ṣaṇmukha (Śv.)	Vairoṭī (Dig.) Viditā (Śv.)	*Jambu*
14.	Anantanātha	*Śyena*=Falcon	Pātāla	Anantamatī (Dig.) Aṅkuśī (Śv.)	*Aśvattha*
15.	Dharmanātha	*Vajra*= Thunderbolt	Kinnara	Mānasī (Dig.) Kandarpā (Śv.)	*Dadhi-parṇa* or *Saptac-chada*
16.	Śāntinātha	*Mṛga*=Deer	Kiṁpuruṣa (Dig.) Garuḍa (Śv.)	Mahāmānasī (Dig.) Nirvāṇī (Śv.)	*Nandivṛ-kṣa*
17.	Kunthunātha	*Chāga*=Goat	Gandharva	Vijayā (Dig.) Balā (Śv.)	*Tilaka-taru*
18.	Aranātha	*Nandyāvarta* (Dig.) or *Tagara*-flower/=*Svastika* Matsya (Sv.)= Fish	Khendra (Dig.) Yakṣendra (Śv.)	Ajitā (Dig.) Dhanā (Śv.)	*Cūta*
19.	Mallinātha[21] or Malli	*Kalaśa*/ *Ghaṭa*=Pitcher	Kubera	Aparājitā (Dig.) Dhanapriyā (Śv.)	*Aśoka*
20.	Munisuvrata	*Kūrma*=Tortoise	Varuṇa	Bahurūpiṇī (Dig.) Naradattā (Śv.)	*Campaka*
21.	Naminātha	*Nīlotpala*=blue lotus	Bhṛkuṭi	Cāmuṇḍī (Dig.) Gāndhārī (Śv.)	*Bakula*
22.	Neminātha	*Śaṅkha*=Conch-shell	Sarvāhṇa (Dig.) Gomedha (Śv.)	Kuṣmāṇḍinī (Dig.) Ambikā (Śv.)	*Mahā-veṇu* or *Vetasa*
23.	Pārśvanātha	*Phaṇī*/*sarpa* =snake	Dharaṇendra/ Pārśva or Vāmana	Padmāvatī	Devadāru or *Dhātakī*
24.	Mahāvīra	*Siṁha*=Lion	Mātaṅga	Siddhāyikā	*Śāla*

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Place of birth	Place of *nirvāṇa*	Father	Mother	Fanner/Acolytes
7	8	9	10	11
Kampilyapura (=Kampil)	Sametaśikhara	Kṛtavarman	Suramyā/ Sāmā	K. Svayaṁbhū Vāsudeva fanner
Ayodhyā	,,	K. Siṁhasena	Jayaśyāmā/ Sujaśā	K. Puruṣottama ,,
Ratnapurī	,,	Bhānurāja	Suvratā	Puṇḍarīka Vāsudeva ,,
Hastināpura (Dig.) Gajapura (Śv.)	,,	K. Viśvasena	Acirā	K. Puruṣadatta ,,
,,	,,	K. Śūrasena (Sūrya/ Śivarāja)	Śrīkāntā/ Srīdevī	K. Kuṇāla ,,
,,	,,	K. Sudarśana	Mitrasenā/Devī	Govindarāja ,,
Mithilā	Sametaśikhara	K. Kumbha	Prajāvatī/ Prabhāvatī	K. Suluma Fanner
Rājagṛha	,,	K. Sumitra	Padmāvatī	K. Ajita ,,
Mithilā	,,	K. Vijaya	Viprā or Vappilā	K. Vijarāja ,,
Śauriyapura (=Dwarka)	Girinagara	K. Samudra-vijaya	Śivadevī	K. Ugrasena (3, 7 or 11 hooded snake as canopy)
Vārāṇasī	Sametaśikhara	K. Aśvasena	Vāmā or Brahmā	K. Ajitarāja fanner
Kuṇḍagrāma	Pāvāpurī	K. Siddhārtha	Triśalā	K. Śreṇika ,, (=Bimbisāra)

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worshipped as Superme Deities alongwith their attendant *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs*. Severe discipline, self-control, renunciation and austerity, characteristic of the Jainas did not allow much embellishments to be introduced in their sculptural representations, still amongst the numerous Jina images which have been obtained from different parts of the country, some superb pieces do exist. These images are generally found carved either in *kāyotsarga*[13] (also called *khaḍgāsana*)—standing posture of complete bodily abondonment or *padmāsana*[14] (also called *paryaṅkāsana*) meditative sitting pose. *Śrutadevīs* or *Vidyādevīs* are the other important but secondary deities of Jainism represented in art. Since some converts could not dissociate themselves from their former faith completely, we find many Hindu deities like Śrī-Lakṣmī, Gaṇeśa and even terrific ones like Mahiṣamardinī, Kṣetrapāla etc. included in the folds of Jainism. *Dikpālas*, *Navagrahas*, *Apsarases*, *Gandharvas*, *Yakṣas*, *Kinnaras*, etc. too came to be adopted as the sculptural embellishments on religious edifices.

Chattra-traya or *chattrāvali* (triple umbrella) *lāñchanas* (cognizances); *caumukhi* or *sarvato-bhadrikā*,[15] a type of shrine or shrine-model with openings on all the four sides; *caubīsī* or *caturviṁśatikā*, a stela frieze or image with the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkara* figures; *māna-stambhas*, free standing pillar standards crowned by Jina images; *mātṛkā-paṭṭas*, friezes with the mothers of the Jaina *tirthaṅkaras*; *nandīśvara-dvīpas*, the continents of the Jaina cosmography; *pañcamerus*, representation of the five Merus of the Jaina tradition; *tri-and pañca-tīrthikās*, images with three and five Jina figures etc., absent in Kuṣāṇa and Gupta sculptures, make their appearance later. Decorated glorioles and *śrivatsa*-mark on the chest of the Jina figures, however, continued throughout from early period.[16]

Carved in purely human form in *kāynotsarga* or *dhyāna-mudra*, the Jina images are shown nude, young and beautiful in appearance, with a tranquil expression, arms reaching down to the kness and *śrivatsa* on the chest.[17] Iconographical texts[18] refer to the eight *Prātihāryas* which should be seen in complete image of a *tīrthaṅkara* : (1) divine (Aśoka) tree, (2) shower of celestial blossoms, (3) drum, (4) *chowries*, (5) throne-seat (a lion throne), (6) aureole, (7) trilinear umberlla and (8) heavenly music. Jina images can well be distinguished by their emblems, *Yakṣas* and *Yaksīs*, acolytes, *kevala-vṛkṣas* (trees under which they got enlightenment) etc. a list of which, also with their birth places and the names of their parents is given below in a tabular form.

TĪRTHAṄKARA IMAGES

Mahāvīra:—Evidence regarding the establishment of the MT and the installation of the Jina image therein at Osian (as also at Koraṇṭaka at the same time) by *ācārya* Ratnaprabha has already been discussed. Though the tradition takes back the event to the year 70 after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* (i.e., 527-70=457 V.S. or 400 B.C.) yet we know that it must have occured much later. An interesting anecdote occurs

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in the *UGP* regarding the image of Mahāvīra (*Pl. 136*) installed in the above-mentioned temple. It is said that the image of Vīraprabhu was being prepared by a cow who used to lactate at a particular spot while grazing on the Lāvaṇyahrada mountain. Ūhaḍa, the owner of the cow, grew suspicious as the cow would not yield milk at home. He approached the Sūri for the removal of his doubt. The Sūri apprised him of the fact that an image of Mahāvīra was being prepared and that it will be ready by a specific time. The impatient noble dug out the image before time but it had lemon-like knots on the chest.[22] The devout priests and laity still believe that the present golden image of Mahāvīra enshrined in the sacrarium is the original one and has the round lemon-like marks on the chest. A careful examination would, however, make it clear to anybody that these marks exist not only on the chest, both above and below the *śrīvatsa*, but also on the shoulders, arms and knees.[23] The style, the expression and the lion walking to left on the pedestal leave no doubt regarding the lateness of the image which may have been installed, in imitation of the original one, of course, sometime in V.S. 1734 (=A.D. 1677) or 1789 (=A.D.1732) when the temple was repaired/renovated. The depiction of the lion is almost modern. Nothing, however, is known about the original image. A broken image from Osian now exhibited in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur (*Pl. 137*) may have originally belonged to this temple. It shows the head with schematic curls and top-knot with a beautiful petalled halo encircled by a floral wreath and *ardha-ratna* patterns within beaded edges. The face bears an elegant and serene look reminiscent of the Gupta images. Exquisitely carved *makara-mukhas* are also there, facing outward, on either side, surmounted by stele showing a *vidyādhara* with a wreath accompanied by a *vidyādharī*. Had it not come from Osian which has not yielded any Buddhist remains, this image could be mistaken as that of Buddha.

DK-1 seems to have been dedicated to Mahāvīra as it depicts the Jina on the door-lintel of the sanctum, seated on a throne, with two lions seated back to back below it, in meditative pose with a trefoil umbrella above his head. The principal back niche of the shrine too may be identified with Mahāvīra seated on an ornamented *simhasana* in meditation. The triple umbrella over the head, an elephant, *vidyādhara* and attendants on either side can also be seen.

Pārśvanātha:—On the architrave of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of the MT is a beautiful image of *yogāsana* Pārśvanātha (*Pl. 138*) sitting on a lion-throne with two lions depicted on the face of the pedestal, placed back to back. Two small acolyte (?) figures are also carved as flanking the pontiff. The male fly-whiskers, one on either side on the receding butresses, are comparable stylistically to the images on HH and other early temples. The pilasters of the *rathikā* are square. We have already expressed our view that this image of Pārśvanātha on the architrave of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of MT, Padmāvatī on either extremity of the architrave, Pārśva *Yakṣa* on the front *karṇa* etc. indicate that originally the shrine was dedicated to Pārśvanātha.

An inscribed marble image of Pārśvanātha from Osian is displayed in the Jodhpur Museum (*Pl. 139*). The Jina is seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* on a lion-seat

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under the seven-hooded cobra whose coils have been carved under the seat forming seven loops with tails coming out of them. The central offset of the pedestal bears an inscription with a *cakra* placed on it flatly. On the juxta-buttresses of the pedestal are carved lions back to back, with hind legs on the ground and foreparts raised up, slightly turned to face. The corner buttresses show Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī, both seated in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana*. Small seated figures on either side of the knees represent devotees. King Ajitarāja on the proper right and his queen on the left are the fly-whiskers. Garland-bearing *gandharva-yugalas*, elephants and flying figures surrounded the snake-hoods which are topped by a trefoil umbrella. The Jina bears schematic curls of hair with a top-knot on the head. The face is calm and serene. The arms are broken. The inscription on the pedestal gives the date which corresponds exactly to the setting up of the *toraṇa* in front of the Jina shrine.

There are also two red sandstone images from Osian exhibited in the Jodhpur Museum.

Reference has already been made to the image of Pārśvanātha (*Pl. 140*) on the north-eastern corner-buttress of ST-3. It shows the pontiff seated in *padmāsana* on a *siṁhāsana* under the canopy of a seven-hooded snake attended by two male fanners, one on either side. Diminutive *nāga* figures with human busts and reptilian tails holding flute-like musical instruments are shown near the shoulders, one on either side. Two lions sit back to back under the seat with a wheel placed in the centre.

Images of Pārśva and Supārśva exist in the sanctum of the MT also.

Ādinātha:—The *bhadra*-balconies of the sanctum of the MT contain framed marble images of Ādinātha installed during the later Cāhamana period (*Pl. 141*). Almost identical, they show the Jina in *dhyāna-mudrā*. The eyes, nipples, navel, *śrīvatsa* on chest, *tilaka* on forehead etc. are studded with precious and semi-precious stones. Small curled rows with a small knob-like top-knot adorn the head. On either side stand small figures of Jinas in *kāyotsarga* pose in pillared niches. The Jinas are shown wearing the undergarments, belonging thus, clearly to the Śvetāmbara sect. The pillars of the niches are topped by small *nāgara-kūṭas* and are connected by an ornamental *toraṇa* forming a canopy over the head of the Jina. On the extreme buttresses stand fanners with *gaja-śārdūlas* above. On either side of the head of the main image is a *mālydhara gandharva*, a Jina seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* in a pillared panel with *makara-mukha* on the outer extremity. The panels harbouring small seated Jina figures are capped by bell-shaped spires with two swans on the fronton. The floral scroll issuing from the mouths of the *makaras* forms the aureole which shows elephants supporting the umbrella over the head of the Jina, flying semi-divine figures with a conch-blower on the pinnacle. A row of swans adorns the aureole all around its edge.

The *saptaratha* pedestal shows *Yakṣa* Gomukha on the proper right and *Yakṣi* Cakreśvarī on the left. The central offset contains a niched image with elephant and lion figures turned outwards on the consecutive buttresses. The lower-half

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portion of the pedestal shows mouldings resembling those of the socle of a shrine and has, on the central facet, a *cakra* with deer flanking it.

A worn out image of Ādinātha exists on the northern *phāṁsanā* of the *ardhamoṇḍapa* of MT.

OTHER IMAGES

The *Devakulikās* in the MT complex also possess Jina images seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* on lion seats with a *cakra* in the centre placed between the backs of the lions and *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* figures on the extremities. The Jinas are flanked by fanners on the sides and *mālyadhara vidyādhara* couples near the head. Usually a halo is also visible and the elephants support the trefoil umbrella which has a conch-blower on its pinnacle and some other figures on the sides. The pillars of the *rathikās* are connected by *makara-toraṇas* (*Pl. 22*).

The *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* figures on these images are so small and sometimes so much mutilated or even absent that definite identification often becomes difficult. Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra on the southern and eastern principal niches of DK-1 and Pārśvanātha in the principal back niche of DK-5 can, however, be recognised beyond any doubt. Small seated figures occur in the panels of *uttaraṅga*—in the centre and on extremities—also. Pārśvanātha on the *uttaraṅga* of DK-3 can be recognised. The *rathikās* of the *saṁvaraṇā* of the porch of the subsidiary shrines and the *siṁhakarṇas* of the *bhadra-rathikās* also harbour seated Jina images.

The *toraṇa* also contains beautifully carved seated Jina images (*Pl. 142*) on the shafts and the *kumbhikas*. The pontiffs sit in *yogāsana* on lion-seats under trefoil umbrella flanked by *mālyadhara vidyādharas*. *Kevala*-trees are also sometimes carved behind. But in the absence of cognizances and *Yakṣas* and *Yakṣīs*, the Jinas cannot be differentiated.

An architectural piece preserved in the MT complex shows Jina in *kāyotsarga*, wearing an undergarment and flanked by two miniature figures. The tripartite pillars are surmounted by small *kūṭas* and are connected with a *toraṇa* which has a *kīrtimukha* on its apex. A seated Jina on lion-seat, flanked by fanners, existing on the *saṁvaraṇā* of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of MT may be identified with Ādinātha as the locks of hair seem to fall on the shoulders. More important than all these, however, is a long frieze broken at both ends, showing eighteen of the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras* in small pillared niches with *toraṇas*, seated and standing alternately (*Pl. 143*).

We thus see that the number of independent Jina images, obtained from Osian is rather disappointing. Śvetambara sect was more prominent here as is indicated by the images. That more images existed here is indicated by the inscriptions noted by Nahar.

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YAKṢAS

Yakṣas as we have already seen, are the devotees of the *tīrthaṅkaras*.[24] We present below in a tabular form the iconographic features and other knowables of the Jaina *Yakṣas* also called *Śāsanadevatās*.

Table

Jaina Yakṣas

Sr. No.	*Name*	*Vehicle*	*Attributes*	
			Śv.	Dig.
1.	Gomukha (Bull-faced; Dig. *Dharma-cakra* on head)	Ox/lEephant	1. *Varada* 2. rosary 3. *pāśa* 4. citrus	1. *Varada* 2. rosary 3. *paraśu* 4. citrus.
2.	Mahāyakṣa (4-faced, 8-handed)	Elephant	1. *Varada* 2. club 3. rosary 4. noose 5. citrus 6. *abhaya* 7. goad 8. *śakti*	1. Sword 2. staff 3. axe 4. *varada* 5. Disc 6. trident 7. lotus 8. goad
3.	Trimukha (3-faced, 6-handed)[25]	Peacock	1. Mongoose 2. club 3. *abhaya* 4. citrus 5. garland 6. rosary	1. Disc 2. sword 3. *śṛṇi* (=goad) 4. staff 5. trident 6. dagger
4.	Nāyaka (Śv.) Iśvara/ Yakṣeśvara (Dig.)	Elephant	1. citrus 2. rosary 3. mongoose 4. goad	1. Bow 2. shield 3. sword 4. X[26]
5.	Tumbaru (sarpa-upavīta)	Garuḍa	1. *Varadā* 2. *śakti* 3. club 4. noose	1. Snake 2. snake 3. fruit 4. *varada*
6.	Kusuma or Puṣpa[27]	Antelope	1. Fruit 2. *abhaya* 3. rosary 4. mongoose	1. Lance 2. *varada* 3. shield 4. *abhaya*

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7. Mātaṅga[28] (Śv.) Varanandī (Dig.)	Elephant/ Lion/ Ram	1. *Vilva* fruit 2. noose 3. mongoose 4. goad	1. Staff 2. spear 3. *Svastika* 4. flag.
8. Vijaya[29] (Śv) Śyāma (Dig.) (3-eyed)	Swan	1. Disc 2. club	1. Fruit 2. rosary 3. axe 4. *varada*
9. Jaya (Śv.) Ajita (Dig.)	Tortoise	1. Citrus 2. rosary 3. mongoose 4. spear	1. *Śakti* 2. *varada* 3. fruit 4. rosary
10. Brahma[30] (Śv.) Brhmeśvara (Dig.) (4-faced, 3-eyed, 8-handed)	Lotus	1. Citrus 2. club 3. noose 4. *abhaya* 5. mongoose 6. mace 7. goad 8. rosary	1. Bow 2. staff 3. shield 4. sword 5. *varada* 6. x 7. x 8. x
11. Yakṣeṭ (Śv.) Īśvara (Dig.) (3-eyed, 4-handed)	Bull	1. Mongoose 2. rosary 3. staff 4. fruit	1. Trident 2. staff (or *vara*) 3. rosary 4. fruit
12. Kumāra[31] (3-headed-Dig.)	Swan	1. Citrus 2. arrow 3. mongoose 4. bow	1. Bow 2. ichneumon 3. fruit 4. club 5. *varada* 6. x
13. Ṣaṇmukha[32] (Śv.) Caturmukha (Dig.)	Peacock	1. Fruit 2. disc 3. arrow 4. sword 5. noose 6. rosary 7. mongoose 8. discus 9. bond 10. fruit 11. goad 12. *abhaya*	1. Axe 2. scimitar 3. *akṣamaṇi* (?) 4. shield 5. staff 6. x 7. x 8. x

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14. Pātāla[33] (3-faced, 6-armed) 3-headed snake as symbol	Dolphin	1. Lotus 2. sword 3. noose 4. mongoose 5. fruit 6. rosary	1. Goad 2. spear 3. bow 4. rope 5. plough 6. fruit
15. Kinnara[34] (3-faced, 6-armed)	Tortoise (Śv.) Fish (Dig.)	1. Citrus 2. mace 3. *abhaya* 4. mongoose 5. lotus 6. rosary	1. Disc 2. *vajra* 3. goad 4. club 5. rosary 6. *varada*
16. Garuḍa[35] (Śv.) Kiṁpuruṣa (Dig.)	Boar/Elephant[36]	1. Citrus 2. lotus 3. mongoose 4. rosary	1. Lotus 2. fruit 3. *vajra* 4. discus
17. Gāndharva[37]	Swan (Śv.) Bird (Dig.)	1. snake 2. noose 3. bow 4. x	1. *varada* 2. noose 3. citrus 4. goad
18. Yakṣendra[38] (Śv.) Khendra (Dig.	Conch-shell (Śv.) Peacock (Dig.)	1. Citrus 2. arrow 3. sword 4. club 5. noose 6. *abhaya* 7. mongoose 8. bow 9. fruit 10. spear 11. goad 12. rosary	1. Bow 2. thunder bolt 3. noose 4. club 5. goad 6. *vārada* 7. arrow 8. fruit 9. garland 10. x 11. x 12. x
19. Kubera[39] (4-faced, 8-handed)	Elephant	1. *Varada* 2. axe 3. spear 4. *abhaya* 5. citrus 6. *śakti* 7. club 8. rosary	1. Shield 2. bow 3. staff 4. lotus 5. sword 6. axe 7. noose 8. *varada*
20. Varuṇa[40] (Matted hair, 3-eyed, 8-headed)	Bull	1. Citrus 2. mace 3. arrow	1. Shield 2. sword 3. fruit

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(8-armed: Śv.; 4-armed: Dig.)		4. spear 5. mongoose 6. fruit 7. *varada* 8. x	4. *varada*
21. Bhṛkuṭi[41] (4-faced, 8-handed)	Bull	1. Citrus 2. spear 3. mace 4. *abhaya* 5. mongoose 6. axe 7. *vajra* 8. rosary	1. Shield 2. sword 3. bow 4. arrow 5. goad 6. lotus 7. disc 8. *varada*
22. Gomedha (3-faced, 6-handed)	Man	1. Citrus 2. axe 3. disc 4. mongoose 5. trident 6. spear	1. Hammer 2. axe 3. staff 4. fruit 5. *vajra* 6. *varada*
23. Dharaṇendra/ Pārśva/Vāmana[42] (snake-hooded)	Tortoise	1. Ichneumon 2. snake 3. citrus 4. snake	1. Snake 2. noose 3. *varada* 4. x
24. Mātaṅga[43] (Dig. *Dharmacakra on* head)	Elephant	1. Mongoose 2. citrus	1. *Varada* 2. citrus.

On the left of the *jaṅghā-karṇa* of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of MT is an image of Pārśva *Yakṣa* (*Pl. 144*). Wearing a *patrakuṇḍala, ekāvalī, yajñopavīta, kaṭisūtra, nūpuras*, a lower garment and a scarf whose free ends fall near the feet, the *Yakṣa* looks like a dwarfish figure with hair combed backward. The right hand seems to have been held in *abhaya* while the left one is completely mutilated. The head is canopied by locks of hair dressed in cork-screw curls simulating a seven-hooded cobra.[44]

On the brackets of two pillars just in front of the door of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of MT are interesting images of *Yakṣas*. One of these, on the western side, shows the *Yakṣa* seated in *sukhāsana* on a dolphin on a lotus pedestal holding a bow in the left hand and an arrow (partially broken) in the right hand (*Pl. 145*). Three-hooded cobra canopies the head of the *Yakṣa* who is shown wearing *karṇa-kuṇḍalas, ekāvalī, keyūras, valayas* and an *adhovastra*. *Vyāla* figures are carved on either side and an *udgama* above. Indented Aśoka leaf is carved on the right hand top corner of the panel. Though the *Yakṣa* is only two-handed, yet the three-hooded snake, the vehicle and the extant attributes provide sufficient ground to identify the

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image as that of Pātāla *Yakṣa*. Independent images of Pātāla *Yakṣa* are very rare. The other bracket carries the figure of Brahma *Yakṣa* on a similar lotus-pedestal, adorned on the sides with *vyālas* and capped by an *udgama*, with analogous indented Aśoka leaf on the right hand top corner. The *Yakṣa* bears matted locks, ear-rings, pearl necklace, triple-stringed sacred thread, armlets, wristlets and an undergarment, holding a laddle in the right hand and a water-pot in the left, seated in *ardha-paryaṅkāsana* on a cushion having lotus-leaf decorations.

The *kumbha* on the southern *kapilā* of DK-1 shows *Yakṣa* Brahmaśānti in a framed niche.[45] The four-handed *Yakṣa* is bearded and pot-bellied having *jaṭābhara* (or *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa*) and usual ornaments. Seated in *sukhāsana*, he holds a laddle (or a noose ?) in the rear right hand. The front right and left are shown in *varada* with a rosary and holding a water-pot respectively. The back left hand is broken. A similar small figure occurs on the *kumbha* of the *vedībandha* of DK-4 also.[46]

Dhaky has noticed an unidentified *Yakṣa* on the eastern framed panel of the *bhadra* balcony of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, Varuṇa *Yakṣa* on the east and *Yakṣa* Sarvānubhūti on the north of the pediments of the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhacatuṣkī* of the MT.[47] These images are in an indifferent state of preservation and it is not easy to identify them with certitude.

Not unlike the Jina images, the representations of the *Yakṣas* at Osian are also not numerous. The figures which exist, do not, however, conform to the textual descriptions and show some interesting iconographical features and are hence important.

YAKṢĪS

The *Yakṣīs*, the consorts of *Yakṣas*, constitute a class of deified beings, representing probably the leaders of the women converts attending upon the *tīrthaṅkaras*[48]. They seem to have been endowed with semi-divine attributes and symbolism, based originally on Brāhmaṇical goddesses but in conformity with the character of their consorts as well as the semi-mythological incidents of the lives of the Jinas whom they serve as *śāsana-devīs* 'governing goddesses'.[49] We give (*vide* next pages), in tabular form, the characteristic traits of these *Śāsana-devīs*.

ŚRUTA—DEVĪ AND VIDYĀDEVĪS

Both the main sects of the Jainas admitted into their pantheon one Śruta-devī, i.e., Sarasvatī and sixteen *Mahāvidyās* or *Vidyādevīs*, the goddesses of learning, which "if analysed disclose clear points of identity in respect of names, attributes, etc. with those of the Jaina Yakṣiṇīs".[56] Their number sixteen, *prima facie*, leads one to infer that they represent the sixteen arts and sciences.[57]

Sarasvatī or *Śruta-Devī* :-rides a swan according to the Śvetāmbaras and a peacock according to the Digambara texts, and holds in her hands a lotus, book

Table : Jaina Yakṣīs

S.No.	Name	Vehicle	Śv. Attributes	Dig. Attributes	Acc. to *AP*[50]
	1	2	3	4	5
1.	Cakreśvarī or Apraticakrā*[51] (Śv.-8-handed Dig.-4 or 12 handed)	Garuḍa	1. *Varada* 2. arrow 3. disc 4. noose 5. bow 6. thunderbolt 7. disc 8. goad	1-8. Discs 9. citrus 10. *varada* 11-12. *vajras*	1. Citrus 2. *abhaya* (On Garuḍa or *padmāsana)*
2.	Ajitabalā (Śv.) Rohiṇī* (Dig.)	*Lohāsana* (Iron seat) Bull	1. *Varada* 2. noose 3. citron 4. goad	1. *Varada* 2. *abhaya* 3. conch 4. disc	Attributes : Dig. Seated on *Lohāsana* or riding a chariot
3.	Duritāri (Śv.) Prajñapti* (Dig.)	Ram Bird	1. *Varada* 2. rosary 3. fruit 4. *abhaya*	1. Axe 2. crescent 3. fruit 4. sword 5. *Iḍhi* ? 6. *varada*	Prajñāvatī, 6-armed 1. *Abhaya* 2. *varada* 3. fruit 4. crescent 5. axe 6. blue lotus
4.	Kālikā* (Śv.) Vajraśṛṅkhalā* (Dig.)	Lotus Swan	1. *varada* 2. noose 3. snake 4. goad	1. Snake 2. noose 3. rosary 4. fruit	As in Dig. tradition Naradattā
5.	Mahākālī (Śv.) Puruṣadattā* (Dig.)	Lotus Elephant	1. *Varada* 2. noose 3. citrus 4. goad	1. Disc 2. *vajra* 3. fruit 4. *varada*	Attributes as in Dig. tradition.

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S.No.	Name	Vehicle	Śv. Attributes	Dig. Attributes	Acc. to *AP*
1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	Śyāmā or Śyāmlā or Acyutā* (Śv.)	Man Horse	1. *Varada* 2. *vīṇā* 3. bow 4. *abhaya*	1. Sword 2. lance 3. fruit 4. *varada*	1. Thunderbolt 2. discus 3. fruit 4. *varada*
	Manovegā (Dig.)			1. Trident 2. fruit 3. *varada* 4. bell	1. *Triśūla* 2. noose 3. goad 4. bow 5. arrows 6. discus 7. *abhaya* 8. *varada* Vehicle=Buffalo
7.	Śāntā (Śv.) Kālī* (Dig.)	Elephant Bull	1. *Varada* 2. rosary 3. lance 4. *abhaya*		
8.	Bhṛkuṭi (Śv.) Jvālamālinī* (Dig.)	Cat or Swan Buffalo	1. Sword 2. club 3. spear 4. axe	1. Disc 2. arrow 3. noose 4. trident 5. sword 6. bow 7. shield 8. fish	1. Bell 2. trident 3. fruit 4. *varada* *Padmāsanā* or *Vṛṣārūḍhā*
9.	Sutārikā (Śv.) Mahākālī* (Dig.)	Bull Tortoise	1. *Varada* 2. rosary 3. urn 4. goad	1. *Vajra* 2. club 3. fruit 4. *varada*	1. *Vajra* 2. club 3. *varada* 4. *ābhaya*
10.	Aśokā (Śv.) Mānavī (Dig.)	Lotus Hog	1. *Varada* 2. noose 3. fruit 4. goad	1. Fruit 2. *varada* 3. bow 4. fish	1. noose 2. goad 3. fruit 4. *varada* Vehicle=Boar

S. No.	Name	Vehicle	Śv. Attributes	Dig. Attributes	Acc. to *AP*
1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	Mānavī* (Śv.) Gaurī* (Dig.)	Lion Antelope	1. *Varada* 2. club 3. urn 4. goad	1. Club 2. lotus 3. urn 4. *varada*	1. Noose 2. goad 3. lotus 4. *varada*
12.	Caṇḍā/Caṇḍī (Śv.) Gāndhārī* (Dig.)	Horse Crocodile	1. *Varada* 2. spear 3. flower 4. club	1. Club 2. lotus 3. lotus 4. *varada*	1. Lotus 2. fruit
13.	Viditā/Vijitā (Śv.) Vairoṭi* (Dig.)	Lotus Snake	1. Arrow 2. noose 3. bow 4. arrow	1. Snake 2. snake 3. bow 4. arrow	1. *Varada* 2. *varada* 3. sword 4. shield 5. bow 6. arrow Vehicle = *Vyomayāna*
14.	Aṅkuśā (Śv.) Anantamatī (Dig.)	Lotus Swan	1. Sword 2. noose 3. spear 4. goad	1. Bow 2. arrow 3. fruit 4. *varada*	
15.	Kandarpā/Ī (Śv.) Mānasī* (Dig.)	Horse/Fish Tiger	1. Lotus 2. goad 3. lotus 4. *abhaya*	1. Lotus 2. bow 3. *varada* 4. goad 5. arrow 6. lotus	1. Trident 2. noose 3. discus 4. dumb-bell 5. fruit 6. *varada*
16.	Nirvāṇī (Śv.) Mahāmānasī* (Dig.)	Lotus Peacock	1. Book 2. lotus 3. water-vessel 4. lotus-bud	1. Disc 2. fruit 3. sword? 4. *varada*	1. Arrow 2. bow 3. *vajra* 4. discus Vehicle = Garuḍa

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S. No.	Name	Vehicle	Śv. Attributes	Dig. Attributes	Acc. to *AP*
1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	Balā[52] (Śv,) Vijayā (Dig.)	Peacock Black boar	1. Citrus 2. spear 3. *bhuṣuṇḍi* 4. lotus	1. Conch 2. sword 3. discus 4. *varada*	1. *Vajra* 2. discus 3. noose 4. goad 5. fruit 6. *varāda* Name : Jayā
18.	Dhanā/Dhāriṇī (Śv.) Tārā/Ajitā (Dig.)	Lotus Swan	1. Citrus 2. lotus 3. lotus 4. rosary	1. Snake 2. *vajra* 3. deer 4. *varada*	1. *Vajra* 2. discus 3. fruit 4. snake Name : Vijayā
19.	Dhanapriyā[53] (Śv.) Aparājitā (Dig.)	Lotus Lion	1. *Varada* 2. rosary 3. citrus 4. *śakti*	1. Citrus 2. sword 3. shield 4. *varada*	1. Sword 2. shield 3. fruit 4. *varada* Vehicle=*aṣṭapadam śarabha*
20.	Naradattā[54] (Śv.) Bahurūpiṇī (Dig,)	(*Bhadrāsana*) Cobra	1. *Varada* 2. rosary 3. citrus 4, trident (or urn)	1. Shield 2. fruit 3. sword 4. *varada*	1. Sword 2. shield Name : Bahurūpā
21.	Gāndhārī*[55] (Śv.) Cāmuṇḍā (Dig.)	Swan Dolphin/Crocodile	1. *Varada* 2. sword 3. citron 4. spear	1. Rosary 2. staff 3. shield 4. sword	1. Trident 2. sword 3. mace 4. noose 5. *vajra* 6. discus 7. dumb-bell 8. rosary Vehicle—Monkey

S. No.	Name	Vehicle	Śv. Attributes	Dig. Attributes	Acc. to *AP*
1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	Ambikā (Śv.) Kuṣmāṇḍī (Dig,)	Lion „	1. Bunch of mangoes 2. noose 3. child 4. goad	1. Bunch of mangoes 2. child	1. Fruit 2. *varada* with child in lap
23.	Padmāvatī (Śv.) „ (Dig.) 4, 6, 8 and 24 handed	Snake/Cock „ „ Lotus seat	1. Lotus 2. noose 3. fruit 4. goad	1. Goad 2. rosary 3. lotus 4. lotus 1. Noose 2. sword 3. spear 4. crescent 5. club 6. staff	1. Noose 2. goad 3. lotus 4. Varada Vehicle=Cock or *Padmāsāna*
24.	Siddhāyikā (Śv.) „ (Dig.)	Lion „	1. Book 2. *abhaya* 3. citrus 4. *vīṇā*	1. *Varada* 2. book	1. Book 2. *abhaya* *Bhadrāsanā*

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and rosary with one hand disposed in *varada* pose. Sometimes a lute is also shown as one of her attributes. As such, she characterises the traits of the Brāhmaṇical deity Brahmā.[58] Sarasvatī is one of the most popular deities of Jaina art as well as literature.

The iconographic traits and features of sixteen *Vidyādevīs*[59] are presented on the following pages in a tabular form.

Because of the congruency and variations of the names, forms, vehicles and attributes of the *Yakṣīs* and *Vidyādevīs* according to the Śvetāmbara and Digambara traditions and the freedom and fancies of the carvers, it is not always possibly to differentiate a *Yakṣī* from the *Vidyādevī* of the same name or sometimes even to identify satisfactorly the small figures with some hands broken and attributes missing. So an account of the images of *Śrutadevī*, *Vidyādevīs* and *Yakṣiṇīs* as found at Osian is presented below undifferentiated by separate captions and transgressing their fixed order.

A beautiful image of Sarasvatī (*Pl. 146*) is placed in the niche on the left front of the *jaṅghā* of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of MT. The *Śrutadevī* stands in *dvibhaṅga* on a lotus seat bearing a diadem with a jewel in the centre, ear ornaments, a double-stringed pearl necklace with a string hanging down from between the breasts and the circular pendant on its end placed on the left side of the belly above the navel. Armlets, wristlets, anklets, girdle securing the diaphanous *sārī* and a long scarf with its free ends falling from the arms almost vertically on the proper right and with some bends on the left provide an intermediate relief plane and accentuate the modelled volume of the figure. The goddess holds a blossomed lotus in her right hand near the shoulder and a book in the left. The blank space is filled with indented Aśoka leaves and a bud. The bust is not as massive and robust as the lower half of the body. The mount of Venus is quite prominent.

An image of Vāgdevī seated in *sukhāsana* on a lotus seat borne by two swans, exists on the north face of the western *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT. The *Śāsanadevī* wears usual ornaments and holds a lotus in the right hand and a book in the left. A standing image of Sarasvatī exists in each of the two *kapilī* faces of DK-5, in a specially designed niche crowned by a tiered pediment in lieu of the normal *udgama*. The image on the southern face is two-handed, showing the *Vidyādevī* standing in *ābhaṅga*, wearing usual ornaments, holding a lotus with a very long stalk in the right hand and book in the left. A lotus bud with a long stem is carved on her proper left also. The image on the northern face depicts the *Vidyādevī* as standing in *samabhaṅga*, wearing all ornaments and a *vanamālā*, holding a lotus and a book in the rear right and left hands, a *kamaṇḍalu* in the lower left while the normal right hand is disposed in *varada* pose with a rosary on the palm. Miniature adoring figures exist on either side near the feet. The *kumbha* of DK-2 and *kapilī* of the southern wall of DK-4 also contain niched mages of Sarsvatī. The latter shows the Vāgdevī standing in *tribhaṅga*, holding a lotus and a book in the rear hands, front hands being broken. The workmanship of this, as also of all other images of DK-4 is, however, very poor.

Table : Jaina *Vidyādevīs*

S. No.	Name	Vehicle	Śv. Attributes	Dig. Attributes	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Rohiṇī	Cow (Śv)	1. Conch 2. rosary 3. bow 4. arrow	1. Urn 2. conch 3. lotus 4. fruit	Presiding deity of art and music (Śv.). Grants insight (Dig.).
2.	Prajñapati	Peacock (Śv.)	1. Lotus 2. *śakti* or 1. *Varada* 2. *śakti* 3. citrus 4. *śakti*	1. Sword 2. disc	
3.	Vajraśṛṅkhalā	Lotus (Śv.)	1. Chain 2. club or 1. *Varada* 2. chain 3. lotus 4. chain	1. chain	Grants good boons and habits to worshippers (Dig.)
4.	Vajrāṅkuśā	Elephant (Śv.)	1. Sword 2. *vajra* 3. shield 4. spear or	1. Goad 2. lute	
		Aerial Car (Dig.)	1. *varada* 2. *vajra* 3. citrus 4. goad		
5.	Apraticakrā (Śv.) Jambunadā (Dig.)	Garuḍa (Śv.) Peacock (Dig.)	1-4. discs	1. Sword 2. spear	Cf. Vaiṣṇavī Cf. Kaumārī

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S. No.	Name	Vehicle	Śv. Attributes	Dig. Attributes	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	Puruṣadattā/ Naradattā	Buffalo (Śv.) Peacock (Dig.)	1. Sword 2. shield or 1. *Varada* 2. sword 3. citrus 4. shield	1. *Vajra* 2. lotus	
7.	Kālī	Lotus (Śv.) Deer (Dig.)	1. Club 2. *varada* or 1. Rosary 2. club 3. *vajra* 4. *abhaya*	1. Staff 2. sword	
8.	Mahākālī	Man (Śv.) Corpse (Dig.)	1. Rosary 2. fruit 3. bell 4. *varada* or 1. Rosary 2. *vajra* 3. *abhaya* 4. bell	1. Bow 2. sword 3. fruit 4. weapon	Cf. Kālī
9.	Gaurī	Alligator	1. *Varada* 2. club 3. rosary 4. water-lity	1. Lotus	Cf. Gaurī (Durgā) and Gaṅgā
10.	Gāndhārī	Lotus (Śv.) Tortoise (Dig.)	1. Staff 2. *vajra* or 1. *Varada* 2. staff 3. *abhaya* 4. *vajra*	1. Disc 2. sword	Cf. Saraswatī Cf. Yamunā

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S. No.	Name	Vehicle	Śv. Attributes	Dig· Attributes	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	Mahājvālā or Jvālāmālinī	Cat/Boar (Śv.) Buffalo	Many weapons	1. Bow 2. shield 3. sword 4. disc	Cf. Ṣaṣṭhī Cf. Yamī
12.	Mānavī	Lotus/Blue-lotus/ Twig/Hog[60] (Śv.)	1. *Varada* 2. rosary 3. bough of a tree 4.x or 1. Fish 2. trident	1. Trident 2. x	
		Boar (Dig.)			Cf. Vārāhī
13.	Vairoṭī	Snake (Śv.) Lion (Dig.)	1. Sword 2. snake 3. shield 4. snake	1. Snake 2. x	
14.	Acyuptā/Acchuptā	Horse (Śv.)	1. Bow 2. sword 3. shield 4. arrow	1. Sword 2. x	
15.	Mānasī	Swan/Lion (Śv.)	1. *Varada* 2. *vajra* or		Cf. Vāgīśvarī Cf. Manasā
		Snake (Dig.)	1. *Varada* 2. *vajra* 3. rosary 4. *vajra*		
16.	Mahāmānasī	Lion (Śv.) Swan (Dig.)	1. *Varada* 2. sword 3. *kamaṇḍalu* 4. lance	1. Rosary 2. *varada* 3. goad 4. garland	Cf. Vāgīśvarī

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On the other side of the entrance of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* are the figures of similarly carved Acchuptā and Apraticakrā. In dress, ornamentation and style, they are almost identical and seem to have been carved by the same craftsman who prepared the image of *Śrutadevī* described above. Acchuptā (*Pl.147*) is shown as standing with slight bend in the body, holding a sword and a shield in her rear hands and a bow and arrow in the front ones, partly damaged. A horse to left is carved behind the legs of the *Vidyādevī*. The head of the horse is broken.[61]

Cakreśvarī (Apraticakrā)[62] in the adjacent niche on the same wall, is a finely excuted image (*Pl. 148*). It has got a discus each in all the four hands. Interestingly enough, the wheels held in the right hands are ten-spoked and comparatively smaller in size. All the four wheels are carved flat but the style of holding them differs in each case. The girdle at the waist shows *urudāma* and *muktadāma* only on the right thigh unlike those in the preceding images which are more elaborate. The vehicle of the *Śāṣanadevī* is standing on her left side wearing cork-screwed raised curls adorned with a jewel in the centre on the combed hair, ear-rings, pearl necklace, bracelets, lower garment and an upper garment, holding a flower in the right hand near the chest and the left hand *kaṭyavalambita*. Wings are also shown at the back of Garuḍa. It is an image of great charm and rare beauty.[63] It corresponds excactly with the description of the *Śāsanadevī* as given in the Śvetāmbara Jaina texts.[64]

This is a rare image of standing Cakreśvarī holding discs in all the four hands, with an anthropomorphic winged figure of Garuḍa beside her. Cakreśvarī with discs in all the four hands but seated in *lalitāsana* on an anthropomorphic Garuḍa is depicted on the north face of the western *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT also.[65] A similar figure is carved on the topmost panel of the *rūpastambha* of the proper right side of the doorway of DK-1.

A four-armed Cakreśvarī standing in *dvibhaṅga* can be seen on the north wall of DK-4 (*Pl. 149*). Bearing a *karaṇḍamukuṭa* with a central jewel on the head and wearing *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, *graiveyaka*, *stana-hāra*, *aṅgadas*, *valayas*, *nūpuras*, an elaborate *kaṭisūtra*, securing the lower garment and a *vanamālā*, she holds the discs from the fillets issuing forth from their hubs in the rear hands, the front right hand is held in *varada* pose with a rosary on the palm and the normal left hand holds a *kamaṇḍalu*. A miniature slightly damaged seated figure in *añjali-mudrā* may be that of Garuḍa. A similar image of Cakreśverī is known from Kumbharia also.[66]

The small *rathikā* on the *kumbha* of the *kapilī* on the northern wall of DK-1 harbours an image of Cakreśvarī seated in *lalitāsana* on a flying anthropomorphic Garuḍa. She holds two discs in her two hands. Very small panels depicting Cakreśvarī seated in *sukhāsana*, holding discs in two hands and *varada* and pot in other two, can be seen on the *kumbha* of DK-2 and 4, *rūpastambha* of DK-2 and *uttaraṅga* of DK-3 and 4 also.

Rohiṇī is represented on the west face of the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT. The *Vidyādevi* sits in *sukhāsana* on a lotus-cushion, wears usual ornaments and holds an arrow and a bow in the rear hands, a rosary in the normal right and

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a conch in the normal left hand. Cow, the vehicle, stands to left on the proper right of the *Śāsanadevī*. Indented Aśoka leaves have also been carved on the top corners. The image conforms fully to the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition.

Rohiṇī seems to have been one of the most popular *Vidyādevī* and *Yakṣī* at Osian. Her images can be seen in the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of the MT; *kumbha* of DK-1, 3 and 4; *ṛūpastambha* of DK-3 and 4; *uttaraṅga* of DK-2, 3 and 4.

Prajñapti appears in very small panels on the *kumbha* of DK-4; *rūpastambha* of DK-2 and 3. She sits in *sukhāsana* riding on a peacock, holding a lotus and a lance (*śakti*) according to the Śvetāmbara tradition.

Vajraśṛṅkhalā is represented on the west face of the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT. Wearing usual ornaments she sits in *sukhāsana* on a lotus seat under which are carved two small birds, probably swans. The *Śāsanadevi* holds a chain in her right hand and a noose or a like object in the other. The depiction seems to be a combination of her *Yakṣī* and *Vidyādevī* forms. She is depicted on the *kumbha* of DK-2, 3 and 4 and *rūpastambha* of all the first four *Devakulikās* also.

Vajrāṅkuśī appears in small panels in *sukhāsana* on the *kumbha* of the DK-3 and *rūpastambha* of DK-1, 2 and 4 as well as the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT. In the last one, she is shown as seated in *lalitāsana* on a couchant elephant to right. She holds a *vajra* in her right hand and an unidentifiable object in the left hand.

Puruṣadattā (Naradattā) is scentily represented at Osian on the *kumbha* of DK-2 and 3, *uttaraṅga* of DK-1 and the *phāṁsaṇa* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT. The last representation, though mutilated, is a beautiful piece of art showing the *Śāsanadevī* seated in *lalitāsana* on her vehicle buffalo, couchant, to right. The preserved right hand holds the sword vertically. A shield in the opposite hand can be presumed. On the *uttaraṅga* of DK-1, Puruṣadattā, seated in *lalitāsana*, holds the sword and the scutum in her right and left hands.

A mutilated figure seated on a lotus in *sukhāsana*, holding a sword in the left hand, has been identified by Dhaky[67] as Kālī. It exists on the east face of the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT, flanking Mahāmānasī on her right. Two small birds (swans?) appear back to back under the lotus-seat. Kālī has been identified on the *rūpastambha* and *uttaraṅga* of DK-1 also.[68]

Mahāvidyā Mahākālī appears on the north face of the western *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT. She rides a man and holds a *vajra* and a bell in the extant normal right and left hands. The rear left hand shows a long object which being mutilated cannot be properly identified. The head of the *Vidyādevi* is also mutilated. When complete, it would have been a very fine piece of art. Mahākālī is depicted on the *kumbha* of DK-2 and 4 and *uttraṅga* of the former also.

Flanking Vairoṭyā on the right hand side on the *phāṁsana* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT is Gaurī (*Pl. 150*) seated in *sukhāsana* on a lotus-pedestal placed on an alligator to right with tail curled and head retrorse. The *Vidyādevi* holds a lotus

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in the right and a citrus (or fruit?) in the left. She appears seated similarly in the small panels on the *kumbha* of DK-3 and *uttaraṅga* of DK-1.

Gāndhārī finds place only on the *kumbha* of DK-3 and *uttaraṅga* of DK-1. The latter is an exquisite panel showing the *Vidyādevī* seated on a cushion bearing two lotuses on its face and holding a *vajra* in the right hand and a staff in the left, corresponding exactly to the Śvetāmbara tradition.

Jvālāmālinī has not been identified anywhere but Mānavī is represented on the west face of the western *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT, *kumbha* of DK-4 and *uttaraṅga* of DK-3. Seated in *sukhāsana* on a lotus, she generally holds a bough in one of her hands.

A beautiful image of Vairoṭī (*Pl. 146*) exists in the central panel on the north face of the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT. The *Vidyādevī* is shown as seated in *sukhāsana* on the coils of two serpents whose anthropomorphic upper halves canopied by serpent-hoods are depicted in adoration on the sides. She holds two cobras in her rear hands, a sword and a scutcheon in the front right and left respectively. The image thus corresponds to her description as given in the *Nirvāṇakalikā*.[69]

A similar image exists in the perambulatory of the MT also. A small panel, second from the top on the proper left hand side of the *rūpastambha* of DK-1, shows Vairoṭyā seated in *sukhāsana* on a snake, holding a snake each in her rear hands, the front ones symbolised by *varada* and pot (?). Similar small images can be seen on the *kumbha rathikās* of DK-1, 2 and 4 and *rūpastambha* panels of DK-2, 3 and 4 also.

Mānasī, flanking Vairoṭyā on the proper left, on the north face of the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT, sits on a swan to left, with retrorse head, in *lalitāsana*, holding a *vajra* in the right hand and a citrus (?) in the left hand (*Pl. 146*). Mānasī appears on the *kumbha* of DK-4 and *rūpastambha* panels of DK-3 and 4 also.

An exquisite image of Mahāmānasī, the sixteenth *Vidyādevī*, can be seen in the central panel on the eastern face of the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the MT. She sits in *lalitāsana* on the lion to right, holding a sword and a scutcheon in the rear hands, *kuṇḍikā* in the normal left, the corresponding right being disposed in *abhaya-mudrā*. Another of her important image exists in the perambulatory of the MT while the small panels of the *kumbha* of DK-3 and 4 and *uttaraṅga* of DK-2 and 3 also contain her images in *sukhāsana*.

Amongst the important *Yakṣiṇīs* depicted at Osian, besides those which have been described and referred to above, are Nirvāṇī, Ambikā and Padmāvatī. The first one, represented as seated on a lotus and holding a book, lotus, *kamaṇḍalu* and a lotus-bud in the Śvetāmbara Jaina tradition, exists in a niche of the perambulatory of the MT and the small *rūpastambha* panels of DK-2 and 3. Ambikā appears on the north face of the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of MT, on the *karṇa-rathikā* of the *kumbha* of DK-1 and 2. The first mentioned image shows the *Yakṣiṇī* seated in *sukhāsana* on a couchant lion to right. The face of the lion

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as well as the left leg of the *śāsanadevī* is mutilated. A small child is seated on her left lap. She holds a mango in her rear right hand. The other hands are mutilated. On DK-1, she is shown as seated in *lalitāsana* on her vehicle lion to right, holding a bunch of mangoes in the right hand and supporting a child with the left. The image on DK-2 is also similar.

Padmāvatī as the *Yakṣiṇī* of the twenty-third *tīrthaṅkara* is represented beautifully on both the extremes of the architrave of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of the MT which harbours an image of Pārśvanātha in its central panel. Both the representations of Padmāvatī are almost similar, showing the *Yakṣiṇī*, standing in *tribhaṅga* on a lotus pedestal. She wears besides the usual ornaments a *vanamālā* also. A multi-hooded cobra canopies her head. She holds a lotus with a long stalk in her right hand and the left, in both the representations, is broken. On her proper right appears a small male figure seated with right foot placed on the knee of the left leg which hangs down. He is placing both his hands on the upper end of a staff which rests on the ground from between his legs. A male in a dancing pose in one case and saluting female in the other are shown near the left leg. Female fanners appear on the receding offsets on either side surmounted by *udgama* motifs, *gaja-śārdūlas* and garland-bearing *vidyādharas* on the top.

Amongst the unidentified *Yakṣīs* we have one with a lion as her vehicle in the central panel of the *siṁhakarṇa* on the east, two *Yakṣīs* flanking *Mahāvidyā* Mānavī on either side on the west face of the *phāṁsanā* of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*, niched figures of the pairs of *Yakṣa* and *Yakṣī* on the front of the *karṇa-kumbha* of the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa* of the MT and some small figures on the *kumbha* mouldings and elsewhere on the *Devakulikās*.

JĪVANTASVĀMI

Jīvantasvāmi or Jīvitasvāmi is the term applied to an image of Mahāvīra in his palace wearing ornaments befitting a prince, fashioned in his life-time before his renunciation. The credit of bringing to light the first image of Jīvantasvāmi goes to U.P. Shah who discovered a big hoard of Jaina bronzes from Aṅkoṭṭaka (Akoṭā) near Baroda and published an inscribed image therefrom.[70] The inscription on the pedestal in Valabhī characters, was ascribed by Shah to *circa* middle sixth century A.D.[71] This hoard also contained 'another bronze of the same iconographic type, more beautiful and older, but with the pedestal lost'.[72]

Some ancient texts like the *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī*[73] (4th-5th century A.D.), *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*[74] (*c.* 6th century A.D.) and its *Ṭīkā*,[75] *Āvāśyaka-Cūrṇi*[76] (7th century A.D.) and *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita*[77] of Hemacandra furnish ample evidence regarding the tradition of the worship of Jīvantasvāmi's images at various places.

Shah also published a ninth century bronze from Jodhpur and two eleventh century stone images of Jīvantasvāmi from Sirohi in Rajasthan.[78] Later, R.C. Agrawal brought to light a very beautiful life-size statue of Jīvantasvāmi, belonging to the medieval period, from Khinvsar in district Nagpur, Rajasthan.[79] Till date, the number of Jīvantasvāmi images is very limited and any new discovery is being looked forward. The ornate *toraṇa* which originally stood before the MT, and is now preserved in the store of the said temple in pieces, shows the Jīvantasvāmi images

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carved on them in cardinal directions. All the eight images are identical. Each figure is shown as standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* in a small beautiful pillared niche. Jīvantasvāmi wears a conical crown (*mukuṭa*), necklet (*graiveyaka*), pearl necklace (*mauktika-mālā*), ear-ornaments (*karṇa-kuṇḍalas*), armlets (*keyūras*), bracelets, anklets, etc. The nether garment is held by a girdle whose *ūrujālaka* and pendants adorn the thighs. A lozenge shaped *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest and the *vanamālā* wrapped around the arms and hanging down below the knees add further grace to the images. On either side near the feet stand flywhiskers or acolytes in exquisite *kaṭyavalambita* poses with beautifully carved sinuous creepers rising above from behind. These figures can be precisely dated to A.D. 978 as the *toraṇa*, on whose *stambhas* they have been carved, was set up in V.S. 1035. DK-1 has got almost similar images of Jīvantasvāmi standing in the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* on full-blown lotuses in pillared *kapilī* niches on its northern and southern walls. Slightly later than these but more exquisitely carved identical figure exists in a similar niche in the south-eastern corner of DK-2.

Two life-size images of Jīvantasvāmi obtained from MT, are now exhibited in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.[80] One of them, though broken in the middle, with two arms which hung vertically in the *kāyotsarga* pose and two panels of miniature Jina figures near the shoulders lost, preserves all the essential details. The figure is carved on a *sapta-ratha* pedestal. Jīvantasvāmi wears all usual ornaments including the *vanamālā* and the *śrīvatsa* mark. Near the feet on either side are carved three figures in beautiful postures and habiliments. The central figure on each side is that of a female. Just above these figures and near the knees of Jīvantsvāmi are horizontal panels showing three miniature seated Jina images in meditating poses, surmounted by three vertical panels on both the sides showing miniature Jina figure in the *kāyotsarga* pose. These Jina figures are depicted as wearing nether garments. The stele near the shoulders of the main image show garland-bearing flying *vidyādhara* couples. Above them are shown two elephants, one on either side.[81] There are faint traces of conch-blowing figures also near the top. Jīvantasvāmi is shown with a lotus-petalled halo behind the head and standing under a trefoil umbrella. Branches of a stylized *caitya*-tree are also visible on either side of the head. A notable feature of the image is the lock of hair falling on the shoulders.[82] An inscription on the pedestal of this image tells us that it was established by some Sūri in in V.S. 1044 (=A.D. 987). The other image is also inscribed and similar. That they represent the sons of Nābhi and Siddhārtha, i.e., Ṛṣabhanātha and Mahāvīra, is evident from the inscription on the former.

Two other life-size and almost exactly similar icons carved probably by the same sculptor are still lying unnoticed in a gloomy cell of the MT. (*Pl. 151*)

Besides Gujarat and Rajasthan, surprisingly enough, few images of Jīvantasvāmi are known from other parts of India. These precisely dated images of Jīvantasvāmi from Osian, taken alongwith the already published ones from west Rajasthan, prove beyond doubt the popularity of Jīvantasvāmi worship in the Marwar region during 9th-12th centuries A.D. Sociologically, these sculptures seems to be the artistic expression of the affluent Oswal community of western Rajasthan during the medieval period.

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The *dikpālas* in the *karṇa-rathikās* and *apasarases* on the *pratirathas* and *salilāntaras* appearing on the MT and its *Devakulikās* do not differ from their Brāhmaṇical counterparts on Hindu temples. *Vyālas* have also been represented in the *salilāntaras* of DK-5. More important than these, however, are the *Jina-kalyāṇakas* and incidences and scenes related to the birth, activities, marriage etc. of the Jinas, depicted on the *narapīṭhas* of DK-1 and 3 in particular. The dream of Triśalā, birth of Mahāvīra,[83] his *abhiṣeka* on Meru by Indra etc.[84] on DK-1 (*Pl. 22*) and the marriage procession of Neminātha on DK-3 are of special interest.

HINDU DEITIES IN THE JAINA FOLD

From the foregoing, it is clear that some popular beliefs and divinities of the Hindus were assimilated by the Jainas. The very idea of the *Yakṣas* as a class existed in Hindu popular belief and literature even before the rise of Jainism[85]. The *Yakṣas*, regarded as the presiding spirits over wealth in Indian tradition, headed by Kubera, their king, represented in early Hindu literature as the treasurer of Śiva naturally endeared themselves to the Jainas who represent a mercantile class[86]. Similarly the *Yakṣiṇīs* like Cakreśvarī, Nirvāṇī and Ambikā 'betray unmistakable original ideas of personalities fused with those of older Brāhmaṇic goddesses'[87]. The *Śrutadevī* Sarsvati and the *Vidyādevīs* also 'share in a great measure forms of Brāhmaṇic female deities'[88]. The concept of the *Dikpālas* or the *Lokapālas*, too, is common to both Hinduism and Jainism. The depiction of their spouses, however, may have been a Jaina innovation though even in this case Śacī, Brahmāṇī, Yamī, Vāruṇi, Umā etc. may be cited as Hindu parallels. The Jainas adopted from Hinduism the concepts of *Navagharas*, *apasarases*, *gandharvas*, *vidyādharas*, etc. also.

Gaṇeśa as the god of success and Lakṣmī as the goddess of wealth naturally got assimilated into Jainism. Not only that, some ferocious divinities like Kṣetra-pāla and Mahiṣamardinī and the Tāntric Yoginīs too made their way into the Jaina pantheon as a result of the *en masse* conversion to Jainism of the people who used to worship them popularly and could not completely dissociate themselves from their past beliefs. The worship of *Nāgas* as the *adhiṣṭhātṛ-devatās* in the MT betrays influence of a *Nāga* under current in Jainism.

Jainism thus seems to have been influenced by Hinduism in particular as also by contemporary popular beliefs and religious and folk undercurrents.

REFERENCES

1. Hiralal Jain, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti meṁ Jaina Dharma kā Yogadāna*, Bhopal, 1962, pp. 1 ff. Cf. J. R. Furlong, *Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions*, pp. 13 ff.
2. *JI*, p. xi.
3. *JAA*, I. p. 16; Rhys Davids, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th ed., Vol. XII, p. 543.
4. Some scholars favour 467 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*,
5. *JAA*, I. p. 17.

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6. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
8. Vincent A. Smith, *The Jaina Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, Allahabad, 1901.
9. *JAA*, I. p. 29 Dr. M.N.P. Tiwari *Jaina Pratimā-vijñāna* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1981, pp. 24 ff.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 30. See also K.C. Jain, *Jainism in Rajasthan*, Sholapur, 1963.
11. U.P. Shah, "Age of Differenciation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara Images and the Earliest Known Śvetambara Bronzes," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, Bombay, No. 1 (1950-51), pp. 34 ff; Buddha Prakash, "The Genesis of Digambara-Śvetāmbara Split", in *Mahāvīra And His Teachings* (ed. Dr. A.N. Upadhye *et al*) Bombay, 1977, pp. 271-85.
12. S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, Poona, 1956, pp. 80 ff.
13. It is described as 'the standing posture with feet at a distance of about two inches from each other, the hands resting naturally by the sides, but not so as to touch the body' (*JI*, pp. 139-140). It is enjoined that Ajitanātha, Sambhavanātha and Abhinandana should be especially sculptured in this posture.
14. It has been prescribed for Mahāvīra, Ṛṣabha and Neminātha : "*Vīraḥ Ṛṣabhaḥ Nemiḥ eteśāṁ Jinānāṁ paryaṅkasanam / Śeṣa Jinānāmutsargāsanam /*"
15. *Sarvatobhadra* (four-fold) *tīrthaṅkara* images were also carved. They started during the late Kuṣāṇa period.
16. *JAA*, I, pp. 114-16.
17. *BS*, LVII. 45 :
    Ājānulambabāhuḥ śrīvatsāṅkaḥ praśāntamūrtiśca /
    Digvāsastaruṇo rūpavāṁśca kāryyo'rhatāṁ devaḥ //
18. *Aśokavṛkṣaḥ surapuṣpavṛṣṭirdivyadhvaniścāmaramāsanañca /*
    Bhāmaṇḍalaṁ dundubhirātapatraṁ satprātihāryani Jineśvaraṇām //
    As quoted by D.R.Bhandarkar, "Jaina Iconography", *IA*, 1911. Cf. *JI*, p. 20, fn. 1—
    Divyataruḥ surapuṣpavṛṣṭirdundubhirāsana yojanaghoṣau /
    Ātapavāraṇacāmarayugme yasya vibhāti ca maṇḍalatejaḥ //
    See also *RM*, VI. 33-34.
19. *AP* (221,8) mentions '*Kapayaḥ*'
20. Also Bhadrikāpura and Bhadillapura.
21. Male according to the Digambaras and female according to the Svetāmbara tradition.
22. *UGP*, p. 2255.
23. The marble image of Ṛṣabhanātha enshrined in this very temple also bears such marks on the shoulders, arms, knees etc.
24. *JI*, pp. 65-67.
25. Cf. *AP*, 221, 45—
    Mayūrasthastrinetraśca trivaktraḥ śyāmavarṇakaḥ /
    Pārśvākṣagadācakraśaṅkhavaraśca ṣaḍbhujaḥ //
26. Not specified.
27. *AP*, 221, 47—
    Kusumākhyo gadākṣau ca dvibhujo mṛgasthitaḥ /
28. Cf. *Ibid.*—
    Mātaṅgaḥ syādgadāpāśau dvibhujo meṣavāhanaḥ /
29. Cf. *Ibid.*, 221, 48—
    Paraśupāśabhayavaraḥ kapote Vijayaḥ sthitaḥ /
30. Cf. *Ibid.*, 221, 49—
    Pāśāṅkuśābhaya-varā Brahmā syāddahaṁsavāhanaḥ /
31. Cf. *Ibid.*, 221, 50—
    Dhanurbāṇaphalavaraḥ Kumāraḥ śikhivāhanaḥ /
32. Cf. *Ibid.*
    Ṣaṇmukhaḥ ṣaḍbhujo vajro dhanurbāṇau phalaṁ varaḥ //
33. Cf. *Ibid.*, 221. 51—
    Pāśālaśca vajrāṅkuśau dhanurbāṇau phalaṃ varaḥ /

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34. Cf. *Ibid.*
Kinnareśaḥ pāśāṅkuśau dhanurbāṇau phalaṁ varaḥ ||
35. Cf. *Ibid.*, 221. 52—
Pāśāṅkuśaphalavarā Garuḍaḥ syācchukāsanaḥ |
36. Hemacandra mentions elephant as the vehicle of Garuḍa.
37. Cf. *AP*, 221. 52—
Padmābhayaphalavarā Gandharvaḥ syācchukāsanah ||
38. Cf. *Ibid.*, 221. 53—
Yakṣeṭ kharastho vajrāri dhanurbāṇāḥ phalaṁ varaḥ |
39. Cf. *Ibid.*
Pāśāṅkuśaphalavarā Dhaneṭ siṁhe caturmukhaḥ ||
40. Cf. *Ibid.*, 221.54—
Pāśāṅkuśadhanurvāṇasarpavajra hypāṁpatiḥ |
41. Cf. *Ibid.*—
Śūlaśaktivajrakheṭā ? ḍamarurbhṛkuṭistathā ||
42. Cf. *Ibid.*, 221. 55—
Pārśvo dhanurbāṇa bhṛṇḍimudgaraśca phalaṁ varaḥ |
Sarparūpaḥ śyāmavarṇaḥ kartavyaḥ śāntimicchitā ||
43. Cf. *Ibid.*, 221.56—
Phalaṁ varo'tha dvibhujo Mātaṅgo hastisaṁsthitaḥ |
44. Cf. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 315.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 319. Asha Kalia (*AOT*, p. 148) has noticed a small figure of a swan also in the relief.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 322.
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.
48. *JI*, p. 86.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *AP* generally agrees with Digambara tradition. When, however, it varies, the details are given under this column.
51. *Yakṣīs* with asterik mark also appear in the list of Jaina *Vidyādevīs*.
52. *RM* (VI. 16) names her as Balā.
53. *RM* (*Ibid.*) names her as Dharaṇa(ā) priyā.
54. Nādaraktā according to *RM* (*Ibid.*).
55. Gandharvā according to the same text (*Ibid.*).
56. *JI*, p. 122.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-23. For the most exhaustive treatment see U.P. Shah, "Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās" *JISOA*, Vol. XV (1947), pp. 114-77.
58. *JI.*, p. 123.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 122-32; *JISAO*, XV, pp. 114-77.
60. "*Mānavī kekikaṇṭhanīlā kiṭisthā sajhaṣatriśūlā*" *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* as quoted in *JI*, p. 130, fn. 3.
61. Small images of Acchuptā exist on the *kumbha* and *rūpastambha* of DK-1; *kumbha*, *rūpastambha* and *uttaraṅga* of DK-2; *rūpastambha* of DK-3 and *kumbha* and *rūpastambha* of DK-4.
62. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 315. B.N. Sharma has named her as Cakreśvarī (*RL*, *op. cit*, pp. 100-101, Pl. VII).
63. *RL*, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
64. *Mantrādhirāja-Kalpa*, III.7 :
Yā bhinnavarṇā naravāhanasthā
bhujaiścaturbhirdhṛtabhavyacakrā |
Vibhūṣaṇālaṅkṛtadehabhāgā
Cakreśvarī no duritāni hantu ||
See also *JI*, p. 126; *JOI*, Vol. XX, No. 3, pp. 280-313.
65. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 316; *JOI*, XX(3), p. 281, fig 4.

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66. *JOI*, XX(3), p. 284, fig. 11. U.P.Shah (*Ibid.*) was doubtful whether this form represents Cakreśvarī as *Yakṣiṇī* or as *Vidyādevī*. Since we do not have the *Yakṣiṇī* images on the *jaṅghā* of DK-4, we regard the images as those of the *Vidyādevī* Cakreśvarī.
67. Dhaky (1968), *op. cit.*, p. 317.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 320.
69. Cf. *Nirvāṇakalikā* as quoted in *JI*, p. 130, fn. 4—
Vairoṭīṁ śyāmavarṇāmajagaravāhanāṁ caturbhujāṁ
khaḍgorgālaṁkṛtadakṣiṇakarāṁ kheṭakāhiyutavāma karām |
70. U.P. Shah, "A Note on Akoṭā Hoard of Jaina Bronzes" in *Baroda Through the Ages*, Appendix IV, pp. 97 ff. & *Akoṭā Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959.
71. *JOI*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 72-79, figs. 1-4 and *Ibid.*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 358-68.
72. Shah (1955), *op. cit.*, p. 4, figs. 20-21.
73. *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* ed. by Muni Chaturvijaya and Puṇyavijaya, Bhavanagar, 1930, p. 61.
74. *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya* III. 3277.
75. Muni Kalyanavijaya, "Vīra-Nirvāṇa-Saṁvat aura Jaina Kāla-gaṇanā", *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Varanasi, Vol. X (Year 1930).
Vasudeva-hiṇḍī and Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya refers to Jīvantasvāmi's image at Ujjain and the commentary on the latter gives an exhaustive account of the conversion of Aśoka Maurya's scion Samprati to Jainism by Ārya Suhastin at the time of the *ratha-yātrā-utsava* of this image, at Ujjain.
76. *Āvośyaka-Curṇi* (Ratlam, 1923, I, pp. 397-401) refers to the Jivantasvāmi sandalwood image of Mahāvira as being worshipped by the queen of king Uddāyana of Vitabhayapaṭṭana in Sindhu-Sauvira. Later, this image was carried off to Vidiśā by king Pradyota of Avanti and continued in worship. Pradyota, however, had deposited its replica at Vītabhayapaṭṭana before taking away the original.
77. The great Jaina scholiast and monk Hemacandra tells us in his *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita* (*Parvan* X, *sarga* 11, *vv.* 604 ff.) that the original image of Vidiśā later came to be worshipped as Bhāillasvāmin while the replica at Vītabhayapaṭṭana was buried in a sandstorm which destroyed the city also. Later, the latter was got dug out by the Cālukyan king Kumārapāla and installed in a new shrine at Patan (*Ibid.*, *Sarga* 12, *vv.* 36-93).
According to A. Ghosh (*JAA*,I,p.4), the legend of the queen of Uddāyana of Vitabhayapaṭṭana worshipping a sandalwood statue of Mahāvira has its counterpart in the legend of Buddha's contemporary king Udayana of Kauśāmbī having installed an image of Buddha carved out of the same material and does not, therefore, establish beyond doubt the practice of the prevalence of the worship of life-time images of the pontiff.
78. U.P.Shah, "Some more images of Jivantasvāmi", *Journal of Indian Museum*, Bombay, Vol. XI, 1955, pp. 49 ff., Pl. XVII.
79. R.C. Agrawal, "An Image of Jīvantasvāmi From Rajasthan," *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XXII, Pts. 1-2, pp. 32-34 and fig.
80. These images were acquired by the Museum authorities on the occassion of the 2500th *Nirvāṇa* Anniversary of *tīrthaṅkara* Mahāvira.
81. The elephant on the proper left is slightly damaged and looks like a bull. The corpulent body and heavy legs of the animal, however, leave little doubt in taking it to be an elephant.
82. This feature is visible on the Khinvsar and Akoṭā bronze images also.
83. Jyotindra Jain and Eberhard Fischer, *Jaina Iconography*, Part I, Leiden, 1978, p. 23 and Pl.X.a. Dr. M.N.P. Tiwari has tried to identify the scenes on DK-1 as related to the life of Ṛṣabhanātha on the basis of a frieze which shows the dance of Nilāñjanā. According to him the new-born baby (Ṛṣabha) and his mother, with goat-headed Naigameṣi having a child in his lap beside, are depicted on the north wall followed by the scene of taking the baby to Mount Meru for ablution (Tiwari, *op. cit.*, p. 93).
84. *Ibid.* Such scenes are common in miniatures but rare in stone. Cf. U.P. Shah, *Treasures Of Jaina Bhaṇḍāras*, Ahmedabad, 1978, Catalogue, pp. 67-68, figs. 27 and 40. For details regarding the depiction of the scenes of Neminātha's life, see *AOT*, pp. 147-48.
85. *JI*, p. 65.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 65-66.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
88. *Ibid.*

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Other Remains

Inscriptions
Step Wells
Foot-Prints
Storage Jars
Coins
Miscellaneous Objects

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CHAPTER VI

Other Remains

I INSCRIPTIONS

There is a large number of inscriptions at Osian ranging from *c.* third-fourth century A.D. to the ninteeth century A.D. Most of these epigraphs are incised on behalf of individuals or organisations recording the names of individuals, donations, installation of an image or an ornamental arch, renovation, construction of a shrine or addition of a member to some already existing sanctuary, commemoration of a person, *satī* etc. We give below the text or other available information, with a brief discussion there on, regarding these inscriptions, most of which have been discovered and deciphered by us for the first time.

1. Text: *Mulakhace*[1] (*Pl. 152*)
   Script & date: Brāhmī of *c.* third-fourth century A.D.

2. Text: *Mukharasa* ————[2]
   Script & date: same as above.

3. Text: *Ṇāge* [*ṁ*] dra (*Pl. 153*)
   Script & date: same as above.

These small epigraphs, obviously names of individuals, are incised on the rims of huge storage jars which were exhumed while digging the foundations of the local Jain school. Four of them are preserved at Osian and one on display in the Jodhpur Museum. Probably all were inscribed but because the necks of two of them are broken, only two inscriptions, of which the first one too is partial, are known from Osian at present. The jar with Ṇāgeṁdra's name lies in the Jodhpur Museum.

Though the epigraphs are small and fragmentary, yet they provide important evidence regarding the antiquity of Osian. The last one is also important for indicating the popularity of *Nāga* cult at Osian for which we have some other evidence also[3].

4. Text:
   Line 1. [*Oṁ*][4] *Saṁvachara se*————18
   2. [*Cai*] *tra vadi 9 Vaṇimala*

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3. *Ka—Dugeppara—putra Ddhakaṭa*
4. *Jāti*[5] *lokaṁtar[ī] bhūteḥ/*

The script now onwards is the developed form of Brāhmī nearing Nāgarī of *c.* eighth century A.D.

The slab on which this epigraph has been incised bears in a small sunk niche above a male figure standing to front with folded hands. A few flutings of an *āmalaka* which surmounted the slab are visible even though it is damaged.

The inscription records the death of a person, son of *Vaṇimalaka* Duggeppara (?) on the ninth of the dark fortnight of Caitra, *Saṁvat*...18. The word Vaṇimalaka is interesting. It indicates that Dugeppara hailed from Vaṇimala, which may be Bhinmal, from where, according to the traditions recorded in the *UGP*, people came to settle at Osian. It is also interesting to note that the person belonged to Dhakaṭa (Dharkaṭa) caste which according to the Jaina traditions belongs to the Śrīmāla-*gotra*[6]. This *gotra* is related to Śrīmala which is but another name of Bhinmal.

The memorial is one of the earliest ones recording the death of a male person. Such memorials seem to have paved way for the *satī* memorials, also called *Devalīs*, which are commonly found in Rajasthan during the medieval period.

The *āmalaka* which caps the memorial indicates the prevalence of the *Latina śikharas* of temples at Osian at that time.

The incised slab, like many other memorial slabs, is set up in the compound of HH-2.

5. Text:

Line 1. *Oṁ. Saṁvachara śate 803 Śrāvaṇa*
2. *Su (1) 4 Ādityapure Bhārada*
3. *sute Naramaṇai upagate*

Nothing is known about Nara (ma)nai or Bharada. Ādityapura, too, is not known from any other source[7]. It must have, however, been a town of some importance in the eighth century and some people from this town too must have come to settle at Osian. The slab bearing this inscription has now been removed to Mandor Museum.

The figure in the sunk niche and the slab surmounted by an *āmalaka* resembles the preceding example, For being an early memorial inscription, it is important.

6. Text: (*Pl. 154*).

Line 1. *Oṁ*[8] *Saṁvatsre 812 Jyaṣṭha caturthyāṁ*
2. *Śanivāre Ṇaṁ [rā ?] jñī Śrī Rāṇulā*
3. *Kalahaka-duhitā Śrī Caṁdrādi—*
4. *tyā Poṇamaka—gottrā lakāṁ-*
5. *ttari bhūtā //*

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The inscription commemorates the death of a female who figures in the sunk niche above. Nothing is known about Caṁdrādityā nor about her father Kalahaka. He may have belonged to the royal Pratihāra family of Mandor to which belonged Bāuka, Kakkuka etc. Candrādityā may have been married to the then chief of Osian as the epithet 'Rāṇulā' indicates. The slab bearing this inscription has now been displayed in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur.

7. Text: Not clear
   Date: V.S. 812, ... *ba*(3)
   Purport: Not clear[9]

8. Text:

   Line 1. *Saṁvachara śate 8(4)O*[10]
   2. *Jeṭha sudi 3* [*pu* ?]*ttra tri-*
   3. *Sārddha*[*ṁ*] *Kuka-putra lo* [*kāṁ*]
   4. *tarī bhūtā Dhakaṭa-*
   5. *jāti*[11]

The shouldered sunk niche above the inscription contains an image of the person commemorated in the epigraph. He stands to front with folded hands wearing a lower garment and a scarf, with hair combed backwards, and arranged in a bun above.

9. An inscription, palaeographically assignable to the eighth-ninth century, is engraved on a pillar of the PDT.[12] It is difficult to decipher this four-line inscription satisfactorily. The epigraph is, however, important as it has a bearing on the date of the PDT.

10. Text: (*Pl. 155*)

   Line 1. :[Auspicious symbol] *Satsara śate 885 Śrāvaṇa*
   2. *:Kṛṣṇā 13 — da svargim* (?)= *Āditpapu—*
   3. *:ttra*[13] *Sarvvaṭa dharkaṭa — jātyā upagata*

The figure of the deceased person, very much worn out and mutilated above the face now, is carved in the sunk niche above. The word 'upagata' in the epigraph is interesting. It does not convey the traditional connotation of 'intimately associated', 'assembled' or 'the inhabitants and local officials of the gift village' etc[14]. but substitute the expression *'lokāṁtarī bhūtaḥ'*.

11. Text:

   Line 1. : [Auspicious symbol][15] *Saṁvatsara śate 891 Magha*
   2. : *vadi 15* (?) .....*ka* [*du-*
   3. : *hitā* (?) *Śrï... ka-putri* [*tri-*] *lo-*
   4. : *Ka*(*ṁ*) *tarī bhūtā*//[16]

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The language and script of this as well as other epigraphs of this period is almost the same as we noticed in the preceding examples. The inscription is incised on a memorial for a female.

12. Text:

Line 1. :[Auspicious symbol] *Saṁvatsara śate 895 Magha*
2. : *Kṛṣṇā 12 va (or ca) Siḍha*[17] *Dhavaka Ja-*
3. : *ṣāditya*[18] *-puttra Dharkkaṭṭa-jā [tyā]*
4. : *upagataḥ//*

The epigraph indicates that Jaṣāditya was more important and well-known than his son who is commemorated here. The figure of the deceased person is carved in the sunk shouldered niche above. He is shown as standing, facing with folded hands, wearing a long scarf with free ends falling almost vertically on either side, reminiscent of the scarf worn by some of the deities on the early temples of Osian.

13. Text:

Line 1. :[Auspicious symbol], *Saṁvatsara śate-*
2. : *932 Pauṣa śukla*
3. : *11* (?) *Deduvaka-Udyo-*
4. : *ttana-puttraḥ Dharkaṭa-jā*
5. : *tyā lokāṁtari bhūta(ḥ) /*

The commemorated deceased person is described as the son of Udyotana, a name not uncommon in Rajasthan during the eighth and later centuries. The epithet 'Deduvaka' indicates that he hailed probably from Didwana.[19]

14. Text:

Line 1. : [Auspicious symbol], Sa[ṁ] *vachara śate 942*
2. : *Caitra vadi 12 [Baṭṭa dhā ?] -duhi-*
3. : *tā Durgā lokaṁtari bhutā //*

15. Text:

Line 1. : [Auspicious symbol] *Saṁvachara śate 943*
2. : *Caitra Sudi (1 ?) Māikā Dha-*
3. , *na-duhitā Māha-*
4. : *ṭāṁka-patni Upagatā /*

The figure of the deceased lady is carved in the sunk niche above. Nothing, however, is known about Māikā, her father Dhana and her husband Māhaṭāṁka from any other source.

16. Dr. Ramesh has referred to an inscription of V.S. 961 Caitra *sudi* X recording the death of some person.[20]

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17. Text:

Line 1. : [Auspicious symbol] *Saṁva tsate 969* as [*ā*]-
2. : *ḍha vadi 8 Nāgāditya-*
3. : *putra Viṭṭhur=Dha (r)Kaṭa-jā-*
4. : *tyā lokaṁtari bhūtaḥ*

The name Nāgāditya indicates *Nāgā* substratum in Jaina community and is important. Viṭṭhu, however, is an uncommon name.

18. Dr. Ramesh has noticed another inscription of V.S. 969, Āsvayuja *su* 5, in the same language and script, recording 'the death of some woman (name not clear), daughter of Dhanya of Dharkaṭa-*jāti*.[21]

19. The same savant has also noticed an inscription of V.S. '9 (80), (Āshāḍha) *ba* 9' which 'records the death of a merchant (*vaṇika*, name not clear) described as belonging to the Dharkaṭa-*jāti*.[22]

20. Text:

Line 1. :*Saṁvachara* [*śate*] *1010*
2. :*Bhādra pada sudi 10*[23]
3. :*Malukā Viha* [*na*] *pa-*
4. *tnī lokāṁtari bh*(*ū*)
5. : *tāḥ// Dhakaṭa-jātyā*

21. Text:

Line 1. : [Auspicious symbol] *Saṁvasara-1011 Ma-*
2. : *gasira vadi 9 sukha*
3. : *Ka*(*s* ?) *idra d* (*i*) *vaṁgataṁ vāsi*
4. : ..... *Hari-rūpaṁ*
5. : ..... *ka . . ti.....*
6. : *Kaṁ.....namaḥ*/ [24]

In a pillared niche surmounted by an *udgama* above, a couple seems to be sacrificing on a fire-altar in between them. The figures are, however, very much mutilated.

Another inscription of V.S. 1011 inscribed on a metal image of Śāntinātha removed to Calcutta from Osian (*JLS*, No. 135, p. 31) reads:
Oṁ Saṁbata 1011 Caitra sudi 6 Śrī-Kakkācāryya-śiṣya Devadatta guruṇā Upakeśīya cetyagṛhe Asvayuj Caitra-ṣāṣṭhyāṁ Śānti-pratimā sthāpanīyā gandhodakān divālikā bhāsula pratimā iti.

22. Text:

Line 1. : *Saṁvat ste 1012 Vaiśākha vadi 1*
2. : *Jāikā lokāṁtarī bhūtā*/ *Viddhaka-*
3. : *duhitā Udyotana-patnī ||o||*

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The importance of this epigraph lies in giving us the names of Jāikā, Viddhaka and Udyotana. When compared with the names of Māikā (No. 15) and Malukā (No. 19), Jāikā-seems to have been a popular form of name. Udyotana too was a popular name (No. 13) but not Viddhaka. Who they all were, we have no means to ascertain.

23. Dr. Ramesh has noticed an inscription of Vikrama 1019, Mārgasira *badi* 9 recording the death of some person (name lost) belonging to the Dharkaṭa-*jāti*.[25]

Mahāvīra Temple Praśasti. V.S. 1013

24. Text:[26] (*Pl. 156*)

Line 1. : *//Oṁ// Jayati janana-mṛtyu-vyādhi-sambandha-śunyaḥ parama-puruṣa-sañjñaḥ sarvavit-sarvadarśī/ Sa sura-manuja-rājāmīśvaro' nīśvaro'pi praṇihita-matibhiryyaḥ smaryyate yogivargyyaiḥ// [1]* Mithyā-jñāna-ghaṇāndha*

2. *[Kara-nika] rāvaṣṭabdha sadvodha dṛgdṛṣṭvā viṣṭapamudbhavad-ghanaghṛṇaḥ prā[ṇa bhṛtāṁ sarvadā kṛtvā] nītimarīcibhiḥ kṛta-yugasyādau sahasrāṁśuvatprāstatamāstanotu bhavatāṁ bhadraṁ sa Nābheḥ sutaḥ// [2] Yo girvvāṇaḥ*[27] *sa*[28] *sarvva,*

3. [29]*bhidabhihatāṁ śaktimaśraddadhānaḥ krūraḥ krīḍā-cikīrṣyā-kṛta-pṛthaka- [tanu-śrī ?] rathavarddhamārddha [ḥ or ṁ]/Muṣṭyā yasyāhato' sau mṛtimita iyatā nāmaratvaṁ yatī bhūtpuṇyaiḥ satpuṇya vṛddhiṁ vitaratu bhagaṁvānvassa Si [ddhā]-*

4. *[rtha]-sūnuḥ // [3]* Svāmin kiṁ svarnnivāsā laya*[30] *-vana-samayo [smā] kamāha*[31]*...ka savya-āvasā ? nekṣaṇamuta*[32]*-mahatī-kāci-danyāyadeṣā/Ityudbhrāntāntarātmā-harimatibha[ya?]taḥ sa sva-jeṣavya*[33] *-nīcairyyat pādāṁguṣṭhakodyā*

5. *[...]*[34] *naga-patau prerite' vyātsa-Vīraḥ // [4]* Śrīmānāsītprabhu-riha bhuvi-na yaika pra*[35] *vīrastrailokyeyaṁ prakaṭa-mahimā-Rāma-nāmā-sa-yena/Cakre śākrama dṛḍha-taramuro nirddayā-liṅganeṣu sva-preyasyā Daśamukha-vadhotpā*

6. *dita-svāsthya vṛttiḥ // [5]* Tasyākārṣyītkilapremnā Lakṣmaṇaḥ pratihāratām/Tato' bhavat pratihāravaṁśo Rāma samudbhavaḥ // [6]* Tadvaṁśe sa vaśī vaśīkṛtaripuḥ-śrī Vastsarājo' bhavatkīrttiry-yasya ...tuṣārahāra-vimalā ?*

7. *Jyotsnā-tiraskāriṇī/Nasminmāmi sukhena viśva-vivare natveva tasmādvahirnnirggantuṁ*[36] *digibhendradantemusala-vyājāda-karṣ-ṣinmanaḥ*[37] *// [7]* Sa mudā samudāyena mahatā mahatā*[38] *camūḥ purā parājitā yena ...*

8. *samadāreṇa*[39] *// [8]* Tenāvanīśena kṛtābhirakṣaiḥ sadvrāhmaṇa-kṣatriya-vaiśya-śūdraiḥ sametametatprathitaṁ pṛthivyām=Ūkeśa-nāmāsti-puraṁ garīyaḥ // [9]* [A] saṁkrāṁtaṁ paraiḥ.....*

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9. *miva śrīmat-pālitam yanmahībhujā/Tasyāntastapaneśvarasya-bhavanaṁ vibhradbhṛśaṁ śubhratāmabhraspṛdmṛgarāja*[40]*-kuṁjara yutaṁ sadvaijayantī latām*[41] */ Kiṁ kūṭaṁ .....hima.....*[42] *[// [10] //]**

10. *Tada kāryya [ṁ] [tāryya ?] vacasā saṁsāra [naśvara-ta ?] yā // [11]* [Kvacit] ...Śrī vikasatīha/nisādhavēh*[43] *kvacitpaṭupaṭīyasī prakaṭayanti*[44] *dharmma-sthitiṁ*[45] *kvacintu bhagava [tstutiṁ] paripaṭhaṁti yasyājire .....*

11. *..sa dhvani sadaiva*[46] *gāmbhīryyataḥ*[47] *// [12]* Vīkṣaṇe kṣaṇadāṁ yasya*[48] *varṇya*[49] *lakṣmī vipaścitām/Buddhirbbhavatyavadyāste yatra paśyantyadaḥ sadā // [13]* Ācāryyādervvadana*[50]*-vana... nni [bha] muccaiḥ sarvvavargga [macakra ?]*

12. *paryāyaḥ pratidhvān [daṇḍam]/Satyaṁ manye yaduditamito vā' vādītsamantātso' yaṁ bhūyaḥ prakaṭa-mahimā maṇḍapaḥ kārito' tra // [14]*... kiṁ cānya [dābho ?] .....maṇikārātraiva ... [A] na*

13. *ṅga-kārāpitaṁ yena suvaṁśa-bhājā [saddānena ?] prīṇita-mārggaṇena // [15]* Putrastasyābhavatsaumyo vaṇig=Jindaka-saṁjñitaḥ induvatkāntiryyasya ...layaḥ ..... [//] [16]* ...ca—u[ha?] va [rā ?]*

14. *hvaya-prāsāda-yuktā svayaśo' bhirāmā/Sadānusarttri svapatiṁnadināṁ mārggaṇāvāta [ca turaṅga? //] [17]* Tasmāttasyāmabhuddharmāṁ ttrivargga .....ka .....[//] [18]**

15. *Yannakāri sitetaracchavi-[kāraṁ ?] natva dinaṁ yācitervyyarthairnnārtthijanairapi*[51] *pratigataṁ yadgehama [bhyartthi] taṁ kiṁccānyadbhuvano*[52] *daroru sarasi vyā [pta]*[53].....*[ka]ṁ...ravi*[54] *nīrada sita*[55] *[m] haṁ Soma [?] ...[//] [19]**

16. *... [Jinendra-dharmma] prati pu [?]*[56] *yā navā mitrā*[57] *ye kumatermmanāgapi/Mli-ṁ-vasanto'pi hi maṇḍale-dhavanasanmaṇināṁ bhavatīha hācatā..... [//]* [20]*...na hi [gre?] yadi Vīra saṁjñitā*

17. *.... [pra hi la ?] ..Jākalāvapi [//]* [21]* Tatra Vrahmā [dau]*[58] *svarggaṁ*[59] *samprāpte tan mahilayā/Durggayā pratimākāri [sa] ...tra-dhāmahi // [22]* Āmrakatsarvva devyā [ṁ ?] tu.... yuta*[60] *Devadattasta*[61]....*

18. *....[śubham] // [23]* Sa...rījāvaja [?] so'yam-sitamas-idaḥ.. mūlaṁ stta-s-mivāgato [?]*[62] *// [24]* Ya rā....hāsaḥ prahidanumiti [vyā] graḥ/Para..-ye-sya*

19. *.....yāṁ*[63] *kāryyam prati vidadhate yadvadhikam*[64] *// [25]* Dhairyyavantā*[65] *piye' tyanita bhīravāh paralokataḥ*[66] *bhogi...ra hi ko [sv ?] i....*

20. *....acc dūragāḥ //]26]* [Bhasma ?] ... [Ka...ta...] ..ta valā [śrī Drā...] ...tā jayati [?] .....i ...bhiḥ punarayaṁ bhūmaṇḍano maṇ-*

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ḍapaḥ/Pūrvvasyāṁ[67] *kakubhi tribhārā vikalaḥ saṅgoṣṭhikānu... haram hi...*

21. *...[Ji] ndaka... ya tu vama ta du* [?] *ddhitavya... [//27]* Tadu tatre* [?[*tatkṛto'ya]ma] nena*[68] *Jinadeva-dhāma tatkāritaṁ punaramuṣya- [bhūṣaṇam] / [śrīmatsa* ?] *[dṛgdṛṣyate....]*

22. *...[ma] dvejayattrī*[69] *bhujapatra*[70] *i-ṣyate // [28]* Saṁvatsaradaśa-śatyāmadhikāyāṁ vatsarai-strayodaśabhiḥ Phālguna-śukla tritīyā Bh (ā) dra-padā jā...*[71]

23. *.... Saṁ 1013.... dasa...ka...sa dvāra makaṁ...dā...* [*śa* ?] *ryyām // [29]* Prajāpatya* [*ṁ*] *dadhadapi manāgakṣamālopayogī śaṁkhaṁ cakraṁ sphuṭāmpi* [*vaḥ*][72]*...*

24. *..... sarvva* ?]-[*deva* ?][73] *karo vah pāyāda.... bhavana-gurūnna* [*ti*] *sū.... nandaḥ // [30]* Yāvad*[74] *gaurggūḍha Vahni*[75] *rgguru* [*dha (or bha)*] *ra vinamanmūrddhābhirddhāryyate, dho yāvah merummarudbhirni* [*kṛ-pra*] *tiyute*[76] *-[sya]..*

25. *....v* [*i*] *śikhamukhacchedī* [*tasya dikṣu* ?] *śrimadva (or dha)... dāśā praca-bhi... malaṁ.... nnityamastu// [31[* Jayatu bhagavāṁ*[77] *.... dharmmā....* [*dā*] *śitaḥ....*

26. *. . datta..... kīrttirnnirīti-vapuḥ sadā // [32]* Yasmādasminnijam manya* [*vīraṁ* ?] *pati-pati śrīḥ samā*

27. *....sammānya*[78]*...prakaṭa suta*[79]*.. staḥ // [33]** [*Ukeśa* ?] *sūtradhāratva i* [*dā*] *tavyo*[80]*.....*

28. *...bhūtvā...dinapradadāt.... pra* [*tiṣṭhāpi*] *tamidam [// 34]**

The inscription is very important for the antiquity of Ukeśapura (Osian) and the chronology of MT. It opens with a salutation to the *tīrthaṅkara* Ādinātha and Mahāvīra. It refers to Vatsarāja Pratihāra as a scion of Lakṣmaṇa who was a chamberlain of Rāma. Vatsarāja's achievement in some war has also been alluded to though not specifically. It refers to a Sun Temple at Osian and the recluses who revealed the (exact) nature of religion. A porch (*maṇḍapa*) was constructed here by someone (name lost)—the father of Jindaka, whose wife (Jākalā ?), a follower of Jainism, also got erected some shrine or a part thereof. Jindaka, on behalf of (?) the temple committee, also got erected a Jaina temple—'*Jinadeva-dhāma*', on the third day of the bright fortnight of Phālguṇa, *Saṁvat* 1013.

The epigraph has generally been taken by all scholars as refering to the renovation by Jindaka of the MT which was got constructed during the times of Vatsarāja Pratihāra. The text of the inscription, even though damaged, does not warrant such an interpretation. It, however, indicates that a temple already existed here and a porch was added to that by Jindaka's father. Jindaka's wife also did some charitable work and he himself got erected a Jaina temple. Nowhere is there any reference to the construction of the MT during Vatsarāja's reign. Instead, a Sun Temple belonging to his period has been referred to. And this reference is very

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important. The inscription is in Sanskrit verse and important orthographically too.

25. Text : (*Pl. 157*)

Line 1 : (Auspicious symbol) *Yāte saṁvatsarāṇāṁ śaramuni-sahita-Vikra-*

2 : *mā* [*rkā*] *tsahasro . . pra . . hi... vata* [*Cai*]*t*[*ra*]

3 : *Gurau śukla-pakṣe daśamayām / Sa kīrtti-kāra*

4 : *pi* [*trāḥ* ?] *Kaṣayī Devayaśaḥ sadyaṁ Sonaśikhe*

5 : *... tya prati ... ram*[*t*]*i-*(*ā*)*ra kṛta-kṛta*

6 : *namati sāra pratiṣṭhā*[*pu*]*trī / Saṁ 1035*

7 : *Āṣāḍha sudi 10 Āditya vāsare svāti-nakṣattre*

8 : *Śrī-toraṇaṁ pratiṣṭhāpitamiti //*

This inscription is carved on the *toraṇa* in the MT. Bhandarkar[81] had noticed it but transcribed only the date portion and that too wrongly. Nahar[82] corrected the date but did not give the full text like Bhandarkar. It is for the first time that the full text, as can be deciphered, is given here.

The inscription refers to the construction of a temple (*kīrtti*) on Thursday, the tenth lunar day of Caitra (?) *Saṁ* 1035. As we have indicated in the foregoing chapters, it perhaps refers to a Pārśvanātha temple which (is non extant now and) may have been assimilated by or converted into MT subsequently. A magnificent *toraṇa* was added to it in V.S. 1035 as the epigraph indicates.

26. Text : (*Pl. 158*)

Line 1 : *Saṁvat 1035 Āṣāḍha sudi 10*

2 : *Āditya-vāre svāti-nakṣattre pra-*

3 : *tiṣṭhitā //*

This inscription exists on an image of Pārśvanātha now displayed in the Jodhpur Museum. The date corresponds exactly to the date of the *toraṇa* described in the preceding inscription.

27. Text :

Line 1 : [Oṁ] *Śrīmacchrī Nābhisiddhā-rttha-sutayoḥ pratimā-dvaya Śāli*

2 : *bhadra ga ... Sūriṇā hi kāritaṁ // saṁvat 104* (*0 or 4*).

The inscription is carved on the pedestal of an image of Jīvantasvāmi from Osian now displayed in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. The inscription refers to two images and it is interesting to note that another exactly identical image is also displayed in the same Museum. The importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it dates the image precisely besides supplying us with some other information.

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28. Text :

Line 1 : *Vīraṇā*

2 : *Sālukā 5 yāṁ*

3 : *Kāritaṁ*

Though not dated, yet we can presume that Jīvantasvāmi image on whose pedestal this epigraph has been incised is contemporaneous with the preceding one.

29. Text :

Line 1 : [Auspicious symbol] *Saṁvat 1084 Māgasira vadi 13 Āsu*

2 : *patnī Sīda[ṁ?]ta*[83] *duhitā Lalī lokāṁ-*

3 : *tarī bhūtā Dhha[r]kaṭa-jātyā //*

Above this inscription is carved the figure of the deceased female in a *rathikā*. She stands to front with folded hands. Interestingly enough, she wears a *vanamālā*-like long wreath.

30. Nahar[84] has given the following text as he found on an image[85]—*Saṁ. 1088 Phālguna badi 4 Śrī Nāgendra-gacche Śṛī Bāsadeva Sūri saṁgha Nānetihaḍa śreyārthaṁ Rākhadova kāritā /*

31. Text :

Line 1 : [Auspicious symbol] *Saṁvat 1089 Āṣāḍha vadi 14*[86] *vi* [*lī?*] *na mūla na ...*

2 : *Kalpa* [?] *la* [*gh . . ?*] *va bhavat // taṁ // disi* [*ta?*]

3 : *śataṁ/yuga ti*[87]*—yu . . . . . kāta kaṁ—sasya—su /na* [*ndi ?*]

4 : *mittra cā* [*tyanta ?*] *dāna viṣa* [*ma*] *tā . . yā devamukha* [*ne ?*] *ca Śrī-*

5 : *mahānairyutaṁ/Hāraṁ prati rūpa-kasya vise pakā* [?]

6 : *śva tvarita/yo dadāti na devasya-sva pā*

7 : *pāyasaṁ nidram/Dhana poli* [?] *dāna tritailasya*

8 : *pāṇi* [?] *rdamaka* [?[*nityaṁ ca dātavyā* [!]*

The inscription is incised on a stone now fixed in a store-house in the SMT complex. The exact purport is not clear, but there is little doubt that the epigraph is of donative character.

32. Text :

Line 1 : [Auspicious symbol] *Saṁvat 1094 Śrāvaṇa vadi 8 Śukra vā-*

2 : *re Dudā-suta* [*Ma?*] *ṇo-ratna lokāṁtarī bhūta* [*ḥ*] /

33-35. Three more memorial pillars noticed by Dr. Ramesh are almost similar in form and contents, recording the death of some person. Their script indicates an eleventh century date for them.[88]

36-39. *Unāḍhā* inscribed on the pillars of HH-2, VT-1 and *Kāmāṣatuva* Unāḍhā' on a pillar of HH-3 also belong to the same age.

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40. Text :

Line 1 : *Śrī Sacihā-devi nahāna ka* [*o*?] *daga Agi* [?] *caṇḍā*
2 : *di/Vica-pa vaṁ* [*tra* ?] *ti guṇiyama /*
3 : *A he di haraṭha* [*śroṇi*] *ya ...*
4 : *nta/Viha* [*śānti*?] *u* [*sra* ?] *va ...*
5 : *haiṭala* [?] *mahi / . . . . / . .*
6 : *nānaikīya u* [*ggra*?] */Ja ...*
7 : [*sau*] *... ya bhalaṇḍa Udaya*
8 : *saṇi //*

The purport of this inscription, carved on a slab now fixed near the back boundary wall of SMT, is not clear. It, however, refers to Śrī Saciyā devī. It may be placed in the eleventh century A.D.

41. Nahar[89] has given the text of an inscription of V.S. 1100 inscribed on the pedestal of an image as follows:

Oṁ Saṁvat 1100 Mārgaśira sudi 6 . . . .
Sālībhadra . . . . . deva-karma śreyorthaṁ kāritaṁ Jine-trikam . . . . /

42. A *satī* memorial of V.S. 1158 near the gateway of the outer fortification wall of SMT cannot be deciphered properly but for the date.

43. Another *satī* memorial at the same place is dated V.S. 1195.

44. Text :

Line 1 : *Saṁ 1203 Vaisāṣa*
2 : *vadi 5 puṁnāru Sabha*
3 : *suta bhā putra Āṣā sahaṁ*
4 : *leṣakaṁ adya prabhiti su-*
5 : *bhaṁ //*

The inscription in corrupt Sanskrit language and Nāgarī script is carved on a pillar in front of VT-3. Its importance lies in the fact that it gives the date of the construction of the porch in front of the said temple in order to connect it with the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of SMT. '*Ṣa*' has been used here for '*kha*'.

45. Line 1 : *Saṁvat 1231 Mārga sudi 8 bha o Śāṁ-*
2 : *ti-śiṣyeṇe Nemiḥ Candreṇa ā-*
3 : *tma śreyārtthaṁ pradattaḥ //*

This, like the following inscriptions, is incised on the shaft of a pillar of MT below a beautifully carved *kīrttimukha* and is dedicatory in nature.

46. Text :

Line 1 : *Saṁ 1231 Mārga sudi 14 Śanau Śrīma*
2 : *-koṭe Nemicaitya maṁ o Nemi-Caṁdre-*
3 : *ṇa ātmaśreyārthaṁ staṁ staṁ o 1 kāritaḥ //*

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47. Text :

Line 1 : *Saṁ 1231 Mārga sira sudi 14 bha o*

2 : *Prasanna bha o Śāṁti bhadra-śiṣyaiḥ //*

3 : *paṁ o Nemicaṁdra-Subhacaṁdra-Dhaṇacaṁ-*

4 : *draiḥ // ātmaśreyārthaṁ chaṁ 2 sta [ṁ] 2*

5 : *Si o 2 pā o 1 pradattaḥ //*

48. Nahar has also given the text of an inscription of V.S. 1231 on a pillar-

Saṁ 9 (sic) 1231 Mārga sudi 5 Vāndhala-

putra Yaśodhara vohivya Mūlā devī . . . .

We may add here that there are many more pillars bearing donatory inscriptions of the same year in the renovated *valānka* of the MT.

49. Text :

Line 1 : [Auspicious symbol] *Śrī Pa [ku] Vaṁ [dhu] la socaya-vahu yāṁ bha [jñ?] ā*

2 : *Saru kara vaṇis sa/Sobhama sarā-vi [ṭa]*

3 : *yā [Sa?] dhamma chama kāri-laga [—] sā // 1*

It is inscribed on a pillar of the MT and may be assigned to twelfth century A.D. on palaeographic grounds. The purport is not very clear but it seems that the epigraph refers to the erection of a donatory pillar.

50. Text : (*Pl. 159*)

Line 1 : [Auspicious symbol] *Saṁvat 1234 Caitra sudi 10 Gurau Gho-*[90]

2 : *baḍāṁśu gotre sādhu Bahudā suta sādhu Jā-*

3 : *lhaṇa tasya bhāryā Sūha ca*[91] *tayoḥ sutena sā-*

4 : *dhu Mālhā-dauhitṛena*[92] *sādhu Gayapālena Śrī-*

5 : *Saccikā*[93]*-devi-prāsāda-karmaṇi Caṇḍikā-Śīta-*

6 : *lā-Śrī Saccikādevi-Kṣemaṁkari*[94]*-Kṣetrapāla*

7 : *pratimābhiḥ sahitaṁ jaṁghā-gharaṁ ātma-śre-*

8 : *yārthaṁ kāritaṁ // [cha ?] // 1*[95]

The inscription is carved on the back wall of the circumambulatory of the SMT. The importance of the epigraph has already been discussed in the preceding chapters.

51. Nahar[96] has noticed the following inscription on an image-

Saṁ. 1234 Vaisākha sudi 14 Maṅgala /
Nāgadeva varṣā śāsapada dhanāya śodhaṁ /
bhāryā Yaśodevyā trāsarthe potheṁ pade /

Since the inscription is not traceable now, the text cannot be checked up. Nahar, however, seems to have committed some mistake in reading it. We think that '*Yaśodhara-bhāryā Yaśodevyātma śreyārthaṁ*' may have been the probable text.

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52. Nahar has given the reading of another inscription of the same year which he found carved on another image[97]-

Saṁ. 1234 Vaiśākha śukla 14 Maṅgalavāra Sarvvadeva-suta Nāgadeva tatsutena Pāro-pārena Jina tu trita sādeva maṇikutena |

Again the text seems to be somewhat defective. Obviously Nāgadeva of this inscription is the same as referred to in the preceding epigraph.

53. An important inscription is carved in the perambulatory of the SMT. We give below the text of the epigraph as read by Nahar[98]-

Saṁ. 1236 Kārtika sudi 1 Budbhavāre adyeha Śrī Kelhaṇadeva Mahārājarājye tatputra Śrī Kuṁmara Siṁhe siṁha-vikrame Śrī Māḍavya purādhipati ..... dabhikānvīya Kīrtipāla-rājyavāhake tadbhuktau Śrī Upakeśīya Śrī-Saccikā-devī deva-gṛha Śrī Rājasevaka Guhilaṁ go-kraya-viṣayī Dhārāvarṣeṇa Śrīka Saṁccikā-devi bhaktipareṇa Śrī Saṁccikā-devi goṣṭhikān bhaṇitvā tatsamakṣa ta-iyaṁ vyavasthā likhāpitā | yathā | Śrī Saccikā-devi-dvāraṁ Bhojakaiḥ praharamekaṁ yāvad udghāṭya dvārasthitaṁ sthātavyaṁ| Bhojaka-puruṣa-pramāṇaṁ dvādaśa-varṣīyotparaḥ|Tathā goṣṭhikaiḥ Śrī Saccikā-devi koṣṭhāgārāt mugamā 10 ghṛta karṣa 1 Bhojakebhyo dinaṁ prati dātavyaḥ ||

The inscription is one of the few that furnish the names of ruling princes. That Osian was ruled over by Kelhaṇa in V.S. 1236 is known from this epigraph. It is interesting to note that the family of Bhojakas mentioned in this inscription still serves as the priests of the Saciyā, the Mahāvīra and other temples. The epigraph is important from the economic view-point also as it lays down the fee of the priests as a specific quantity of *mūṅg* pulse and one *karṣa* of ghee per day.

54. There is another inscription of *Saṁvat* 1238 [Bhādra ?) *vadi* 13 incised on the southern wall of the perambulatory of SMT. It consists of 22 lines but the letters are so worn out at places that it is not possible to read the inscription satisfactorily. It refers to 'Udāgrāma', 'Ukeśa' etc.

55. An inscription (*Pl. 160*) carved on a pillar in the open compound outside the fortification wall at the back of SMT reads as follows:

Line 1 : [Auspicious symbol] *Saṁvat 1245 Phālguna sudi 5 adyeha Śrī*

2 : *Mahāvīra-rathaśālā-nimittaṁ Palhiyā-dhita*

3 : *Devacaṁdra*[99]*-vadhū Yāśadhara-bhāryā saṁpūrṇa-śrāvika-*

4 : *yā ātmaśreyorthaṁ*[100] *samasta-goṣṭhi-pratyakṣaṁ ca*

5 : *ātmīya*[101] *svajana-vargga saṁmatena*[102] *ātmīya gṛhaṁ dattaṁ ||*

56. There is another pillar with identical epigraph (now untraceable) which was read by Nahar as follows-[103]

Saṁvat 1245 Phālguna sudi 5 adyeha Śrī Mahāvīra-rathaśālā nimittaṁ Pālhiyā dhīya Devā candra vadhū Yaśodhara bhāryā sampūrṇa śrāvikayā ātma śreyārthaṁ ātmīya svajana varggā samantena svagṛhaṁ dattaṁ |

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Mahāvīra's golden chariot which must have been housed in the carriage-shed for which Yaśodhara-*bhāryā* made the gift, is referred to in the *NJP* as being taken out once every year-

Prativarṣaṁ purasyāntaryatra svarṇamayo rathaḥ /
Paurāṇāṁ pāpamucchettumiva bhramati sarvataḥ //
(*NJP*, I. 27).

57. Text : (*Pl. 161*)

Line 1 : *Sa [ṁ] vat 1246 Māgha vadi 14 Śanivāra...*[104]
2 : *-Śrīmaj-Jinabhadropādhyāya śi-*
3 : *ṣyaiḥ Śrī-Kanaka-pra-*
4 : *bha-mahattara-miśra*
5 : *kāyotsargga [ḥ]* kṛta [ḥ]**

The epigraph is carved on the foot-prints in the Dadabari located on the top of the hill to the south-east of Osian. It records the abondoning of body (*kāyotsargga*) by the head of the community (*mahattara*)[105] Śrī Kanaka-prabha, disciple of Jinebhadra. We have already noted the traditions regarding Ratna-prabha who performed severe austerities on the Luṇādri. It seems that in the thirteenth century and later, the myths about the *en masse* converion of people to Janism were evolved.

58. Text : (*Pl. 162*)

Line 1 : [*Auspicious symbol*] // *Saṁvat 1247 Aśvi vadi 11*
2 : *Kohlo nāmā dvijo hyāsīt /*
3 : *Devyāpāmadhikaravān / Ve-*
4 : *da-vettā Kāśyapīyaḥ / Tasya pu-*[106]
5 : *trāstrayo' pyamī // Ādyaḥ Pātu dvi-*
6 : *tīyo' tha Gego Nānū dvijottamaiḥ /*
7 : *Kuṁbhī staṁbha siraścātrā kāritaṁ kī-*
8 : *rtti-varddhanam //* [107]*cha // Namo Devyai //*

This epigraph is carved on a pillar of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the SMT on its north-eastern corner. It is important to provide us with the specific date of the construction of the porch, Also, though the temple was dedicated to Saciyā, the ferocious Mahiṣamardinī converted to Jainism, the inscription furnishes evidence that even the *brāhmaṇas* continued to worship her.

59. Text :

Line 1 : [*Auspicious symbol*] *saṁ. 1250*[108] *Kārttika su 13*[109] *Sūceta-gotrīya*[110] *saha-diga [varṣai] ḥ samudra ? rabhīsu*[111]*... prāsāde ścaturviṁśati Jina*[112] *matṛ-*
2 : *paṭṭikā nija-matṛ Janhava śreyā'rthaṁ kāritā / Kakka Sūribhiḥ pratiṣṭhitā //*

The names of the *mātṛkās* which can be read below the figures are-

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Sāmādevi/Jayadevī/Pratimādevī/[113] Śriyadevī/Isadevī/Kalhīdevī/Prabhādevī etc.[114]

This *mātṛ-paṭṭikā* is now lying preserved in the MT.[115]

60. Text :

Line 1 : [*Auspicious symbol*] *Upakesa-gacche Śrī*
2 : *Sī-prajā o Saṁ. 1401*
3 : *Yoga nāma* [*pra* ?] *vī sāṁ*
4 : *ḍhoda Kātt* (*or tr*) *ika* /

It is carved on a pillar in the porch of the Santoshi Mātā Temple on the southern flank of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of SMT.

61. Text :

Line 1: [Auspicious symbol]//Saṁvat 1421
2: *Āṣāḍha sudi 9*
3: *Somavāre sā. Śrī*
4: *Deva-Śrī* [*Ā*] *śā...va-deva*
5: *sutasa.....ta....da—*
6: *rī karācī Ghauṁsa*
7: *gotre ātma—śreyo'—*
8: *rthe*

Carved on the inner side of the door-frame of DK-3, this inscription tells us that the *darī*[116] (screen wall) of the said shrine was got constructed by a noble Deva-Śrī of the Ghauṁsa *gotra* on Monday, the ninth of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha, *S.* 1421.

62. Text :

Line 1: [Auspicious symbol]//*Saṁ 1421*[117]
2: *varṣe Āṣāḍha sudi 9*
3: *Somavāre sāha Śrī Sā—*
4: *liga jīrṇoddhāra ka—*
5: *rāpitaṁ* [*I*]*

This epigraph, carved on the other side of the same doorway of DK-3, refers to the renovation of the shrine by the noble *Śrī* Sāliga. The renovation and the construction of screen walls seem to have been carried out simultaneously and completed on the same day.

63. One of the pillars in the MT complex bears an inscription dated V.S. 1431. It is not possible to decipher the epigraph completely.

64. A memorial stone of V.S. 1432 is placed in the compound of HH-2.

65. Another similar memorial stone at the same place is dated V.S. 1436.

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66. An image inscription noticed by Nahar[118] reads—

Saṁ. 1438 varṣe Āṣāḍha sudi 9 Śukre Moḍha—vāstavya sā o Dā—bhāryā Yasa—sārade—bhāryā Sūmalade—suta sāhūṇa sā—mala piṭr—mātr—śreyār-thaṁ ṭha o Mahipālena Śrī Pārśvanātha viṁvaṁ Kāritaṁ Āgama—gacche Śrī Jaya-tilaka Sūri upadeśena/

67. A five-line inscription dated 146—is now placed near the main entrance of the fortification of SMT. The text cannot be deciphered satisfactorily. Above the inscription is a male and a female flanking a Śiva-*liṅga*.

68. A *devalī* enshrined in a small cell near the SMT shows a horseman to right with a sword and six females (wives of the deceased warrior) standing to front with folded hands. The four-line inscription below is dated V.S. 1490—

Line 1: *Saṁvat 1490 Bhādavā vadi 5* [?] *Somavāre Rāṭhavaḍa vaṁse rā—Śrī—Sa—tā sutarā*

2: *—vara sala satī....va ji Lāchala—de Sāṣuli Kapurade...paṁki Śrī ..*

3: *pāda sarisirimā de—Śrī.....devā.....dri lā...satī sa//*

4: *devesalokaṁ . . re devaloke....subha bhavatu//*

69. An image inscription noticed by Nahar[119] reads—

Saṁ. 1492 varṣe Vaiśākha vadi 5 Śrī Koraṇṭakīya—gacche sā o 30 Śaṁṣa bālecā[120] *gotre sā o Vāsamāla—bhāryā Lakṣmīde—putrā 3 pra—tā—mihā sūrāṁyābhī piṭr—śreyase Śrī Saṁbhavanātha viṁvaṁ Kāritaṁ putākana kā o pra o Śrī Sāvadeva Sūrībhiḥ/*

The reading does not seem to be correct but cannot be checked up as the image bearing this inscription is not traceable now.

70. A fourline inscription dated '*Saṁvat 1494 varṣe Bhādra....*' exists near the entrance of the fortification wall of SMT.

71. Another memorial stone at that very place reads—

Line 1: *Saṁvat 1512 varṣe prathama*

2: *Āṣāḍha dohara ? 3 Soma—*

3: *vāre Josīlāṣosa*

4: *pātī sahite [Jaya-prabha ?]*

5: *[pra or ṣa] pata lokarāvita*

6: *subha bhavatu*

72. An image inscription of the same year is recorded by Nahar[121] as follows—

Saṁ. 1512 varṣe Phālguna sudi 8 Śani Śrī Usabha se o bhāryā Māṇikade-suta Raṇāgra bhāryāyāṁ 40 pidhā bhārya cāṁ sutayo yāte jūkhāṇa Śrī Kuṁthunātha viṁvaṁ Kāritaṁ pratiṣṭhita Śrī vṛhad—Tapāpaṁkaja Śrī—Vijaya tilaka—Sūri—paṭṭe Śrī Vijaya—dharmma sāre Śrī bhuyāt//

73. An memorial stone with a bearded man and a female with a Śiva-*liṅga* in between, standing in the SMT precincts, bears a five-line epigraph dated '*Saṁvat 1521 ? varṣe Ā[ṣāḍha]...*'

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74. A *devalī* of V.S. 1523 can also be seen near the preceding memorial stone.

75. Nahar[122] noticed an image-inscription of V.S. 1534 which reads: *Saṁ. 1534 varṣe Māgha sudi 5 dine Siḍha—jñātiya maṁtri Deva-vaku-suta maṁtri Saha—sāi/tābhyāṁ Śrī Dharmmanātha viṁvaṁ pitro śreyase pratiṣṭhita Śrī Vidyādhara—gacche Śrī Hemaprabhu Sūri maṁḍalirābhyāṁ kṛtaḥ/*

76. A *devalī* in the SMT complex reads—

Line 1: *Saṁvat 1536 varṣe*
2: *Śrāvaṇa sudi 12 dine*
3: *Rāṭhī gotre sāha Jesā*
4: *putras [prā ?] sati seli sa*
5: .....*pā sa*

77. An inscription on a pillar of MT reads—

Line 1: *Rāma....Rāma ?*
2: *Jogī Acaṁtanātha ja [llā ?]*
3: *Saṁ. 1537 [paga ?]/*

78. An inscription noticed by Nahar[123] on an image of the *tīrthaṅkara* Vimalanātha reads as follows—

Saṁ. 1549 varṣe Māgha su o 5 Gurau Gandhāra vāstavya Śrī Śrīmāla-jñātīya sāo Śivā-bhāryā Māṇikyade nāmnī tayo suta sā o Lojakena bhā o Bharmmāde Dharmāde nāmnī yutena sva-mātrī śreyase Śrī Vimālanātha viṁvaṁ kāritaṁ pratiṣṭhā Śrī Vṛhat-Tapāpakṣe Śrī—Udaya—sāgara Sūribhiḥ/

The inscription provides us the name of Gandhāra town whence hailed the noble Śivā belonging to Śrīmāla *gotra*. This Gandhāra seems to have been located somewhere in south-western Rajasthan. The epigraph also furnishes evidence of polygamy which was the general rule with the richer and influential sections of the society in Rajasthan during the medieval period.[124]

79. A *devalī* in the SMT complex shows a male and a female standing, facing with folded hands with the following inscription below.

Line 1: *Saṁvat 1572 varaṣe Phā—*
2: *gaṇā vadā 3 dane Ga—*
3: *gā Rupā mahā sarvata*
4: *devaka ṣara va pha 2*

The *mātrāṣ* have been marked indifferently or left out. The inscription is somewhat important from linguistic view-point.

80. A similar *devalī* at the same place bears the following epigraph—

Line 1: *1 Sabaṁtasa 1584 varṣe Kāti—*
2: *vaḍha 6 Budhavāre suvaya...sava*
3: *sata marī sahata bhāsaspāle ha*
4: *ka sahata sabham jata 1 [/]**

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81. Still another *devalī* nearby the preceding one reads—

Line 1: *Savata 1593 varṣe Āṣā—*

2: *ḍha vadi 13 Somavāre prā—*

3: *sāda putalikā Liṣa—*

4: *va drā o Sīva...sahi—*

5: *ta [tā ?] mālā pra pāha sumbha..*

82. The following image inscription has been recorded by Nahar[125] but is not traceable now—

Sam. 1612 Vaiśākha sudi 5 dine Śrī Lālūṇaṁ Karāpitaṁ/

83. A *devalī* in the SMT complex has the following inscription—

Line 1: *Saṁvata 1636 ba—*

2: *raṣe Āsa.....*

3: *Maṁcādeva haṁmaṇā*

4: *Sujo satī sraru*

5: *saha devaloka ṣa ?*

6: *hejā subhaṁ astu su ?*

84. Another similar *devalī* at the same place has the four-line inscription of which the date '*Saṁvat 1639 varaṣa Bhādra sada 11*' and the benediction at the end '*sabhama bhavatu*' can only be deciphered.

85. A six-line inscription on a *devali* near the preceding one gives the date as *Saṁvata1677 varaṣe/A....vada 12 da/na.....*'

86. Another *devalī* nearby has the following inscription—

Line 1: *Sāmata 168—*

2: *Poha suda 4*

3: *hatā Bhoja—*

4: *ga Mīṣṭaḥ//*

It seems that all people, including even Bhojaka priests at Osian, had to fight in a battle in the seventeenth century A.D.

87. An epigraph of S. 1683 is known to us from Nahar[126] who recorded it from an image like this—

Sa o 1683 Jyeṣṭha su o 3 Kaḍuyā mati-gacche Bhādeva-putrī Rājavāīkena Śrī Sambhava- viṁvaṁ sā o Tejapālena pra o/

88. A *devalī* of Jaisalmeri yellow stone in the SMT complex bears the following inscription below the figures of a couple standing facing with folded hands—

Line 1: *Saṁvata 1698 vara-*

2: *ṣe Ceta vada 1 Somavā-*

3: *re Bhojiga Viṇaṣaitā-*

4: *va tu Devarā gotre sa-*

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5: *tī sassavasa hi va*

6: *saraga prahatā*

89. A *devalī* near the entrance porch of SMT bears the following inscription—

Line 1: *Śrī*

2: *Rāma Saṁmaṁtaṁ 1725 vara-*

3: *śe maṁtī Bhādavā sudi 2*

4: *Āditya vāraḥ svasti paramai*

5: *Śvaraḥ samasata maṁ [ḥ ?] galai*

6: *rccataḥ naiḥ bhāṁ/: sata taī ?*

7: *Rājaguraḥ Davārakā-dā-*

8: *sa : rī : beṭī : barase 11 sata-*

9: *tarī : Bhāṭī.....Rudha ? nāma-*

10: *Kena badāse/Utara-*

11: *ṣaitaḥ Vāvaḍha-Valachaṁ-*

12: *hī davāṁga : taṁ lakaṣa..*

13: *va kārī beṭī*

Another line added vertically on the left reads—'*Chātacchī...gataiḥ lāhā upara karaga*'.

Above the inscription is carved a horseman to right holding a sword and a female in front with folded hands. The disc of the sun has also been depicted above the head of the horse.

90. The inscription on a *devalī* in the SMT complex is hard to decipher but the date S. 1730 can be made out clearly.

91. An inscription on the proper right hand side of the doorway of the *gūdhamaṇḍapa* of the MT (Pl. 163) reads as follows:-

Line 1: *Saṁmata 1734 vīraṣe Mīgasa-*

2: *ra vada 7 vāra Maṁgala līṣataṁ sutra-*

3 : *dhāra Rughunātha āropītaḥ sutra-dhā-*

4: *ra Gaṁgo jī dhāma*[127] *Jodhapu [ra ?] sutra*

5: *dhāra....*

92. In the SMT complex, there is a *devalī* dated *S.* 174—but it is difficult to decipher it properly.

93. Another *devalī* near the fortification gate of SMT shows a female with a small figure (of her son ?) in her lap. The inscription below is not clear. The tentative reading is as follows:—

Line 1: *[Sa] mata 1754 mata*

2: *suṣa madaṁ ta ra ma*

3: *u laṣamaṁ sata sabha*

4: *pra.....*

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94. An inscription of V.S.1758 as recorded by Nahar[128] from an image, now lost, reads—

'Saṁvata 1758 varṣe Āṣāḍha sudi 13 /
Ravivāra śubha—dine Śrī vṛhat Kharataragacche bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Jinarāja Sūri /
Gaṇe śiṣya. . . /

95. A *devalī* near the fortification-gate of SMT bears the following epigraph—

Line 1: *Savata 1765 varaṣe satī Bhada—*
2: *vā suda* 3 *vāra Śanivāra vrā -*
3: *havaṇa [Ma] n [o] hara satī sa*
4: *mahāssa pahatā jīta su*
5: *[dhyāda ?] subha bhavata ka -*
6: *lyāṁṇā*

96. There is another *devalī* of V.S. 1771 at the same place but it defies all attempts to decipher it.

97. A pillar on the right hand side of the balcony of the MT has the following epigraph—

Line 1: *Samata 1789 rā Vasāṣaṁ su-*
2: *d [i] 9 Budhe Somapurā cā sa-*
3: *.....sa Śrī gaḍha—maṇḍovara*
4: .....

98. The pillar on the other side also bears the inscription of the same date —

Line 1: *Savata 1789 . . Veśāṣe suda 9*
2: *Budhe Somapurā Dugaravāsa*
3: *mageḥ ? ka . . bālā / sa / vācega*
4: *tam ra ma ra*
5: *pra ..... Śrī ..... jī*

99. A *mā-satī* (*satī* with her son in the lap) near the fortification-gate of SMT contains the following inscription -

Line 1 : *Samatr 1799 rā Vasaka va -*
2 : *da 3 vara Sakra Sevaga*
3 : *Rāma de sa suta sevaga*
4 : *Dī .....*

100. At the same place is located a *devalī* of V.S. 1882 but the epigraph cannot be deciphered properly.

There are many more inscriptions at Osian but it is very difficult to make out anything from their text. A considerable number of pillar-inscriptions has been concealed under modern decorative glass coverings, particularly in the SMT.

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II STEP WELLS

There are two step wells at Osian. The bigger one is located at some distance south-east of ST-2 while the smaller one exists near ST-1, to its north. Both of them belong to the *kuṇḍa*-cum-*vāpī* class.

The former (*Pl. 164*) with a square tank and semi-circular eastern flank, which includes a rectangular passage for the rotation of the *Jala-yantra-cakra* or *rahaṭa* (Persian wheel), is of fair dimensions.[129] The tank is nearly 27m. square and the semi-circular eastern flank has the same diameter, the whole structure being apsidal in appearance. On either side of the well is a well-decorated pillared pavillion of almost identical dimensions and character, identified by Dhaky as of *Ramaṇaka* variety.[130] It seems that originally the pavillion was double-storied but the upper storey on both the sides is now completely gone. Also most part of the pavillion on the southern side of the well is buried in sand while the corresponding northern pavillion is in danger of crumbling, being in a state of utter neglect and covered with shrubs and thickets in front.

"The pavillion is distylar-in-antiae structure and consists of a parapet wall punctuated by plain, square, engaged pillars. In between these engaged pillars is thrown the *vedika* (balustered dado) covered by a projecting *āsanapaṭṭaka* seat-plank, over which come two dwarf pillars and two corresponding pilasters attached to the northern and southern wall".[131] The pillars are of *Miśraka* (compound) type possessing a square pot-and-foliage base with a *gaja-mukha* jutting out towards the tank, followed by a cubical member showing large half medallions encompassing some very exquisitely carved floral and figural motifs. The octagonal section above shows 'dancing and sporting *pramatha* spirits in panels' followed successively by a circular wide belt of *grāsamukhas* and plain portion. An "*āmalaka*-shaped *ghaṭa* member surmounted by an archaic *bharaṇa* capital with prominent acanthus leaves at the four extremities, suspended from the *paṭṭikā* fillet lying further above" comes next.[132] The four pronged *śīrṣa* brackets of the two central pillars and three pronged brackets of the two engaged pillars bear beautiful *gandharva*-couples on their undersides. The brackets consist of friezes of acanthus foliage capped by *karṇa-dardarikā* (cyma-and-astragal) mouldings.[133] These pillars are reminiscent of Gupta--Vākāṭaka examples and seem to have an antecedent in the Ajanta Cave No.16 which was excavated around A.D. 470.[134] The fourteen *gandharva-yugalas* on the bracket-soffits, carved in varying excellence and a variety of moods and quieter actions have been studied by Dhaky who has also illustrated from amongst these minstrels of the celestial world couples playing on lyre and cymbals, in leisurely intimacy, drinking and love-making.[135] Stylistically, these sculptures have been compared with those of HH-1 and 2 and assigned to the eighth century A.D.[136]

Inside the pavillion can be seen a deep *khattaka* niche covered by a corrugated awning and capped by a large *udgama* pediment with a human face in the *caitya-gavākṣa* and a *grāsamukha* on the pinnacle, in between the engaged pillars on contra points in the eastern walling.[137] The pilasters are of the *ghaṭa-pallava* type. The pavillions were probably connected and approached by a passage from behind.

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On the sides of the tank are steps in a check-pattern design going downwards and coming back. This step well was known as Vidagdhā as we learn from *NJP* (I. 28-29) -

Yatrāste Vidagdhā nāma vāpī vā(ca)pīnavibhramā /
Nimnā'dho'dhogāminībhiryā' sau sopānapaṅktibhiḥ //
Yasyāṁ yaiḥ kautukī lakaḥ kṛta kuṅkumahastakaiḥ /
Sopānairyātyadhobhāgaṁ na niryāti sa taiḥ punaḥ //

The other step well measuring 21 × 12 m. with pavilions on the opposite sides perhaps and steps on one side for reaching the *kuṇḍa* or the *maṇḍapas*, too, had a *jala-yanta-cakra* appended to it for providing water in the tank. It is in a very dilapidated condition. It, too, may have belonged to the eighth century A.D.

III. FOOT-PRINTS

Up on the hill to the south-east of Osian is a room now known as Dadabari, built on a raised platform (*Pl. 165*). The domed ceiling, the merlons on the walls and the arched doorway leave little doubt to its being a modern building but it houses a stone in the centre which possesses an inscription carved on its front face (No. 53 above) and the foot-prints on a circular base above (*Pl. 166*). As already noted, the inscription refers to the abondoning of body by the head of the community Śrī Kanaka-prabha, a disciple of the Jaina monk Jina-bhadra, in S.1246 (=A.D. 1189).

In the first chapter, we have noticed as to how Jaina tradition gives the credit of converting the populace of Osian to Jainism to Ratna-prabha who according to the *UGP*, performed austerities on the Lūṇādri, i.e., the present hilly eminence. Now people generally believe the foot-prints to be those of Ratna-prabha as is also borne out by a recent renovatory inscription on these foot-prints.

"Vi /Saṁ/1966 miti Veśāka suklā 7 Guru-vāsara Śrīmad = Upakesigacchā-cāryayaṁ/puṁ/pra/bhaṭṭāraka Śrī 109 Śrīmad = Ratna-prabha/Śūrīśvara jī tasya caraṇa-pādukā pratiṣṭitama/munivaṛva Śri Jñāna-sundara ji-kasya sadu-padeśāt Yati Prema/sundareṇa pratiṣṭitam / Mānakalāla Dhanarājasya mātā/ mu: Osīyāṁ X va Dhanarājena jirṇoddhāra kārāpitam / Osīyāṁ nayare vi //Saṁ// 2009 Phā. śu./5 myāṁ Budha// Phala-varddhinivāsī vaida Mohatā Māṇa-kalālajī pra X"

Obviously, the tradition is unreliable. Ratnaprabha seems to have susbtituted Kanakaprabha sometime before the first part of the fourteenth century A.D. when we get the accounts in *NJP* and *UGP* of the former's austerities conversion of people of Osian to Jainism. It must have happened sometime during V.S. 1246 (= A.D. 1189) and V.S. 1393 (= A.D. 1336), the date of the inscription and the *NJP*, probably towards the close of the thirteenth century A.D. when public memory regarding Kanakaprabha's *kāyotsargga* at Osian had faded away.

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IV. STORAGE JARS

While discussing the antiquity of Osian we had the occasion to refer to five storage jars exhumed from the mound near the MT while digging the foundations of the Jaina School there in October, 1974. All of these probably bore small inscriptions on their rims but the rims of two of these jars are broken. The other three bear in all probability the names of their owners (Inscription Nos. 1-3 above). Four of these jars, all approximately 1.04 m. high and 2.55 m. in circumference and having 32 cm. wide mouth, are now preserved in the store-house of MT and one in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. They all possess a globular body, small narrow neck and a vertical externally grooved rim. The jar in the Sardar Museum is the largest and more sturdy. These jars provide evidence regarding not only the antiquity of Osian but also of the affluence of the populace.

An inscribed pot belonging to about the Christian epoch is known from Hastināpura also[138] and indicates that it was not unusual to put names on pots also during the early centuries of this era.

V. COINS

While digging the foundations of the Jaina School, a small earthen vase containing a horad of diminutive silver coins was also unearthed. The diggers did not care to preserve that vase but the hoard found its way into the vaults of the Jaina Trust. We do not know the exact number of coins in this hoard but 373 of them are still lying in the custody of the said Trust.[139]

All the coins, mostly in mint condition, belong to the Arab Governor, Ahmad. They are roughly circular, sometimes oval also. Their size varies from 7.4 mm. to 1.0 cm. and weight ranges between 393 to 523 mg. The Arabic legends on the two sides in the Kufic script are as follow:

Obverse

Lā ilāḥ il

Lillāḥ waḥdat

Lā sharīk Allāḥ

Reverse

Muḥammad

Rasūl

Allāḥ Al Amīr

Aḥmad

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The legends are sometimes within a lined circle which in certain cases shows a border of dots also. 24 coins in the illustration (*Pl. 167*) weigh respectively 460, 430, 476, 413, 423, 510, 523, 420, 425, 420, 428, 415, 475, 435, 400, 420, 435, 400, 400, 393, 415, 450, 438 and 439 mg.

In the early eighth century the Arabs, under the leadership of Junaid, the governor of Sindh, and his leutenants, had lead raids into the interior of India after conquering Sindh and Multan and spreading fanwise, they overran Marwar, Malwa and Broach.[140] A hoard of 3.260 kg. silver coins belonging to Arab Governors and Indo-Sassanian rulers (Gadhaiya type) were discovered at Thana in Maharashtra in 1972-73.[141] Large hoards of the diminutive silver pieces of the Arab Governors from Mandor and Chohtan were published long back by Reu.[142] A very large number of such coins is preserved in the Jodhpur Museum and with certain individuals in Rajasthan.[143] Stray finds have been made from Bagore, Pallu, Degana etc.[144] The discovery of the silver coins of the Arab Governors in very large numbers from various sites in Rajasthan and elsewhere indicates not only their temporal sway but also commercial activities of their times. It is for this reason that the discovery of the hoard from Osian is important. In the eighth century, Osian must have been an elegant town and a commercial and religious centre of great significance.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

Besides the relics described in the foregoing pages, Osian has yielded the remains of various other objects which are of some archaeological interest. Notable amongst these are a *Mātṛpaṭṭa*, a fragment of *Nandīśvara-dvīpa*, a beautiful *parikara*, parts of *toraṇa*, stray sculptures, a Govardhana pillar, a *surabhi*? depiction of five *Nāgas* etc.

The inscribed *Mātṛpaṭṭa* (Inscription No. 55) now preserved in the MT shows the mothers of Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* seated in *lalitāsana*, each with a child on the left lap (*Pl. 168*). The uppermost row is broken. The second row shows three panels with mothers, between two *Nāgara-kūṭas* and a male flywhisker on the extremity. The next row has got five panels between similar *Nāgara-kūtas* and the lowermost two rows have seven mothers each in panels but there are no *Nāgara-kūṭas*. The lowest row depicts a female fanner on the two extremities. The pedestal below shows lotus leaf ornamentation and two-lined inscription on the front face between wo devotees carved on the corners. But for those panels which come under the *Nāgarā-kūṭas* each panel is surmounted by a small projecting cornice and an *udgama*. The names of the Mothers are incised on the face of the cornice slab over each panel. Though not in a very good state of preservation, yet being perhaps the earliest *Mātṛpaṭṭa*, it is important.[145]

What seems to be a part of some *Nandiśvara-dvīpa* is also preserved in the MT. It shows a Jina seated in *padmāsana* in a small chapel on a lotus surrounded on the cardinal directions by similar chapels on petals with two such miniature chapels in between the two cardinal points. On the preserved outer fringe can be

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seen a Jina seated in a pillared niche in *padmāsana* flanked by a fanner on the receding *rathas*. A mythical animal has also been carved on each side. A *grāsamukha* exists on one surviving side.

A *parikara* (*Pl. 169*) fixed in the east wall of the MT complex at the back of DK-1 and 3 is a beautiful piece of art.[146] It shows very exquisitely carved attendants, fully adorned, standing on the two sides with a garland-bearing *vidyādhara* couple above, followed by caparisoned elephants and dancing male figures with a conch-blower surmounting the pinnacle of the trefoil umbrella which lies between the two elephants and shows bells hanging in the loops of garlands. Each figure has been carved in minutiae and the dress and ornaments of all of them bear a touch of elegance. It may have adorned originally some tenth-century Jina figure.

Fragments of what seem to be the lower parts of the pillars of some beautiful *toraṇa* are also lying in the *bhramantikā* of the same shrine. They show *chādyakī*, *grāsamukha*, *gajapīṭha* and *narapīṭha* mouldings repeated in the same order. Beautiful cubical elements with floral pattern simulating a *grāsamukha* supporting brackets and architraves with Jina and other figures, lying nearby, may have been connected with the same *toraṇa*.

The bust of a profusely ornamented *śālabhañjikā* (*Pl. 170*), the head of Siva (?) with traces of the third veritical eye on the forehead but badly mutilated, carved sculptural and architectural pieces etc. are also placed in a dingy cell of the said temple.

A Govardhana pillar (*Pl. 171*) near the group of temples to the south of the ST-1 has Viṣṇu, Balarāma, Gaṇeśa and Sūrya carved in the cardinal directions of a *kūṭa* surmounting the circular shaft. It may be assigned to *c* eighth century A.D.

In the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the SMT, a cow licking a calf who is sucking her milk may have originally been *Kāmadhenuḥ* or a *surabhi*—a memorial for a cow, bearing an inscription. Since the lower portion is now embedded in the platform below, nothing definite can be said.

In a small panel nearby are carved five *Nāgas* standing vertically. They provide evidence for the *Nāga* substratum in the social milieu of Osian.

A golden crown is also said to have been discovered at the time of the construction of the Jaina School but it has found its way to the safe of some rich man and is not available for examination and study.

A large number of sculptures in particular and other remains in general have been pilfered or removed to personal collections and museums.[147] Art pieces are still vanishing and monuments crumbling because of being neglected. Systematic efforts should, therefore, be made to preserve the heritage at Osian.

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REFERENCES

1. I am thankful to Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, for this reading.
2. The reading is tentative. The last three symbols are identical and probably represent a number.
3. *Supra*, ch. I.
4. This is an auspicious mark resembling the numeral for seven in Nāgarī. It is commonly found in the beginning of inscription in Rajasthan.
5. '*Jā*' is inscribed just below '*ka*', the first letter of the third line, and above '*ti*'.
6. Cf. K.C. Jain, "A study Of Castes In Rajasthan (From A.D. 700-1200)", *Proceedings, Indian History Congress*, 40th Session, Waltair, 1979, pp. 147-48.
7. Cf. *IAR*, 1972-73, No. 34. Dr. K.V. Ramesh, *Inscriptions On Stone And Other Materials, 1972-73*, No. 1.
8. The auspicious mark resembles the one on No. 4.
9. Ramesh, *op. cit.*, No. 2.
10. The tens digit has been carved upside down.
11. Cf. Ramesh (*op. cit.*, No. 3) who thinks that the inscription "records the death of the son (name not clear) of (Kakuka) of the Dharkaṭa-*jāti*".
12. Krishna Deva (1969), *op. cit.*, p. 31.
13. Cf. Ramesh (*op. cit.*, No. 4) who reads "Gisādityaputtra."
14. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi-Varanasi-Patna, 1965, pp. 1 ff.
15. The symbol differs from the preceding ones and resembles zero.
16. Cf. Ramesh, *op. cit.*, No. 5.
17. 'Sīḍha' is the name of a sect as we find in another inscription dated V.S. 1534. See *JLS*, p. 196, No. 798.
18. In many of the Osian inscription '*ṣa*' has been used for '*kha*'.
19. Didwana is known from literary and epigraphic sources as Deṇḍavānaka, Diṇḍiāṇaka, Dedduka etc. See *RTA*, pp. 15, 145, 369 etc.
20. Ramesh, *op. cit.*, No. 17.
21. *Ibid.*, No. 8.
22. *Ibid.*, No. 9.
23. Ramesh (*Ibid.*, No. 10) takes it to be 1.
24. There is another auspicious mark at the end of the epigraph.
25. Ramesh, *op. cit.*, No. 12.
26. The reading in *JLS*, No. 788, pp. 192-94 has been noted in the following footnotes where it varies from ours.
27. *Gīrvāṇa.*
28. Ommitted.
29. There are traces of a few letters.
30. *Svannivāsālaya.*
31. o *ārha.*
32. *nasyāvasane....uta.*
33. *jesacya.*
34. Traces of some letters.
35. Omitted.
36. *nirgantuṁ.*
37. o *manuḥ.*
38. Omitted.
39. *samadaraṇa.*
40. o *sprm drgarâja.*
41. *latam.*
42. *...sṛta .... rati.*
43. *rabuddha yodhikam dhoyate sādhavaḥ.*

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44. *paṭīyasīṁ.*
45. *paripaṭhayaṁti.*
46. *madeva.*
47. *Visargas* omitted.
48. *svasya.*
49. *varṇa.*
50. o *vacaṇa.*
51. o *janarapi.*
52. o *bhuvane.*
53. *vyāpa.*
54. *nīra.*
55. *nīra dasita.*
56. *yukta.*
57. *yonayo.*
58. *Vrahma vau*
59. *svargā.*
60. *yata.*
61. *Devadatta...*
62. *mivāgame.*
63. *yā.*
64. *yadvadadhiḳaṁ.*
65. *Dhairyyavanto.*
66. Nahar has inserted a stop here.
67. *pūrvasyām.*
68. o *kṛtoya ... nena.*
69. *dvejayatrī.*
70. *bhūjayanta.*
71. o *payomī.*
72. *sphuṭamapiva.*
73. Omitted.
74. *Bhāvad* o.
75. *Vanhi* o.
76. o *yute.*
77. *bhagaṁstāva...*
78. Omitted.
79. *sutārano.*
80. *ditamidam.*
81. *Bh.*, p. 108. Ojha (*op. cit.*, p. 29), too, took the date as V.S. 1075.
82. *JLS*, p. 195, No. 798.
83. Cf. Ramesh (*op. cit.*, No. 13) who reads the name as Sīddhata.
84. *JLS*, p. 195, No. 792.
85. Not traceable now.
86. It looks like 15.
87. *Śataṁyu-gate* ?
88. Ramesh, *op. cit.*, Nos. 14-16.
89. *JLS*, p. 197, No. 803.
90. Nahar (*Ibid.*, p. 198, No. 805) reads it as '*Ghora*'.
91. '*Sūhavaṁ*' according to Nahar (*Ibid.*).
92. '*Dohitrena*' according to Nahar (*Ibid.*).
93. Nahar (*Ibid.*) has mistaken in reading the names as Sacciko and Caṇḍekā.
94. Nahar's reading Kşemaṁkarī is erroneous.
95. Nahar omits it.
96. *JLS*, p. 195, No. 793.

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97. *Ibid.*, p. 196, No. 794.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 198, No. 804.
99. Nahar's reading Caṇḍa (*Ibid.*, p. 199, No. 807) is wrong.
100. Nahar (*Ibid.*) reads it as '*śreyārthaṁ*'.
101. Nahar reads it as '*ātmiyā*', but there is no vowel mark after '*ya*'.
102. Nahar has not taken note of the drop over '*sa*' and reads '*samatena*'
103. *JLS*, p. 198, No. 806.
104. Nahar (*Ibid.*, p. 199, No. 808) adds '*dine*' after 'Śanivāra'.
105. For the meaning of '*mahattara*' in inscriptions see Sircar (1965), *op. cit.*, p. 361-5.
106. A long-vowel mark seems to have been incised inadvertently after '*pu*'.
107. '*Cha*' probably represents the auspicious symbol of '*pūrṇa-ghaṭa*'.
108. Nahar (*JLS*, p. 195, No. 791) has read the date as 1259.
109. Nahar (*Ibid.*) reads it as 12.
110. Nahar's reading '*gutrī*' is erroneous.
111. Cf. Nahar (*Ibid.*)—'*saha . . diga putraih śaśudaradī sukhadī salla sarva*'.
112. *Jinaḥ* by Nahar (*Ibid.*).
113. Padmādevī ?
114. The names of the 24 mothers according to the Jainas are :

1. Marudevī	2. Vijayā	3. Senā	4. Siddhārthā
5. Maṅgalā	6. Susimā	7. Pṛthvī	8. Lakṣmaṇā
9. Rāmā	10. Nandā	11. Viṣṇu	12. Jayā
13. Sāmā	14. Sujaśa	15. Suvratā	16. Acirā
17. Śrī	18. Devī	19. Prabhāvatī	20. Padmāvatī
21. Vaprā	22. Śivā	23. Vāmā	24. Triśalā.

115. Cf. *JISAO*, IX, p. 48. Shah wrongly holds it as dated in V.S 1045. Tiwari, (*op. cit.*, p. 42), too, has repeated the mistake.
116. '*Darī*' literally means 'a cave, a cavern', but it seems to indicate here the screen-walls of the porch.
117. It look likes 1427 but the month, date and day leave no doubt to its being actually 1421.
118. *JLS*, p. 196, No. 795.
119. *Ibid.*, No. 796.
120. *Śaṅkha-bālecā.*
121. *JLS*, p. 196, No. 797.
122. *Ibid.*, No. 798.
123. *Ibid.*, p. 197, No. 799.
124. *RTA*, p. 460.
125. *JLS*, p. 197, No. 800.
126. *Ibid.*, No. 801.
127. *Grāma* ?
128. *JLS*, p. 197, No. 802.
129. Cf. *JOI*, XX(2), p. 144. Dhaky has wrongly taken the well to be circular. It is the pathway of the bulls for drawing water in the style of the Persian wheels which is circular.
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
132. *Ibid.*
133. *Ibid.*
134. Heinrisch Zimmer, *The Art of India*, Vol. 2, New York, 1955, Figs. 166-67.
135. *JOI*, XX (2), pp. 143-47, Figs. 3-8.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
137. *Ibid.*, p. 145.
138 *AI*, Nos. 10-11, p. 99, Pl. LVII. A.
139. There is evidence that the hoard consisted of a larger number of coins.
140. *RTA*, p. 106.

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141. *IAR*, 1972-73, p. 56, No. 45.
142. *JNSI*, IX, pp. 124-27; Reu, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
143. Information from Sh. Prakash Bapna, Registration Officer, Jodhpur.
144. *IAR*, 1970-71, p. 63, No. 22; *JNSI*, IX, p. 125; Reu, *loc. cit.*
145. Cf. U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, pp. 18-19 and *JISOA*, IX, p. 48.
146. Jain and Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 20, Pl. II. C.
147. Cf. *Catalogue & Guide To Sardar Museum, Jodhpur*, Jaipur, 1960-61, pp. 8-9.

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Life of the People

Dress and ornaments
Food and Drinks
Weapons
Houses and Dwellings
Furniture and Utensils
Flora and Fauna
Transport and Communication
Games and Amusements
Arts and Crafts
Trade and Commerce and Coinage
Religious Beliefs and Practices

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CHAPTER VII

Life of the People

Long back Varāhamihira had remarked that "*Deśānurūpa bhūṣaṇaveśālaṅkāra-mūrtibhiḥ kāryā*",[1] i.e., 'An image should be represented in such a way that its equipment, dress, ornaments and outward form be in agreement with the country'.[2] The images of gods, goddesses and other divinities thus furnish important information regarding the nature of the dress, ornaments, hair-coiffures, weapons, musical instruments, edibles, furniture, flora and fauna, domestic implements and various other things. The classical works of Barua[3] and Sivaramamurti[4] giving detailed accounts of the material culture as gleaned from Bharhut and Amaravati sculptures respectively paved way for Ghurye,[5] Motichandra,[6] Jamila Brijbhushan[7] etc. to study costumes, for Veena purohit[8] to study Indian hair styles, and for Vidya Prakash,[9] Dhavalikar,[10] Krishna Murthy[11] and others[12] to study material culture from the sculptures of Khajuraho, Sanchi, Ajanta, NāgārjunaKoṇḍā, Gandhāra etc.

Besides the images of divinities, scenes drawn from mythology and secular life, generally depicted on the thin recessed friezes of the *vedībandha* of the temples, sometimes even elsewhere, portray various aspects of life. A study of these sculptures reveals to us the material life of the people of Osian during the eighth and twelfth centuries and gives interesting flashes of light on the dress, ornaments, coiffures, cosmetics, games and amusements, flora and fauna, industries and professions, furniture and utensils, arts and crafts, trade and commerce, religion and beliefs etc. of the times.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Dress is not mere clothing but an important adjunct of personality. It gives a peep into the personality of the wearer, his or her occupation, social status and nationality as well as the climatic conditions, products, customs and manners, industries, arts and crafts, taste and aesthetic sensibilities of the times.[13] Inspite of some idealisation and stylisation which may have been there, the costume of the gods, goddesses, *sura-sundarīs* and other figures at Osian may be taken to represent the costume of the aristocrats and the common people. But it seems that there is not much difference between the costume of the royalty and nobility and that of the

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commoners at Osian. There may have been only qualitative difference as at Sanchi and elsewhere.[14]

Male Dress (*Pls. 42-47; 89-120*; & *Fig. XII*) :—Men are generally depicted in the sculptures of Osian as wearing a lower garment (*antarīyā*) resembling a short *dhotī* (*ardhoruka*) reaching the knees and leaving lower legs uncovered. Long *dhotīs*, too, were in vogue. The pleats appear in front or at the back. In certain cases, one end of the garment flutters in the front. The ascetics, are shown as wearing a *kaupīna* or an *ardhoruka*. Men sometimes wear a short tailored garment resembling a *kacchā* or a nicker. The lower garment is often (particurlarly in later later sculptures) secured on the waist by a broad *kamarband*. Sometimes a sash is also seen on the thighs.

The upper garment is rare except in the form of a scarf worn round the neck and hanging on the sides from over the arms. Some Varāha images have a pleated scarf running from the back and tied with its ends at the chest. Sūrya and Revanta wear *avyaṅga* more as a matter of convention than custom. Sūrya wears long boots also. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, the acolytes of Sūrya, are generally shown as wearing a *kullah*-like conical cap.

Some of the male deities on HH-1 show wavy lines on the chest. Men may have worn close fitting jackets.

Female Dress (*Pls. 69-87; 120-129; 146-150; 170 & Fig. XII*):—Except in the case of *keśa-gumphinī* on HH-1 (*Pl. 125*) who wears a long diaphanous modern nightie-like garment covering her body from the neck to ankles, the use of any garment on the upper part of the body is rare in the female sculptures of Osian. Curved lines just below the breasts of some female figures delineate perhaps the edges of a close fitting blouse which was more anatomical than gravitational.[15] Bodice was also sometimes worn.

A long and light scarf-like upper garment arranged in different ways can be seen commonly at Osian. It was not worn to cover any vital part of the body. Dangling sinuously sideways it usually added grace and balanced to the figures. Sometimes, however, the neatly pleated *uttarīya* was disposed horizontally at the middle of the back. In certain sculptures only one end of the *uttarīya* hangs gracefully from the shoulder and the other end passes over to the other side and is held in the hand.

Kuca-bandha is found on only a few sculptures[16] and seems to have been sparingly made use of. It was a thin band of cloth across the breasts swathed at the back.

The lower garment (*adhovastra*) as seen on Osian female sculptures is worn in different styles. Generally ladies wear a *sārī*-like lower garment which extends up to a little above the anklets. Not unoften is the *adhovastra* represented by wavy

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folds on the thighs and legs. As at Khajuraho, we generally find a few pleats from the front gathered tastefully and tucked up at the back centre giving it the look of a tight-fitting pair of drawers.[17] Sometimes the garment was wound round the waist without any pleats or gathers. Another way of wearing the *sārī* was to gather the upper edge at regular intervals along the waist causing small folds all along. *Sārīs* were secured with simple or elaborate waist-bands. Some sculptures of *sura-sundarīs*[18] show a sinuous sash also on the thighs. In certain cases the *sārī* has been depicted in a stylized way as forming sharp angles on the sides or as hanging vertically down the knees.

Not unoften did the *dhotī* extend only up to a little below or above the knees. Oblique folds in some cases are seen indicated by incised lines. A small frieze showing a dancing scene on VT-4 depicts an ecstatic female dancer wearing a narrow short cloth covering only the buttocks and the upper parts of the thighs. Close fitting trousers-like lower garments are also not unknown at Osian. Loose and tight-fitting *lahangas* can also be seen in some of the sculptures.

Ornaments (*Pls. 43-129 & 170, Fig. XIII*):—Human tendency of personal adornment can be traced back to prehistoric times. Though the material and patterns of the ornaments have changed from time to time yet the passion for personal adornment is unaltered. The Indians seems to have had a great fascination for ornaments since early ages. From the period of the Indus Valley Civilization down to the medieval and modern period, the excavations of various sites and literature bear testimony to the continuation of tendency for adornment. The sculptures of Osian show that the passion for self-decoration was much stronger here during the tenth to twelth centuries than any other period. Another notable thing is that men were as fond of ornaments and jewellery as women.

Head Ornaments:—In Osian sculptures examples of *sīmanta-cūḍāmaṇi* and *lalāṭikā* are very rare[19]. Though *borlā* is commonly used in Rajasthan even now and we have its specimens in the medieval sculptures of Khajuraho, yet its absence in Osian sculptures is very conspicuous.

Ornaments and bead-strings were, however, made use of in the arrangement and decoration of the hair and hair buns.

Ear Ornaments:—Sculptures of Osian show the use of *karṇa-kuṇḍalas*, i.e, large or small rings inserted in the ear lobes. Double rings were also worn. Sometimes the rings seems to have been set with pearls or jewels. Flower-shaped ear-rings (*karṇaphūla*), and concentric ear-rings were also popular. Sometimes *phūla jhumkās* were also fastened to the ears with a beaded string. *Sarpa-kuṇḍalas* worn by some ferocious deities seem more to be conventional than popular. Osian sculptures do not provide any evidence of the use of nose-rings and studs.[20]

Neck Ornaments:—A variety of necklets and necklaces worn by men and women can be seen in Osian sculptures. Necklaces of beads of single row (*ekāvali*)

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were very common during the early phase. Necklaces of double or treble rows with a single string of beads hanging downwards or with pendants were also used. Short or long; clinging to the neck or hanging low on the chest with or without a central clasp; having square, rectangular or leaf-shaped pendants; held together by a twisted cord or beaded string constituted the different varieties. Necklaces with beaded string/s passing between the breasts were typical of women. And so also were the *vaikakṣyakas*. Necklace worn by Gaṇeśa has the bell pendants.

Arm Ornaments:—Armlets and bracelets of different types were very popular. Multiple bracelets were also worn. The use of finger-rings (*aṅgulīyaka*), however, seems to have been limited. May be that because of the smallness of size, it is rather difficult to recognise them in the sculptures. However, finger-rings are discernible in some sculptures.[21]

Girdles:—Girdles, known as *mekhalā, rasanā, sārasanā, kāñcī, saptakī* etc.[22] have been depicted in the Osian sculptures as being worn by men and women alike. Besides being decorative they serve the purpose of securing the lower garment.

Early sculptures at Osian show simple girdles of strings or chains with free ends falling as pendants on the thighs. Sometimes they also form suspended loops. The elaborate girdles, however, consist of an ornate belt with central clasp/s, jewelled strands with pendants on thighs and hips making suspended single or multiple loops and beaded tassels hanging in between the loops from the belt.[23]

Anklets and Toe-rings:—Anklets (*nūpura*) were also worn by men and women of every class alike, although they are dispensed with in a few sculptures. Usually anklets were plain beaded rings, sometimes having pendants also. Double anklets, rope and ring-like anklets, with or without a boss in front were also used.

Toe-rings are discernible in some of the sculptures on VT-5 which also show finger-rings. Like the latter, their apparent scarcity may perhaps be because of the difficulty to discern them on sculptures for their small size.

Sacred Thread:—*Dvijas* (twice-born) and gods are depicted as wearing the sacred threads of various types—plain and simple string, triple-stringed, *cīvara-yajñopavītā*.[24] *Sarpa-upavīta* is shown on Gaṇeśa's person.

Yoga-paṭṭa:—Deities like Brahmā, Indra etc. and personages like Sūta Lomaharṣaṇa are represented as wearing a *yoga-paṭṭa* in Osian sculptures.

Hair Styles (*Pls. 43-129 & Fig. XIV*):—It has rightly been remarked by a scholar that India is a land of hair-styles.[25] At Osian, as elsewhere,[26] we find a very large variety of hair-coiffures, the ladies surpassing men in elaborate, attractive and varied arrangements.

The ladies combed their hair backwards, neatly turned them half way and twisted them or tied them with a ribbon or beaded string/s or knotted them on the nape of the neck. Sometimes hair were arranged in separate strands and bedecked with beaded strings and jewels. Curling, coiling, combing, bejewelling,

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looping, plaiting, rolling, stranding, tressing etc. were the different methods adopted for the hair-dos.

Male hair-styles were also attractive and varied. Some men grew beards and moustaches.

Cosmetics:—The custom of decorating the forehead with different types of marks (*tilaka*), which persists to date from ancient times, can be seen at Osian in the figures of fanners on the stairs leading to SMT. It was, however, not so popular at Osian as at Khajuraho.[27] Vermilion (*sindūra*) was used by married women as even now for adorning their *sīmanta*, the line of the parting of the hair. This can be seen at Osian on VT-5, DK-1 and HH-1. Just like the modern women, the *sura-sundarīs* depicted on Osian temples must have been using scented dust and powder for their faces. *Samarāiccakahā*, a work of *c* eighth-ninth century A.D., refers to various cosmetic materials.[28] Collyrium was applied to the eyes,[29] and perhaps the lips were also stained. Some fashionable ladies seem to have coloured the soles of their feet (and perhaps the palms of their hands also) with *alaktaka* and henna powder (*mehandī*) as evidenced by pedicuring *apasarases* on VT-4, DK-4, DK-2, etc. Mirror is an indispensable adjunct of makeup. Ladies with mirrors can be seen on ST-3, HH-1, ST-2 etc. Toilet-attendants are also depicted on VT-5 (with Śubhāṅgiṇī) and VT-4 (with *nūpura*-typing dancer).

FOODS AND DRINKS

The importance of foods and drinks in Indian culture continues from the Vedic period.[30] Though various articles of food and ordinary consumption have been mentioned in literary works[31] and the inscriptions of Rajasthan[32] yet Osian inscriptions and sculptures provide only scanty material in this context. Amongst the pulses, only *mūṅg* finds mention in the SMT inscription of V.S. 1236. Ghee has also been mentioned therein. Winnowing basket in the hands of Śītalā in SMT shows that wheat and perhaps other cereals were also consumed. Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes on Osian temples, however, provide evidence regarding the use of milk and milk products. Sweet balls (*laḍḍūs*) are shown in the hand of Gaṇeśa. The tradition regarding Saccikā being a ferocious deity to which animals were sacrificed, however, indicates that before the influence of Jainism, the populace of Osian might have been non-vegetarian.[33] The depiction of a huntress with an attendant carrying a dead animal on the northern wall of VT-5 also points in the same direction. Mangoes shown in the hand of Āmralumbikā indicate their consumption along with other fruits.

Pegs and wine-flasks depicted in the hands of Balarāma-Revatī, Revanta and other figures[34] indicate that some people must have been taking wine also.

WEAPONS (Pls. 43-120 & Fig. XV)

There is no doubt that many of the weapons like sword, trident, thunderbolt, axe, lance, bow, arrows, dagger, disc, staff, club, etc., shown in the hands of

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different deities in Osian sculptures, are their traditional attributes yet some of them must have actually been current as arms of warfare in those days.

The arms and weapons depicted in Osian reliefs can functionally be divided into two categories: (1) weapons of offence and (2) weapons of defence. Weapons of offence far outnumber those of defence.

Weapons of Offence

Sword:—The most popular weapon at Osian, as at Khajuraho[35], was the sword. Various types of swords like the double-bladed straight swords,[36] thrust swords,[37] cut swords,[38] curved swords[39] etc.,[40] have been shown in the hands of deities and other figures at Osian.

Dagger:—Caṇḍikā in the SMT perambulatory and Nirṛti on VT-5 hold small daggers in their hands while a dagger in the sheath is shown suspended from the waistbelt of Trivikrama on VT-5, Varāha on VT-4 and 5 and Viṣṇu (Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa image) on VT-5.

Spears and Javelins:—Spears and javelins are generally shown in the hands of Kārttikeya and warriors in the battle scenes in Osian sculptures.

Battle-axe:—*Paraśu* or the battle-axe can be seen in the hands of Gaṇeśa as a tapering post with a crescent-shaped blade attached to it near the upper end.

Discus:—The conventional weapon shown almost ubiquitously in the hands of Viṣṇu and sometimes of Saṁkarṣaṇa and Mahiṣamardinī also, the discus or quoit may have been an actual weapon of warfare.[41]

Vajra:—*Vajra* or the three-pronged thunderbolt can be seen in Indra's hands in all sculptures of the deity at Osian.

Mace:—The deadly weapon to crush the enemy, the mace is the attribute of Viṣṇu. That it was used in battles can be seen in the Nṛsiṁha relief on HH-2 where a subsidiary figure is shown as fighting holding the mace in his two hands. Maces of various types can be seen in Osian reliefs. Those with tapering handle, with fluted knob and the thick end and some with gold-plated octagonal shafts and pointed upper ends are, however, of particular interest.

Club:—Clubs with thick ends find illustration at Osian as weapons in the hands of the guards at the gates of the jail in Kṛṣṇa-līlā scenes on the early temples as well as on VT-5.

Trident:—*Triśūla* or the trident, an attribute of Śiva, is depicted variously in the hands of the deity as also of Mahiṣamardinī who is generally shown as piercing the back of the demon with trident. Tridents with long, curved, hooked, sharpened or thickened prongs; with long, plain or tapering shaft; sometimes fitted with fluted knobs near the handle, on the upper end or even the shaft, form interesting examples. Trident in the hand of Śiva is shown as spiralled by a snake in some instances.

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Staff:—*Daṇḍa* or staff, generally depicted in the hands of Daṇḍī, an acolyte of Sūrya, is also shown as held by Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and other cowherd boys in some of the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes.

Bow:—Bows with a single curve can be seen in the hands of Rati (?) on HH-1 and the warriors in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of SMT. Bows with double curve are shown as held by Acchuptā, Pātāla *Yakṣa* etc. While one with a triple curve can be seen in the hand of the huntress on VT-5. Bow and arrows are shown in the hands of Mahiṣamardinī on ST-2.

Acchuptā in MT holds an arrow. Warriors in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of SMT are shown fighting with bows and arrows. Quivers can be seen at the back of Rati on HH-1, Mahiṣamardinī on ST-2. etc.

Plough:—That plough was also sometimes used as a weapon is illustrated in the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes wherein Balarāma is assaulting Lomaharṣaṇa with a plough. Beautiful specimens of plough can be seen in the hands of Balarāma. In one instance, Kārttikeya, too seems to be holding a plough.[42]

Weapons of Defence

Shield: - Shields, shown as held by Kṣetrapāla on SMT (*Pl. 67*), Mahiṣamardinī in SMT porch (*Pl. 82*), Acchuptā in MT (*Pl. 147*), Kārttikeya on the basement of HH-1, a subsidiary figure in the Nṛsiṁha relief on HH-2 etc., are all of the round shape.

Body armour:—Evidence of body armour can be gathered indirectly from the images of Sūrya (*Pls. 61-63*) who is generally shown as wearing coat of mail.

Helmet:—There is a single instance of a helmet at Osian. Mahiṣamardinī in the SMT porch (*Pl. 82*) is shown as wearing a metallic head-cover.

A lintel of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the SMT depicts a battle scene showing warriors on elephants, horses and chariots.

Attributes of the gods like the goad and noose too may have served some purpose in the combats.

HOUSES AND DWELLING

Osian sculptures do not throw light on the contemporary houses and dwellings. It is on a lintel of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the SMT that a building has been shown but the access to the lintel is very difficult. Moreover, the representation is too small to allow us gather the architectural details. Rectangular door on one side and windows on the wall, however, can be discerned.

A frieze on the *vedībandha* of VT-5 which represents Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes shows the jail wherein Devakī gave birth to Kṛṣṇa. The buliding was single storied with a double cornice and petal shaped merlons above the roof. The door consisted of two rectangular door leaves which bore diaper and *jālī* designs. In another instance, the rectangular door-leaf is almost plain. They were fixed vertically ot

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the doorframe and perhaps opened inwardly. Another panel on the same frieze showing the exchange of children represents a scene of Gokula with a triple-storied building and cows on one side (*Pl. 40*). But the building has been represented only conventionally and does not give us the architectural details but for the round hut-like uppermost storey which shows a window too.

FURNITURE AND UTENSILS

Osian sculpture illustrate some stools, seats, bedsteads etc. (*Pls. 42-110 & Fig. XVI*). Cushioned stools, some with stripes, loops, lotus-petal and criss-cross designs, others just like the modern wicker stools, hard iron seats and *masnad*-like cushioned and legged seats[43] find representation at Osian along with wooden *chowkī*-like low seats having a rectangular top mounted on low, curved, ringed or bell-shaped legs.[44]

Generally we do not see many examples of seats provided with a back, though a backed bedstead is depicted on VT-5 showing Kṛṣṇa's birth. This bedstead is sloping and has a high slanting back on the other side also. In one instance, the top is slightly curved.[45] Candra on HH-1 (*Pl. 100*) shown as seated on a crescent-shaped seat. Seats for some deities were, however, slightly, higher with longer ribbed legs and even decorated on the front.[43]

Tables with two pairs of cross-legs and armless wooden chairs with high or slanting backs were also used.

As far as utensils are concerned, we have alrerdy referred to the huge inscribed jars with vertical grooved rims and globular bodies. Pots, flasks and bowls of various types (*Pls. 43-110 & Fig. XVII*)have been depicted in the hands of different deities. Of interest, however, are the pedestalled bowls in which are shown sweat-balls in Gaṇeśa's reliefs. A typical square basket with square or round handle is represented in a Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scene on HH-2 and anklet-binding dancer's relief on VT-4 (*Pl. 123*).

FLORA AND FAUNA

The flora represented in Osian sculptures is scanty as compared to the fauna. Because of the conventional and sometimes rough representation, even the available data presents difficulty of distinctly identifying the examples. The following plants and trees, however, can be made out clearly.

Aśoka (*Saraca Indica*) :—This is one of the commonest and conventional plants depicted in Osian sculptures. Aśoka leaves generally fill the empty space to give the relief a poised look (*Pls. 47-48*).

Aśoka is the *Kevala*-tree of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* Mallināṭha also but because of conventionalism it is not always possible to recognise it.

Aśvattha (*Ficus Religiosa*) :—*Aśvattha* or *pīpala* is a sacred tree for the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. It is the *Kevala*-tree of the Jaina pontiff Ananta and Buddha is generally represented as meditating under this tree. We do not have any clear

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representation of Aśvattha at Osian, nor has any independent image of Ananta been found. But this pontiff probably finds representation on the *Caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* and the *toraṇa*-pillars indicating the depiction of the tree. Buddha's representation in a niche on the basement of HH-1 may have carried the symbolic depiction of *Aśvattha* but the relief unfortunately is very much worn out.

Bamboo (*Bambuseae*) :—Bamboo seems to have been depicted in the forest scenes represented on the lintels of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of SMT. The use of bows also indicates, though indirectly, the presence of bamboo.

Banana (*M. Sapientum*) :—It is prabably represented in the *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes in the Saciyā *raṅgamaṇḍapa*.

Banyan (*Fiscus Bengalensis*) :—Being the *Kevala-vṛkṣa* of Ādinātha, *banyan* finds representation in a conventional manner in the reliefs of the pontiff.

Devadāru :—Pārśvonātha has popularly been represented at Osian. *Devadāru* is Pārśva's *Kevala*-tree.

Sāla (*Shorea Robusta*) :—Being Mahāvīra's *kevala-vṛkṣa*, *Śāla* finds conventional representation in the images of the *tīrthaṅkara*.

Similarly other *kevala*-trees of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras* too may have been represented in the relief but it is difficult to distinguish them.

Tāla (*Acanthus*) :—The representaiton of *tālarpatra* on the *vedībandha* mouldings of the early temples indicates indirectly the existence of *tāla* trees.

The Yamalārjuna scene in Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* represents the twin tree. Kṛṣṇa *līlā* scenes present a variety of other trees which we are unable to identify properly. The presence of *āmalā* (*myrobalan*), vines, citrus plants etc. can also be assumed on the basis of *āmalasāra*, *patraśākhā*, and citrus represented in temples and reliefs. Clothes worn by deities and other figures also indirectly indicate the existence of cotton plants (*Bombas Heptaphyllum*).

Fruits :—Among the fruits, we have mango represented in the hand of Āmralumbikā on VT-5. A small panel on VT-4 also shows Hanumān eating a mango in the Aśoka-vāṭikā. Acanthus, vine foliages, banana plants etc. suggests the use of their fruits also.

Flowers :—Lotus (*padma*) and lily (*nīlotpala*) are the commonest flowers represented in Osian reliefs.

Fauna

Besides the mythical animals, the following creatures have been represented in Osian sculptures.

Birds

Cock :—Cock is depicted on the body of the buffalo, the mount of Yama, on HH-1 (*Pl. 107*).

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Goose :—The commonest bird occuring in ancient Indian art and literature, the goose is represented under the seat of Candra on HH-1 (*Pl. 100*). Rows of geese in varying postures are represented beautifully on the lintels of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* in the SMT (*Pl. 32*).

Goose as the vehicle of Brahmā appears on the Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha relief on VT-3 and as Varuṇa's vehicle on HH-1 (*Pl. 112*). The birds pecking in the jars in Śakaṭa-*bhaṅga* reliefs on the early temples also look like geese.

Parrot :—Parrot can be seen on the shoulder of the Śukasārikā on DK-1 (*Pl. 126*).

Peacock :—Osian represents some very fine depictions of peacock. It appears as the vehicle of Kārttikeya on ST-3 (*Pl. 119*) and HH-1. Peacocks with beautiful long tails can be seen on a lintel of the ST-3 under the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scene depicting Govardhana-*dhāraṇa* etc. The finest representation of retrorse peacocks, however, occurs on the lintel of the *toraṇa* belonging to MT.

Pigeon :– What looks like a pigeon is shown in the hand of Yama on DK-2 (*Pl. 108*).

Animals

Of the wild animals the following are represented.

Lion :—Lion as a vehicle of Mahiṣamardinī occurs in all reliefs of the goddess. It occurs on the images of Durgā (*Siṁhavāhinī*), Gaja-Lakṣmī in the SMT porch, Candra on HH-2, Mahāvīra in MT sanctum, Mānasī, and Mahāmānasī in MT etc.

Elephant —The elephant appears as the vehicle of Indra on all temples, that of Kubera on DK-2, on Gaja-Lakṣmī images, on a lintel of the SMT *raṅgamaṇḍapa*, Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scene representing Kuvalayapīḍa-*vadha*, on the pedestals of most of the Jina images, on the *parikara* in MT, on the *gaja-thara* friezes of many a temple etc.

Boar :—The existence of boars can be indirectly assumed from Varāha images of Viṣṇu. Independently swines perhaps appear as being hunted by the hounds in Revanta images.

Monkey :—Hanumān in the form of a monkey eating a mango is depicted on the eastern wall of VT-4. There are some other friezes also which portray monkeys making a bridge on the *narathara* of VT-5. A domesticated monkey is shown as clinging to the leg of a *nāyikā* also on the same temple.

Jackal :—Jackal appears as licking blood oozing from the severed head held by Bhairava on the fronton of SMT.

Antelopes :—Antelopes, deer or stags occur as the vehicle of Vāyu and on the *pīṭhikās* of Jina images.

Of the domesticated animals, the following can be seen in Osian sculptures.

Horse :—Horse is frequently depicted at Osian as the mount of Revanta and Acchuptā. In the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes also, Vasudeva is generally shown as taking

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the new-born babe to Gokula on horseback. Again the Keśī-*vadha* scenes depict the demon in the form of a horse. Horse or the head of the horse appears in Trivikrama and Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha reliefs also. Horse used by warriors can be seen in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of the SMT also.

Ass :—The ass can be noticed as the vehicle of Nirṛti on HH-1 (*Pl. 109*), Śītalā in SMT perambulatory (*Pl. 84*) and as Dheṇuka in the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes on the early temples.

Bull :—The bull is the vehicle of Śiva and Īśāna and can thus be seen in most of the sulptures of the deity. Independent images of Nandī, the bull, are lying in the MT (*Pl. 68*) and near Śiva ji ki Ḍerī.

Cow :—Cows appear in the Govardhana-*dhāraṇa* panels in Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes (*Pl. 57*). They have also been depicted in a panel on VT-5 where Vasudeva is shown as exchanging the child with Nanda. A cow suckling a cow calf (Surabhi or Kāmadhenu) appears independtly also in SMT porch.

Buffalo :—Buffalo as the vehicle of Yama is depicted on most of the temples. Mahiṣamardinī reliefs also show the animal invariably.

Dog :—The dog is represented on the images of Kṣetrapāla (*Pl. 67*), Bhairavī and Nirṛti in Osian sculptures. Hounds pouncing upon swines appear in some Revanta panels also.

Goat :—The goat as the vehicle of Agni finds representation on all reliefs of the *dikpāla* (*Pl. 105-106*).

Ram :—The ram has been depicted as the vehicle of Kubera on VT-4 (*Pl. 117*) and perhaps VT-2 also.

Nakulaka (Mongoose) :- The existence of *nakulaka* in the hands of Kubera is indicative of mongooses.

Cat :—Cat appears as the vehicle of Jvālāmālinī on the *phāṁsanā* of MT.

Reptiles

Of the reptiles, the commonest are the serpents and cobras which occur in a number of reliefs.

Acquatic Creatures

Of the acquatic creatures, crocodile as the vehicle of Varuṇa and Gaṅgā, alligator as the vehicle of *Mahāvidyā* Gaurī and tortoise supporting the mount Mandara in the churning of the ocean scene can be seen. In one panel on VT-4, the lord of the Sea is shown with piscatorial lower half of the body.

Besides these, the dolphin as the vehicle of Pātāla *Yakṣa* in MT, horse-headed Āśvins on VT-4, anguine Ketu on many temples, mythical monsters and animals on the sills of some of the temples or used as decorative motifs (eg., on HH-1) are of some interest.

We thus see that Osian sculptures present a good variety of flora and fauna of the period.

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TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

The data regarding transport and communication is very scanty. Beasts of burden like horses, asses and elephants may have been used for transport as evidenced by some of the friezes which depict these animals. Bulls, buffaloes and rams too may have been utilized for the purpose. The Śakaṭa-*bhaṅga* friezes suggest the use of bulls for drawing the carts though nowhere has any bull actually been shown as such. The battle scenes on the lintels of the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of SMT shows the use of chariots also which are represented as a wooden plank or a box-like frame mounted on a set of two wheels. Chariots drawn by horses are also depicted on the *narathara* of the south wall of DK-3 and in a *caitya*-arch above the depiction of sleeping Viṣṇu now lying in the Mandor Museum.

Camel, the ship of the desert, strangely enough, has not been depicted anywhere in Osian panels. Nor do we come across any evidence of water transport.

Naravāhana Kubera and Rāma and Lakṣmana carried on the shoulders by Hanumān are more conventional than to suggest human beings as carrying others to different places. Palanquins may have been used though there is no clear depiction of them anywhere. *Samarāiccakahā* refers to the use of palanquins in eighth-ninth century A-D.[47]

There is absolutely no evidence of the system of communication. Prabably it was carried on by messengers going on swift animals like horses or perhaps through birds like pigeons.

GAMES AND AMUSEMENTS

The representations of games and amusements as found in the sculptures of Osian include hunting, man-animal fights, animal combats, wrestling, playing different games, pet keeping, drinking, dancing, music etc. Hunting, is indicated by the representations of Revanta. The huntress on the western wall of VT-5, however, provides beautiful evidence as it shows the huntress holding a long triple-curved bow with a miniature male figure carrying the hunted game tied and hung from a long staff supported on the shoulders.

Animal combats, in particular those of elephants, are represented on the *gaja-thara* of DK-4 and the *nara-thara* of DK-1. Man-animal fights are best represented on VT-3 where there is a large number of recessed reliefs of men fighting a monster, different in form in every example. Kṛṣṇa killing Keśī, Kuvalayapīḍa etc., in the *līlā* scenes are also representative of man-animal fights. Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes also illustrate wrestling, the game of peers, playing with a ball (*Kālīyamardana*), dancing and merry-making by the *gopas* etc.

Playing with a ball by girls is represented in the Kandukī relief on DK-2 (*Pl. 128*). The Śukasārikā on DK-1 (*Pl. 126*) is illustrative of keeping pets. Drinking for pleasure is best illustrated on the *mithuna-śākhā* of ST-3 (*Pl. 34*). Dancing individually is represented by Nūpuravādikā on VT-4 (*Pl. 123*) and DK-2 as well as by the *apasarases* in the domes in the *valānaka* of MT (*Pl. 21*) and the

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raṅgamaṇḍapa of SMT. Group dancing and music is illustrated on VT-5 (*Pl. 41*) VT-4, DK-2; in the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes; on the *toraṇa*-pillars of MT etc.

The drinking and licentious scenes on VT-4, ST-3 and ST-2 may be traditional. If realistic, they represent contemporary life and indicate that some people must have enjoyed and amused by wine and women.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

Osian sculptures shed a flood of light, directly or indirectly, on the various arts and crafts of the period and the professions and occupations of the people.

The temples themselves represent the art of the period. The name of Unāḍhā occurs on the pillars of some temples. He was probably an architect who belonged to the tenth century A.D. *Sūtradhāra* Rughunātha is mentioned in the MT inscription of V.S. 1734. That there must have been architects, masons, stone-carvers and sculptors is fairly attested by the extant temples. Swords, daggers, spears, axes, chains, balls, accessories of horse and elephant trappings, helmets and coats of mail etc., indicate blacksmithy while the gold-plating of the *gadās* and various items of jewellery and ornaments testify to the advanced skill of the goldsmiths, silversmiths and probably coppersmiths also. Ornmentation and jewellery furnishes evidence regarding the art of bead-making. The material used for making beads in ancient times usually was precious metals, precious and semi-precious stones, ivory, terracotta etc.

Arms and armaments, furniture, doors etc., depicted in the sculptures refer to the art and craft of carpenters and wood-carvers.

Various types of jars, vases, bowls, flasks, etc., testify to the potter's art who showed ingenuity not only in manufacturing different types and shapes but also skillfully decorating them with various designs.

Plough indicates the existence of agriculturists who must have raised different crops to provide food and raw-material to the people, Weaving, textile, tailoring etc. is attested by the beautiful attires. A rope-like noose in the hand of Varuṇa on HH-1, rope-like girdles of some of the figures, reins of horses, strings for bows and binding things[48] and churning-sticks etc., all represent the craft of rope-making.

Sheaths of swords, daggers etc.; foot-wear;[49] horse-saddles, belts, straps etc. seen or indicated in Osian sculptures are the examples of the leather craft. Use of dyes, paints, powder, collyrium different items of cosmetics, different types of elaborate coiffures etc. provde evidence of the manufacture of cosmetics and oils.

Besides the agriculrurists. there must have been cattle-rearers,[50] hunters, teachers,[51] physicians and surgeons,[52] washermen,[53] barbers,[54] Musicians, dancers, labourers and attendants, charioteers, waniors mahouts, traders, cloth-printers, shoe-printers, sho-makers, braziers, oil-millers, garland-makers, flower-sellers, sweatmeat sellers, jewellers, etc. in the social milieu of Osian.[55] The inscriptions refer to *sādhus* (bankers) and *śreṣṭhis* (*seths*) also.

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TRADE & COMMERCE AND COINAGE

The above-mentioned arts, crafts, occupations and professions presuppose trade and commerce for which we do not have any direct evidence. It has, however, been gleaned from inscriptions "that Rajasthan had a good trade in various eommodities, the chief being wheat, *muṅga*, resion, oil, betal leaves. pulses, spices, salt, horses, *mañjiṣṭhā*, textiles, *hiṅgula* coral musk, sandal, *agar*, nutmeg, coconuts, *triphalā*, sugar, jaggery, pepper, ivory, *mauvā* and dates".[56] The *Kuvalayamālā*, *Tilakamañjaī* and the *Samarāiccakahā* testify to the sea-trade of the period.[57]

Since all the materials referred to in the foregoing pages were not produced or manufactured at Osian, these must have been obtained through trade and commerce.

Coinage

We have already referred to the diminutive silver coins of thr Arab governor Ahmad. These coins must have been current in Osian and the surrounhing region during the eighth-ninth centuries.

Though the literature of the period mentions *dināra*, *suvaṛna*, *niṣka*, *pāruttha*, *dramma*, *rūpaka*, *Kārṣāpaṅa*, *Kākiṇī* and *varāṭikā* or *Kāvaṇḍikā*,[58] we do not have any corroborative evidence from Osian to prove their prevalence- *Kharataragacchapaṭṭāvali*, *Purātanaparabandhasaṁgraha*, *Lekhapaddhati*, *Pṛthvīrājavīja*, *Bṛhatkathākośa*, *Samarāīccakahā* etc. also refer to *dināra*, *suvarṇa*; *rūpaka*, *pāruttha*, *dramma*, *varmala* etc.[59] Some of these, if not all, may have remained current in the Osian region during the period of A.D. 700 to 1200 and a little later.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

An account of the temples and sculptures of Osian given in the foregoing chapters makes it amply clear that all the main five Brāhmaṇical cults were prevalent at Osian.

There were about half a dozen temples dedicated to Viṣṇu, two to Śiva, two or three to Hari-Hara, three to Sūrya, two to Mahiṣamardinī besides the group of Jaina temples. Images of Gaṇeśa testify to the popularity of his cult.

Viṣṇu was generally worshipped in his traditional from with his usual attributes of *śaṅkha*, *cakra*, *gadā*, and *padma*, standing or seated on Garuḍa. His *vyūha* forms have also been depicted. Śayana, Yogāsana and Āliṅgana *mūrtis* have too been found. Of the incarnations, Trivikrama, Varāha and Nṛsiṁha were more popular than others. There is no independent representation of the Matsya, Paraśurāma, Dāśarathī Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kalki. Kūrma is represented indirectly in a single frieze depicting the churning of the ocean; Dāśarathī Rāma is shown in some *Rāmāyaṇā* scenes depicted on VT-5 and in the *raṅgamaṇḍapa* of SMT and Kṛṣṇa appears in *līlā* scenes which, however, was a very popular theme. Balarāma alone and with Revatī is depicted in some reliefs while Buddha appears on the basement niche of HH-1.

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Vaikuṇṭha, Viśvarūpa, Hayagrīva and Nara-Nārāyaṇa forms are totally absent at Osian.

Śiva is represented as Naṭarāja, Kṣetrapāla (Bhairava), Vīṇādhara and Īśāna, once in Kalyāṇasundara image with Pārvatī. Nandī's independent images in his bull form also occur. *Liṅga*-worship, though evidenced, does not seem to have been very popular.

Representations of Devī as Pārvatī, Durgā, Śṛṅgāra-Durgā, Bhairavī, Mahiṣamardinī, Caṇḍikā, Śītalā, Cāmuṇḍā, Kṣemaṅkarī, Lakṣmī, Gaja-Lakṣmī, *sapta-mātṛkās*, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, Sarasvatī and the female counterparts of some of the *dikpālas* are illustrative of the popularity of the Śakti cult at Osian. Mahiṣamardinī, however, was the most popular form also worshipped under the name of Saccikā and Pīpalā.

Sūrya was worshipped in his standing form without long entourage. Only once or twice has he been shown on a chariot drawn by seven horses, a form popular at other places.

Gaṇeśa in his dancing, seated or standing postures with only two or four hands was popular. But for one late instance (on the fronton of SMT) nowhere is he represented with his mount though once he is shown as having Vaināyakī in his lap.

Dikpālas, *Navagrahas*, Revanta, Brahmā, Kārttikeya, Candra, Āśvins, *Kinnaras*, *Yakṣas*, *Gandharvas*, *Vidyādharas*, *āyudha puruṣas* and composite forms like Ardhanārīśvara, Hari-Hara, and Hari-Hara-Hiraṇyagarbha were also popular.

Osian is a great centre of Jaina art and architecture also. Amongst the *tīrthaṅkaras*, Ādinātha, Pārśvnātha and Mahāvīra were more popular than others. Worship of all the twenty-four *tīrthaṅkaras*, however, is evidenced by the Caturviṁśati-paṭṭa and their representation on the walls of different Devakulikās and the facets of the *toraṇa*-pillars. Jaina *Yakṣas*, *Yakṣīs* and *Vidyādevīs* were also quite popular. Pārśva, Pātāla and Brahmaśānti amongst the *Yakṣas*; Cakreśvarī, Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Acchuptā, Gaurī, Vairoṭī, Nirvāṇī, and Padmāvatī amongst the *Yakṣīs*; Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Kālī, Gaurī, Jvālāmālinī, Vairoṭī, Acyuptā, Mānasī and Mahāmānasī amongst the *Mahāvidyās* were comparatively more popular, though others too were represented and worshipped. Jīvantasvāmi too was popularly worshipped. Scenes from the life of the Jinas have also been represented on the socles of the Devakulikās.

Sarasvatī as Śrutadevī, Lakṣmī, Kubera and Gaṇeśa were also worshipped by the Jainas. Worship of the *Nāgas* and Bhairon ji also seems to continue from old times.

As can be gathered from the architecture of the temples, the circumambulation of the temple formed an important part of the ritual of worship. While going round the temple, the worshippers paid veneration to other deities also represented on the temple walls. The *sabhā*-or *raṅgamaṇḍapas* of some of the temples may have served the purpose of dancing halls for the 'divine maids' or for congregated worshippers to wait their turn to make their offerings to the deities. The traditions indicate that animals were offered for sacrifice at the temple of Saciyā before her conversion to Jainism.

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DK-3 shows the worship of a Jina in a *Caitya*. Another *pūjā*-scene has been depicted on the *narathara* of VT-5 at Osian. Dance and music may have been the important adjuncts of worship as is indicated by numerous representations on the temple walls of group singing and dancing.

Amorous friezes, representing bearded ascetics also, indicate the prevalence of certain practices associated with *vāma-mārgīs*.

Syncretistic images and the inclusion of Hindu deities in the Jaina fold is the evidence of a general spirit of religious tolerance.

The foregoing account thus presents the picturesque panorama of the life of the people at Osian during A.D. 700-1200 as depicted in its reliefs.

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13. Cf. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
14. Dhavalikar, *op cit.*, p. 17. Cf. Krishnamurti (1977), *op. cit.*, p. 18 & *AOT*, p. 20.
15. Cf. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24. Also see *AOT*, pp. 19-22. where Asha Kalia wrongly states the use of *kurta* by women in Osian sculptures.
16. Eg., Mahiṣamardini on PDT.
17. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.
18. Eg., the one on VT-5.
19. Such head ornaments were very common during the Śuṅga, Sātavāhana and Kuṣāṇa periods. For examples, see Barua, *op. cit.*, Pt, III, Pl. LXIV, 74; J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Bruxelles, 1930, Pl. L, a; Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, Pl. VI. 5 etc.
20. For the antiquity of nose ornaments see P.K. Gode, *Studies in Indian Cultural History*, Vol. II, Poona, 1960, pp. 142 ff.
21. Nirṛti's (female) spouse on VT-5 and a *sura-sundarī* on VT-4 wear the finger-rings. The former shows toe-rings also, Finger-rings can also be seen in Pls. XLIII, LIII, LV, LXXXVIII, XCII etc. Asha Kalia (*AOT*, p. 31) has missed the finger and toe-rings in Osian-sculptures.
21. Sivaramamurty, *loc. cit.*, p. 112.
23. Bhairava wears *sarpa-mekhalā* in Osian sculptures.
24. Brahmā, Agni etc., are usually represented with this type of *upavita*.
25. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
26. See for details Veena purohit, *loc. cit.*
27. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

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28. Jhinku Yadav, *Samarāiccakahā Eka Sāṁskṛtika Adhyana*, Varanasi, 1977, pp. 212-13.
29. A female on DK-1 is depicted as applying collyrium to her eye with an antimony rod.
30. Om Prakash, *Foods and Drinks in Ancient India*, Delhi, 1961, p. 10.
31. Eg., *Bṛhatkathākośa* (56.228; 78.71; 80.106, 147; 109.126-27 etc.), *Kathākośaprakaraṇa* (p. 68), *Yaśastilaka Campa* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1901 & 1903, pp. 401 ff), *Samarāiccakahā* (Yadav, *op. cit.*, pp. 192 ff) etc.
32. *RTA*, p. 466.
33. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 467; *AOT*, p. 17.
34. Eg., on the *minthuna-śākhā* of ST-3.
35. Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
36. Double-bladed strait swords are shown in the hands of Mahiṣamardinī in the principal back niche of SMT, Acchuptā in MT, Vairoṭyā on the *phāṁsanā* of MT, Ntrṛti on DK-2 and 5, Kārttikeya on the basement of HH-1 etc.
37. Thrust swords can be seen in the hand of Kṣetrapāla on the *kapilī* of SMT, Nirṛti and the male figure of the *mithunaśākhā* on VT-4 etc.
38. The male on the *mithunaśākhā* of VT-4 in one instance holds a cut sword.
39. Mahiṣamardinī in the SMT porch holds a curved sword.
40. Nirṛti on HH-1 is shown with a square hilted tapering sword while the same deity on HH-3 and ST-2 holds what looks like an octagonal sectioned sword. Nirṛti on VT-5 is depicted with a narrow-bladed straight-sided flat-tiffed sword.
41. Dhavalikar (1974), *op. cit.*, p. 110.
42. On the basement of HH-1.
43. Nanda in the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes on various temples is normally seated on a cushioned stool or iron, seat; Bhūdevi shampooing Viṣṇu's foot in Śeṣaśāyī relief is seated on a tapering stool; Kubera on ST-3 is placed on a *masnad*-like cushioned stool with short legs.
44. Kṣemaṅkarī in SMT perambulatory, Pūtanā on HH-1, Kṛṣṇa in the act of Śakaṭa-*bhaṅga* on HH-1, etc., are seated on low seats.
45. The bedstead on ST-3 is shown with vertical support on one side only. Amorous frieze on VT-5, Sakaṭa-*bhaṅga* frieze on HH-2 etc., show curved tops.
46. *Tīrthaṅkaras* are generally shown on high seats, with ribbed legs and decorated fronts.
47. Yadav, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
48. The books in Brahmā's hands on ST-2 are tied by a thin string.
49. Sūrya is represented wearing long boots.
50. Kine near Nanda in the exchange of children's scene on VT-5, churning of milk in the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scenes indicate it.
51. A bearded man sitting and watching a group of people dance before him, represented on the *narathara* of VT-5, may be a teacher. A teacher seems to have been represented in a frieze on the southern wall of DK-2 also.
52. The professions are suggested by Āśvins, the divine doctors, represented on the lintel of VT-4 and in Hari-Hari-Hiraṇyagarbha relief of the same temple.
53. Probably represented in the Kṛṣṇa-*līlā* scene on HH-1.
54. Suggested by different types of hair-coiffures.
55. *Samarāiccakahā* refers to many other professions also. See for details Yadav, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 ff.
56. *RTA*, p. 491.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 492-93.
58. *Ibid.*, p. 497.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 497 ff; Yadav, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.

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Index

Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, 144
Ācāradinakara, 17
Āditya Purāṇa, 135
Agni Purāṇa, 16, 88, 94, 109, 113-114, 133, 139, 142-144, 146, 148, 150-151, 153, 155, 158
Agrawal, R.C., 16, 139, 203
Ahirbuddhnya Saṁhitā, 81
Ajanta Cave, 231, 243
Aṁśumadbhedāgama (*AMB*), 135, 137, 142, 144, 149, 151, 155, 158, 161
Ananta, 250
Aparājitapṛcchā (*AP*), 81-82, 105, 114, 143-144, 146, 148-149, 151, 153, 155-156, 161-162
Arthaśāstra, 158
Atharvaveda (*AV*), 98, 148. 157

Banerjea, J.N., 87
Barua, B.M., 243
Bhagavadgītā, 131
Bhāgvata Purāṇa, 101
Bhandarkar, D.R., 29, 31, 33-42, 47-48, 53-54, 56, 62, 66-69, 78, 83, 112, 219, 247
Bhandarkar Temple No. 5, 62
Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, 104
Bhillamālakācārya, 11
Bhoja, king, 7
Bhimasena, 9
Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta, 7, 11
Bṛhadratha *K*, 5
Bṛhatsaṁhitā (*BS*), 94, 109, 114, 132, 135, 137, 140, 144, 148, 153, 160
Brijbhushan, Jamila, 243
Brown, Percy, 39-40, 68
Buddha, 78, 80, 85, 95, 142, 250
Buddhism, 177

Cālukya dynasty, 7
Cāmuṇḍā, 15-17, 31, 52-53, 109-111, 194, 257
Caṇḍikā, 15-16, 53, 109, 248, 257
Candragupta Maurya *E*, 5
Candragupta Vikramaditya *E*, 6
Candṛasena, 9-10
Caturvargacintāmaṇi (*CVC*), 81
Chhāndogya Upaniṣad 91
Cupid, 8

Dadhimatī Devi Temple, 6
Desai, Devangana, 163
Desai, Kalpana, 84, 90
Devakulikā No. 1 (DK-1), 48, 50, 69, 145-146, 150, 157, 160, 163-164, 183, 185, 190, 200-205, 235, 254
Devakulikā No. 2 (DK-2), 49, 51, 69, 147, 150, 152, 155, 157, 159-160, 163, 196, 201-204, 247, 254-255
Devakulikā No. 3 (DK-3), 50-51, 69, 157, 163, 185, 201-202, 205, 225, 235, 254, 258
Devakulikā No. 4 (DK-4), 57, 69, 159, 190, 196, 200-202, 247, 254
Devakulikā No. 5 (DK-5), 51, 69, 151-152, 154, 163, 185, 196, 205
Devakulikā No. 6-7 (DK-6&7), 51, 69
Devatāmūrtiprakarṇa (*DMP*), 81, 156
Devībhāgavata, 16, 109
Devi-Purāṇa, 104
Dhaky, M.A., 16, 44-46, 48, 64-65, 67-69, 104-105, 201, 231
Dhavalikar, M.K., 243
Dhundli Mall, 8

Ephthalites, 6
erotic sculptures, 163

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Gaṇeśa Purāṇa, 114
Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, 6
Ghurye, G.S., 243
Goetz, H., 35, 91

Harihara Temple No. 1 (HH-1), 16, 29, 31-32, 35-37, 63, 67-68, 80, 82-85, 88, 90-92, 94-97, 101, 105-106, 111, 113, 116, 118, 132-133, 135, 137-139, 145, 147, 149, 151, 156, 159, 160-161, 231, 244, 247, 249-253, 256
Harihara Temple No. 2 (HH-2), 31, 33-37, 67-68, 80, 82-83, 85-86, 88, 90, 92, 95-97, 99-101, 104, 113, 116, 118, 132, 137, 139, 141, 145, 147, 149, 151, 154, 156, 159-161, 212, 220, 225, 231, 249-250, 252, 255
Harihara Temple No. 3 (HH-3), 33, 35, 37-38, 43, 46, 63, 68, 83, 88, 90, 96-97, 99-101, 107, 113, 118, 133, 135-136, 138, 140, 145, 147, 149, 154, 156, 160-161, 220
Harivaṁśa (HV), 82, 87, 89, 91, 142, 148
Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, 8, 11
Hemādri, 153, 158
Hinduism, 77-78, 114, 131, 134, 141, 205
Hūṇas, the, 6
Hūṇas, the White, 6

Indus Valley Civilization, 245

Jaina mythology, 158
Jainas, The, 8-10, 43, 205
Jaina tradition, 182, 202
Jainism, 10, 13-14, 16, 43, 141, 177, 182, 205, 232
Jayasena, 9
Jinasena, 11
Joshi, N.P., 139

Kakka Sūri, 47, 55
Kaṇiṣka *K*, 5
Kāyotsargga, 232
Keith, A.B., 78
Khajuraho temples, 77, 144, 146, 150, 152, 156, 163-164, 243-244, 247-248
Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvalī, 15
Kṛṣṇa-lila, 6, 31-32, 34-35, 37-38, 57, 60-61, 64, 67, 77, 83, 91-94, 249-255
Ksaharatas, the, 5
Kumāragupta, 16
Kunj Behari Temple, 79
Kuṣāṇa empire, 5
Kuṣāṇas, The, 5-6
Kuvalayamālā, 8

Liṅga Purāṇa, 101

Macdonell, A.A., 78
Māgha, 7
Mahābhārata (*Mbh.*), 4, 78, 82, 87, 91, 98, 101, 106, 142-143, 146, 150, 153, 155, 157
Mahābhāṣya, 158
Mahākāvya, 7
Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, 6
Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad, 87
Mahāvīra Jaina Temple (MJT), 11-13, 29, 42, 47, 51, 55, 56, 58-59, 63, 66-69, 101, 107, 113, 115-116, 145, 147, 149-151, 154-156, 159, 161, 163, 182-185, 189-190, 196, 200-205, 218-219, 221-222, 225, 227, 229-230, 233-235, 249, 252-255
Mahiṣamardinī, 14-17, 30, 32, 37, 40-41, 52-56, 100, 106-108, 111, 158-159, 182, 205, 224, 249, 252, 256-257
Mahiṣasura, 31, 106-109, 111, 150
Mahiṣāura, 15
Mahiṣāsuramardinī, 109
Manusmṛti, 144, 150
Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, 16, 102, 106, 138, 156
Matsya Purāṇa, 89, 114, 139, 142-144, 146, 148, 151, 153, 155, 158, 161
Megasthenes, 4
Meister, Michael W., 92-93
Motichandra, 243
Murthy, K. Krishna, 243

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Nābhinandanajinoddhāra Prabandha (*NJP*), 8, 14, 17, 47, 55, 224, 232
Nāgābhaṭṭa *I*, 7-8, 14
Nāgas, the, 14, 30, 33-34, 37, 43, 85
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, 243
Nahar, P.C., 219, 222-223, 226-228, 230
Neminātha-Caritra, 10,

Osian sculptures, 85, 248-250, 253
Oswal community, 204
Oswals, the 10, 12-15

Padma Purāṇa (*PP*), 16-17, 81, 104
Pāṇini, 91
Paramāras, the, 10
Parameśvara Saṁhitā, 81
Pārśvanātha Temple, 56
Pauraṇic mythology, 96
Pīpalā Devī, 40-41, 78
Pīpalā Devī Temple (PDT), 39-40, 42-43, 56, 63-64, 68, 108, 112, 117, 143, 145, 147, 149, 152, 154, 156, 158-160, 163, 213
Pratihāras, the, 7, 11-12
Pratiṣṭhā Vidhi, 17
Puruṣa-sūkta, 155
Pūrva Kāraṇāgama (*PKA*), 146, 148, 161

Rajputs, the, 6-7
Rāmāyaṇa (*Ram.*), 4-5, 54, 61, 89, 91, 98, 101, 137, 153, 251, 256
Ramesh, K.V., 214-216, 220
Rao, T.A.G., 87, 103, 105
Ratnaprabha Sūri, 10, 13, 15, 17
Ṛgveda (*RV*), 78, 89, 91, 96, 98, 112, 138, 141, 144, 146, 150, 153, 177
Rūpa-Maṇḍana, 81-82, 101-102, 105, 109, 114, 134-135, 143-144, 146, 148-151, 153, 155-156, 161-162
Rūpāvatāra, 156
Saciyā-māta, 14, 17, 29

Saciyā Mātā Temple (SMT), 3, 8, 16, 39, 52, 55-56, 63, 67, 81, 83, 86, 88, 91, 95, 99-105, 108-109, 112, 115-117, 133, 136, 138, 141, 145, 148, 150, 163, 220-230, 235, 247-249, 251-257
Saivas, the, 9
Śaivism, 132
Sampurananda, 114
Sanchi, 243
Sañciyā, 17
Sātavāhanas, the, 5-6
Satya Nārāyaṇa Temple, 62, 87-88, 91, 103, 113
Shah, U.P., 203
Sharma, B.N., 101, 107, 117, 141
Silparatna (*SR*), 135-136, 139, 142-144, 146, 148-149, 151, 155, 158, 161
Singh, Gurdip, 4
Śiśupāla-vadha, 7
Śiva-Mahāpurāṇa, 101
Śiva Purāṇa, 131
Sivaramamurti, C., 243
Siva Temple No. 1, 36, 83, 143
Soundara Rajan, K.V., 47
Sun Temple No. 1. (ST-1), 36, 63, 68, 80, 83, 97, 99, 101, 107, 136, 139, 145, 147, 149, 151, 154, 160, 161, 231, 235
Sun Temple Main, (ST-2), 37, 40-43, 48, 56, 63-64, 67-68, 81, 83, 85-86, 88, 94-95, 97, 101-102, 113, 116, 136, 151, 154, 159, 163-164, 231, 247, 249, 255
Sun Temple, (ST-3), 55, 63, 67, 83, 91-97, 99, 107-108, 113, 116-117, 132, 137, 141, 147, 149, 156, 159, 184, 247, 254-255
Suprabhedāgama (*SPB*), 135, 144, 146, 151, 153, 155, 161

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, 87, 103
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 103
Taittirīya Saṁhita, 138, 148
tāṇḍava-nṛtya, 33
Tāntric Yoginīs, 205

Udyotana Sūri, 8
Upadeśamālāvṛtti, 10
Upakeśagacchapaṭṭāvalī (*UGP*), 12-15, 183, 212, 232

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Upala Deva, 9-11, 14
Uppal De, 8

Vaiṣṇavism, 132
Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, 103
Vāma-mārgīs, 9
Vāmana Purāṇa, 106
Varaha Purāṇa, 157
Vedic mythology, 144, 153
Vidya Prakash, 243
Viennot, Odette, 68
Viṣṇudharmaottara Purāṇa, 88, 94, 101, 109, 113-114, 132, 137, 139, 142-144, 146, 148, 150, 153-155, 158, 161
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 93, 135
Viṣṇu (Rāmadevaḍa) Temple No. 1 (VT-1), 35, 37-38, 43, 62-63, 68, 81, 88, 90, 92, 113, 145, 147, 149, 151, 154, 156, 160-161, 220
Viṣṇu Temple No. 2 (VT-2), 41, 44, 59, 63, 68, 83, 88, 111-113, 145, 147, 149, 152, 154, 156, 160-161, 242
Viṣṇu Temple No. 3 (VT-3), 58, 69, 83-84, 86, 89, 96, 101, 111-113, 117, 133-134, 140, 145, 147, 149, 152, 163, 221, 252, 254
Viṣṇu Temple No. 4 (VT-4), 59, 62, 69, 81-82, 84, 87, 90, 96, 98, 100, 104, 117, 134, 142-143, 145, 148, 152, 155, 157, 159-160, 162-164, 245, 247-248, 250-255
Viṣṇu Temple No. 5 (VT-5), 61, 69, 81-82, 84-85, 87, 90-93, 96, 98, 100, 106, 110, 112-113, 115, 117, 134, 138, 145, 148, 152, 155, 157, 159-160, 162-164, 246-255

Yuan Chwang, 6, 10

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Figures
&
Plates

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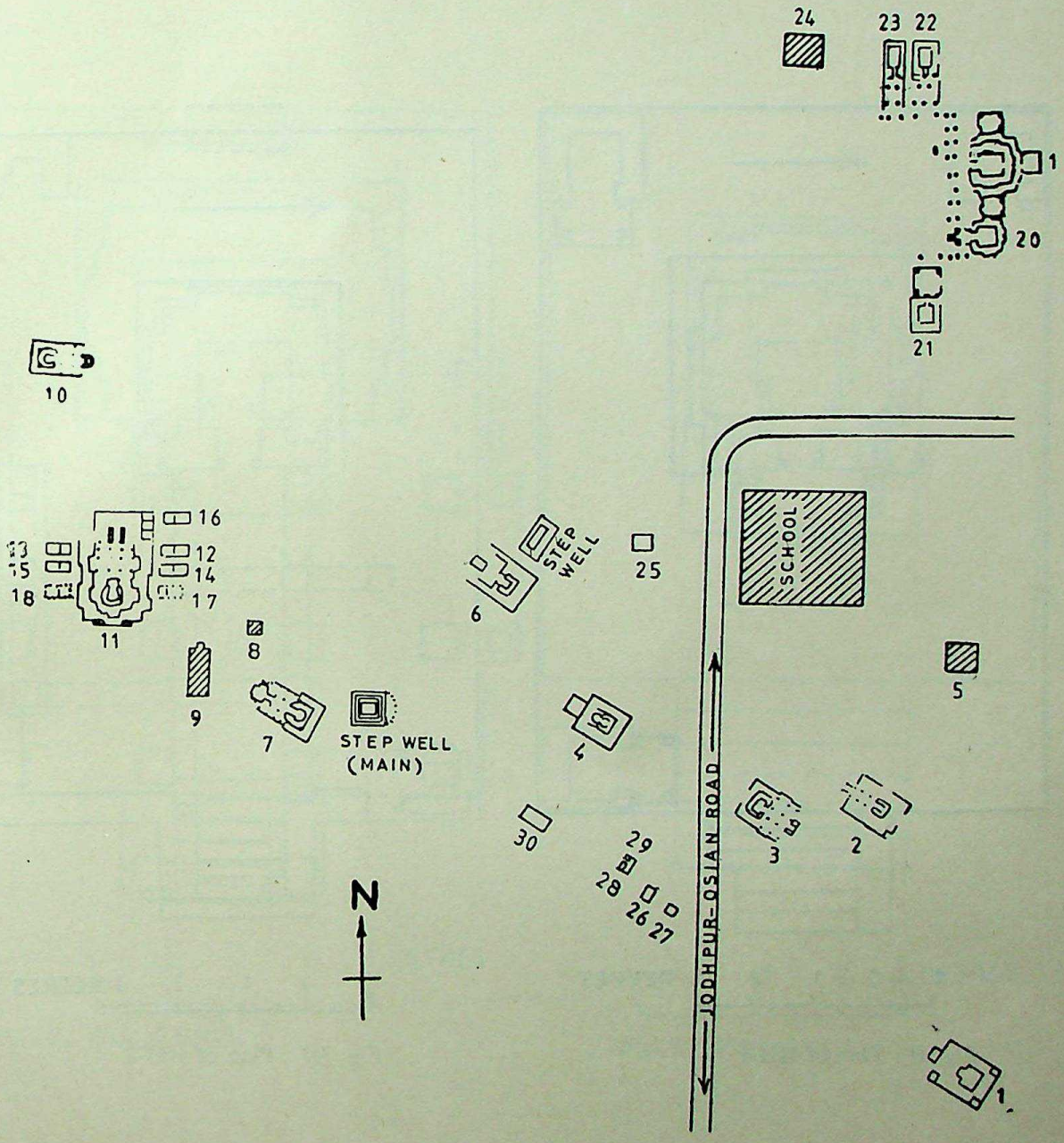

Fig. I : Lay out of Temples at Osian (1-3 : HH-1 to 3, 4 : VT-1, 5 : Siva T.-1, 6 : ST-1, 7 : ST-2, 8 : Siva T. -2, 9; PDT, 10 : VT-2, 11 : MT, 12-18 : DK-1 to 7, 19 : SMT, 20 : ST-3, 21-23 : VT-3 to 5, 24 : SMT, 25 : Wrecked T., 26-30 : Smaller shrines)

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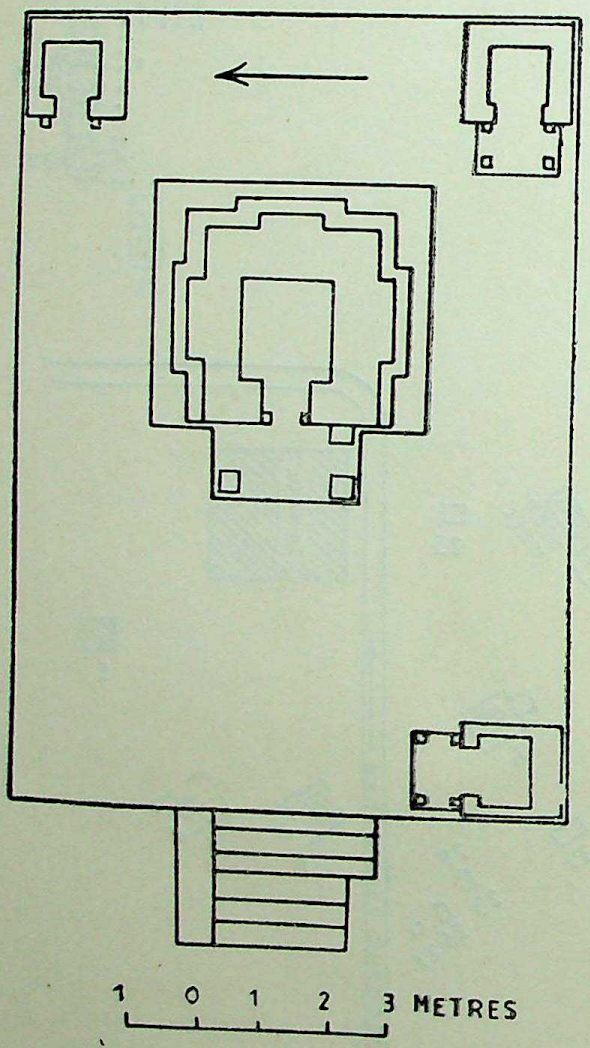

Fig. II : Plan of HH-1

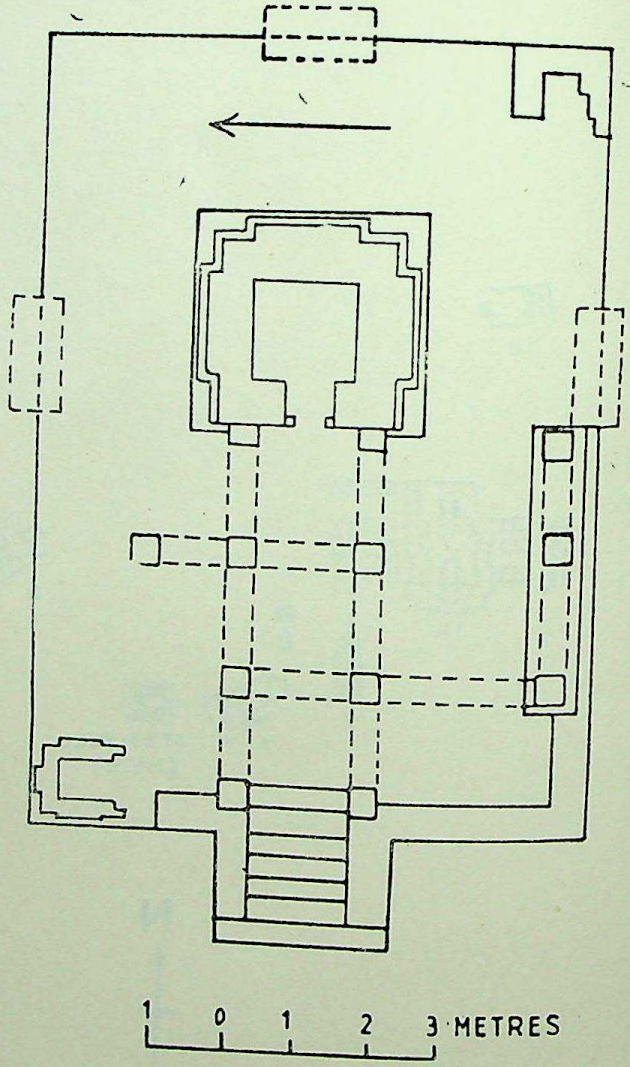

Fig. III : Plan of HH-2

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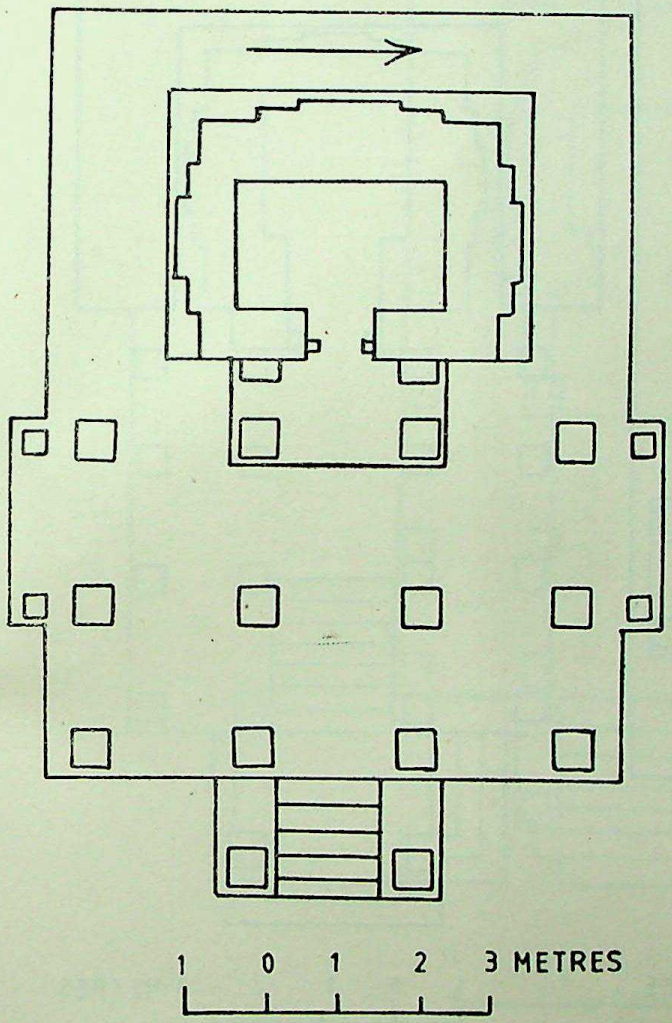

Fig. IV : Plan of HH-3

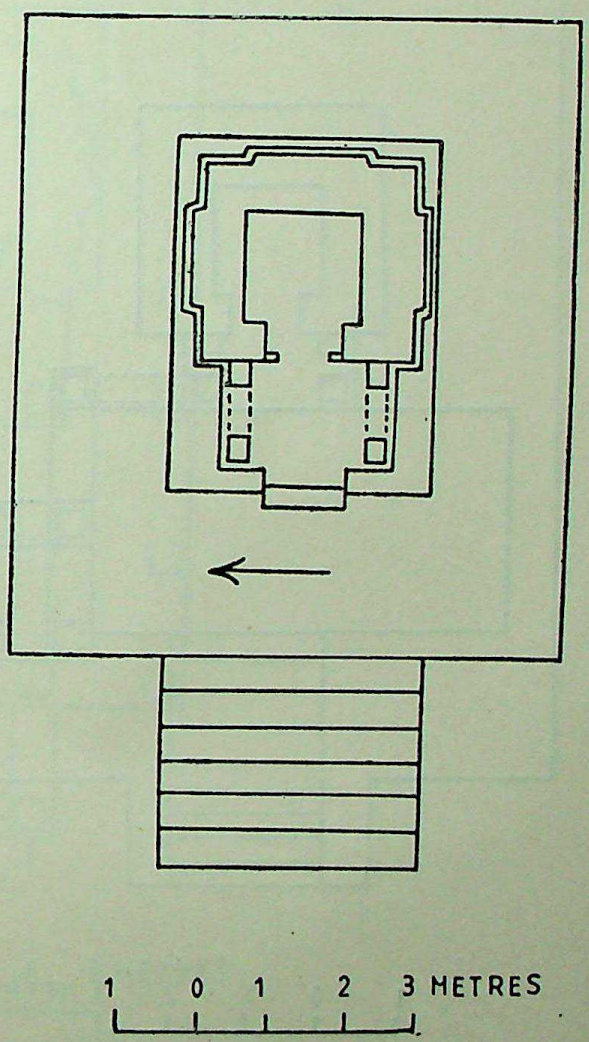

Fig. V : Plan of VT-1

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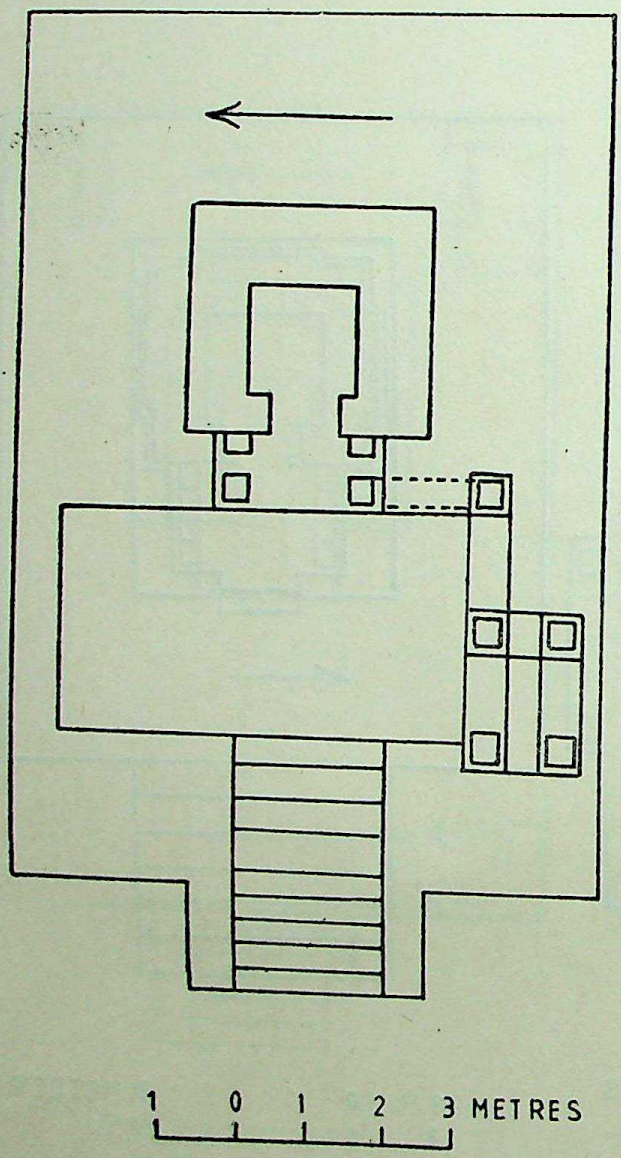

Fig. VI : Plan of ST-1

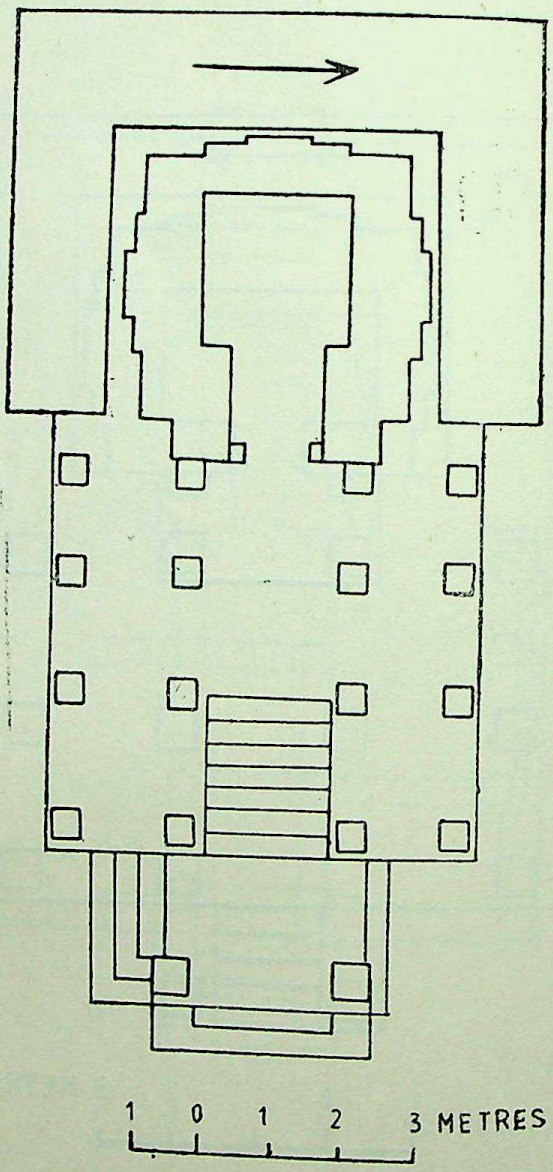

Fig. VII : Plan of ST-2

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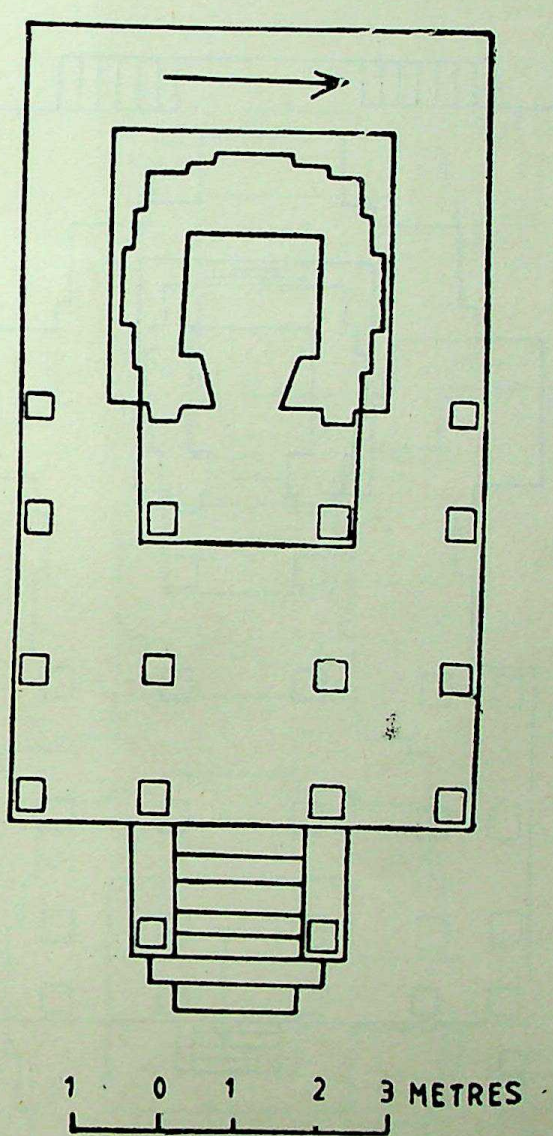

Fig. VIII : Plan of VT-2

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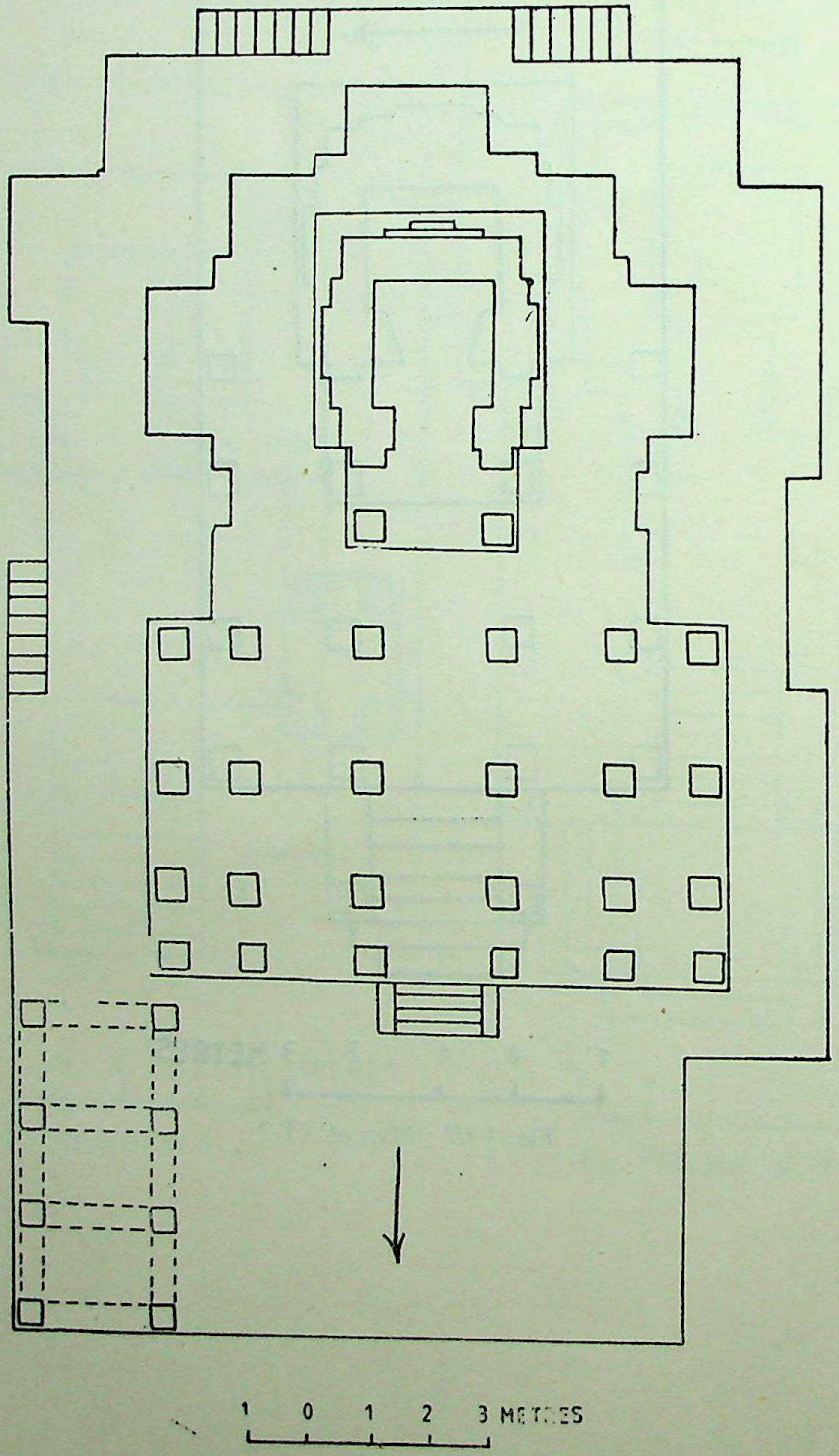

Fig. IX : Plan of MT

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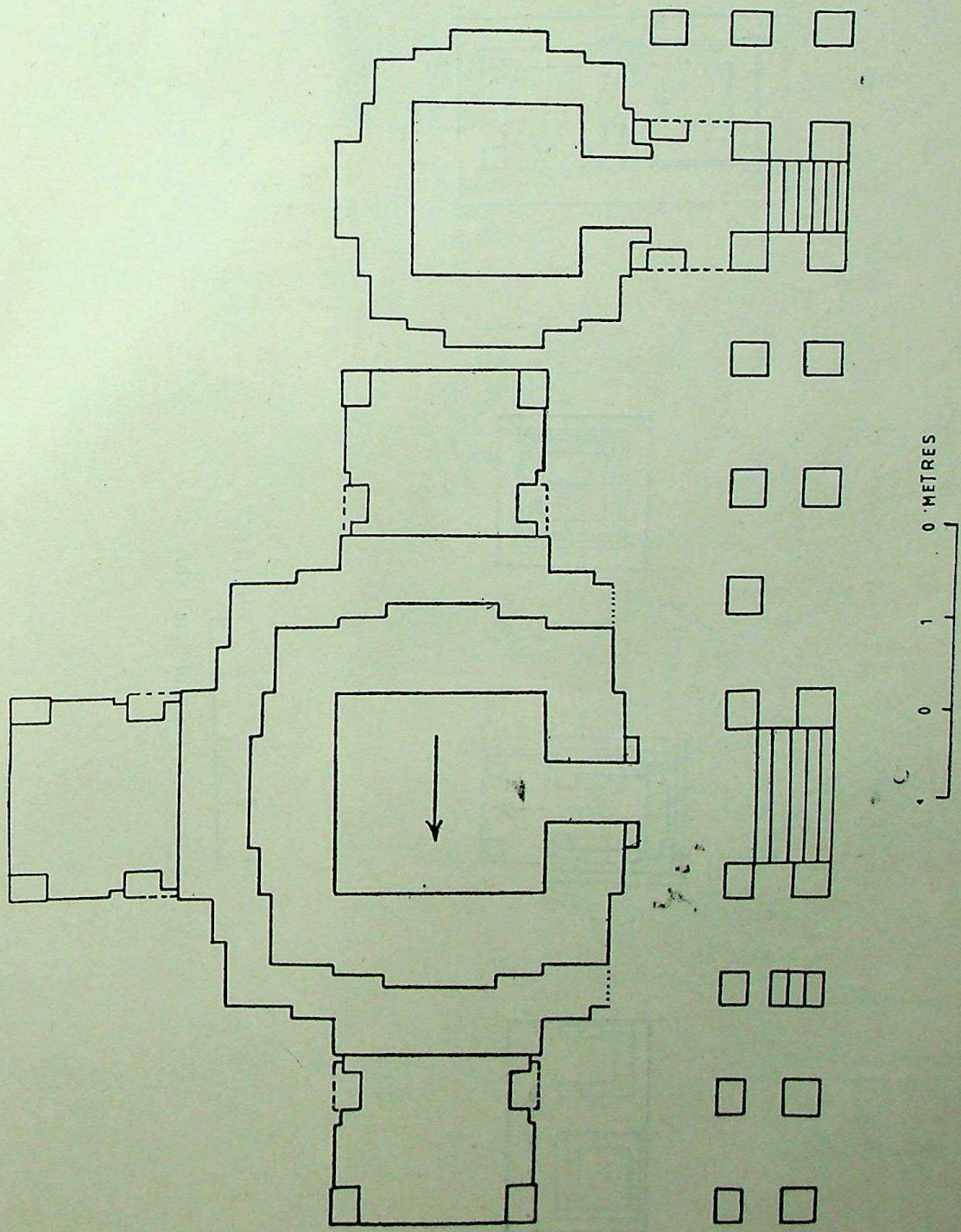

Fig. X : Plan of SMT and ST-3

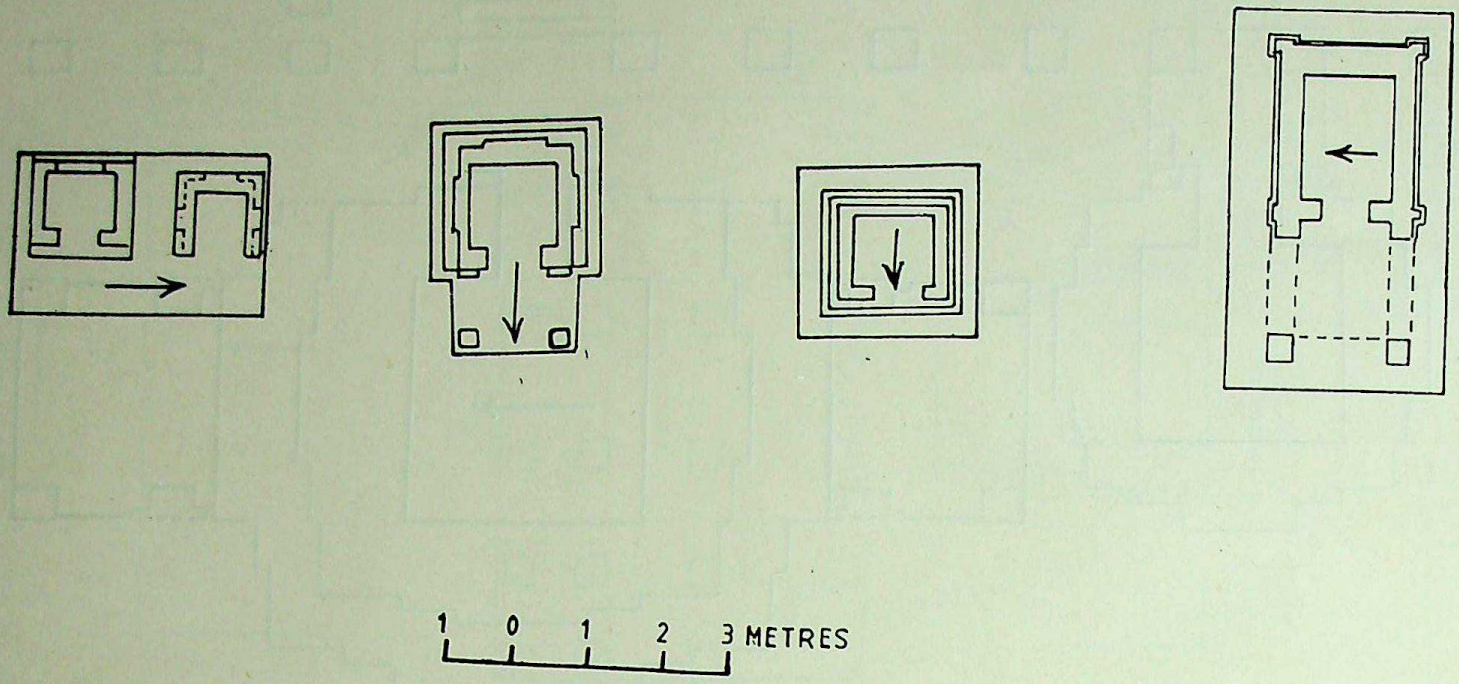

Fig. XI : Plans of Small Shrines

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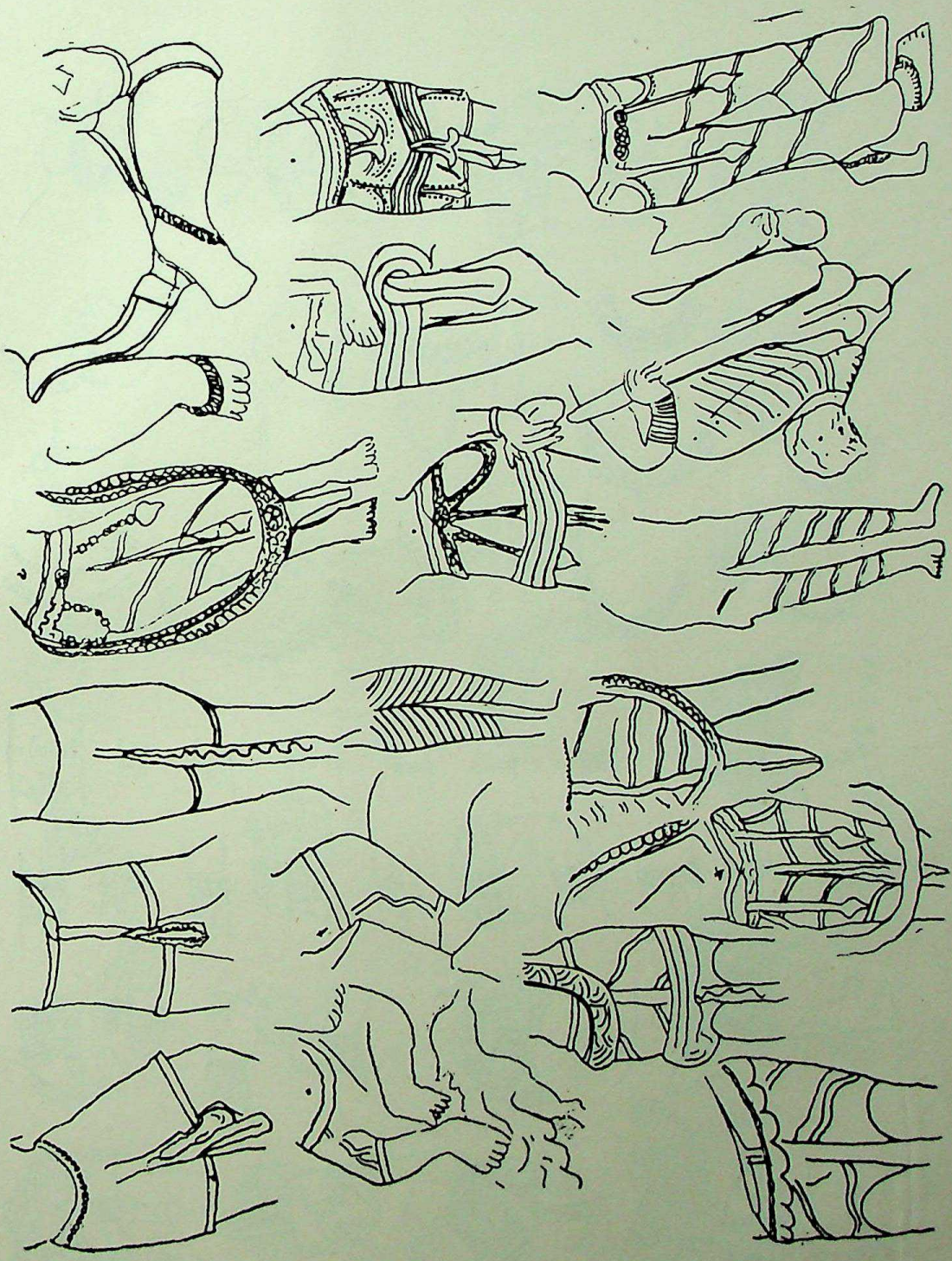

Fig. XII : Dresses

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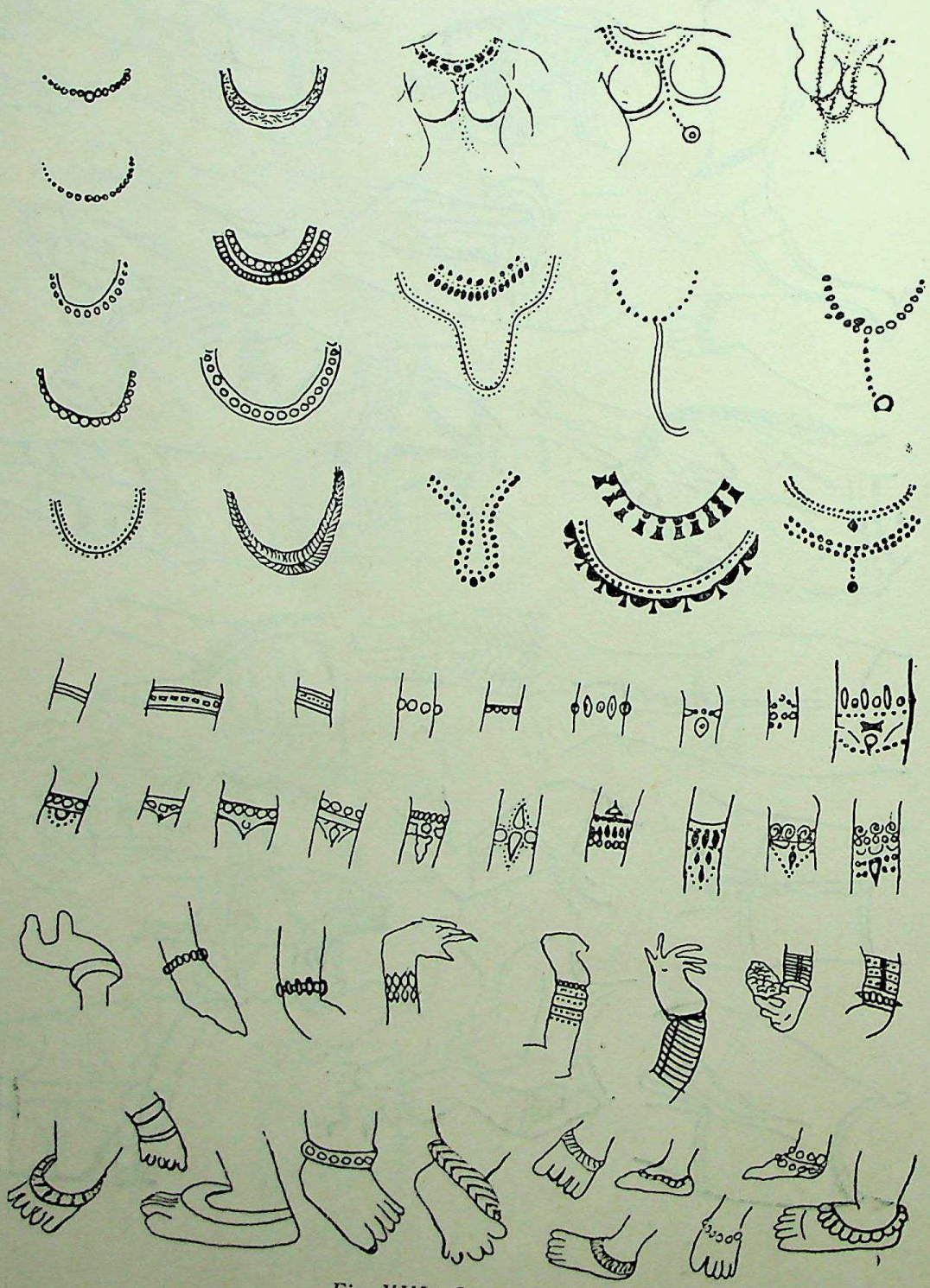

Fig. XIII : Ornaments

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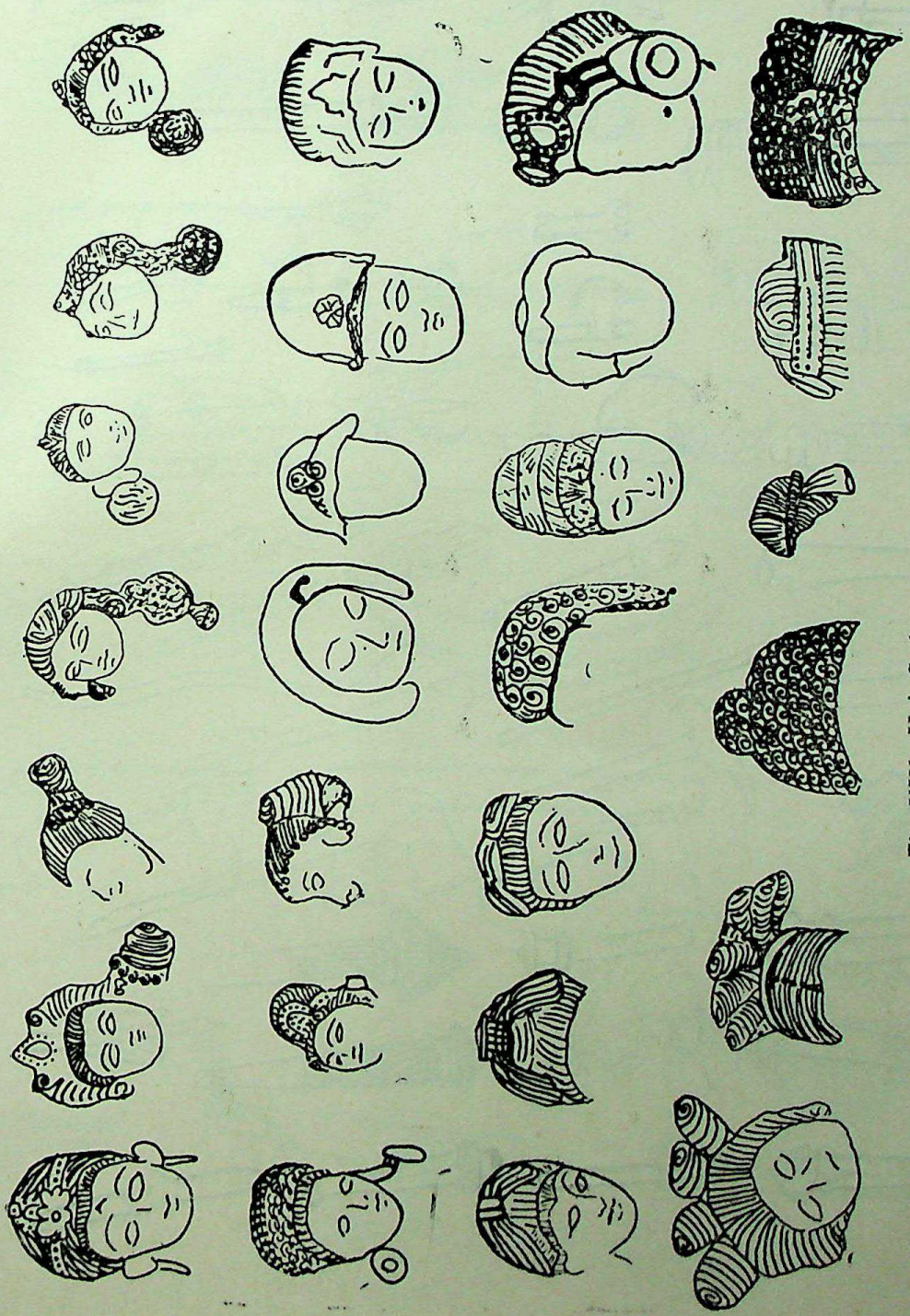

Fig. XIV : Hair Styles

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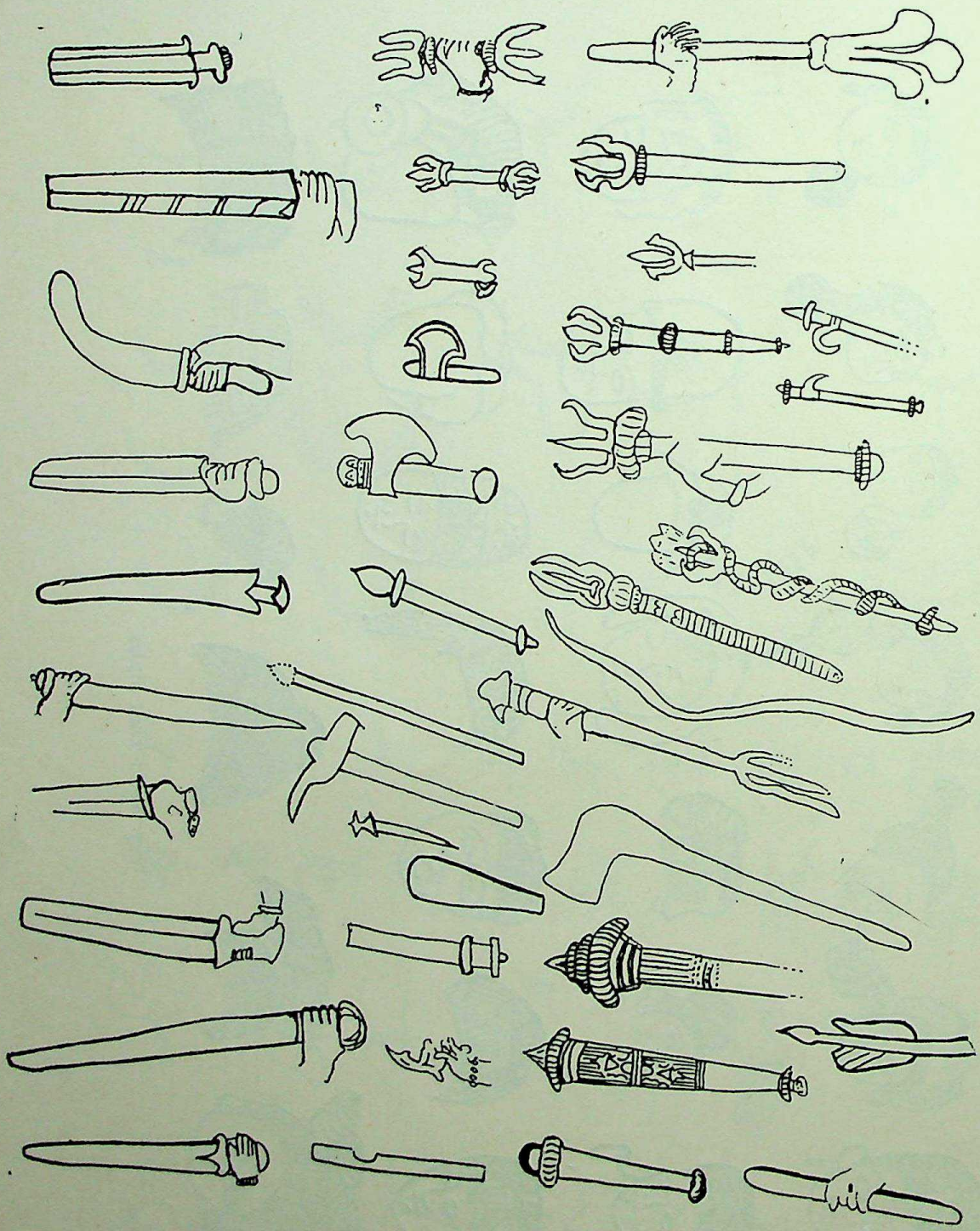

Fig. XV : Weapons

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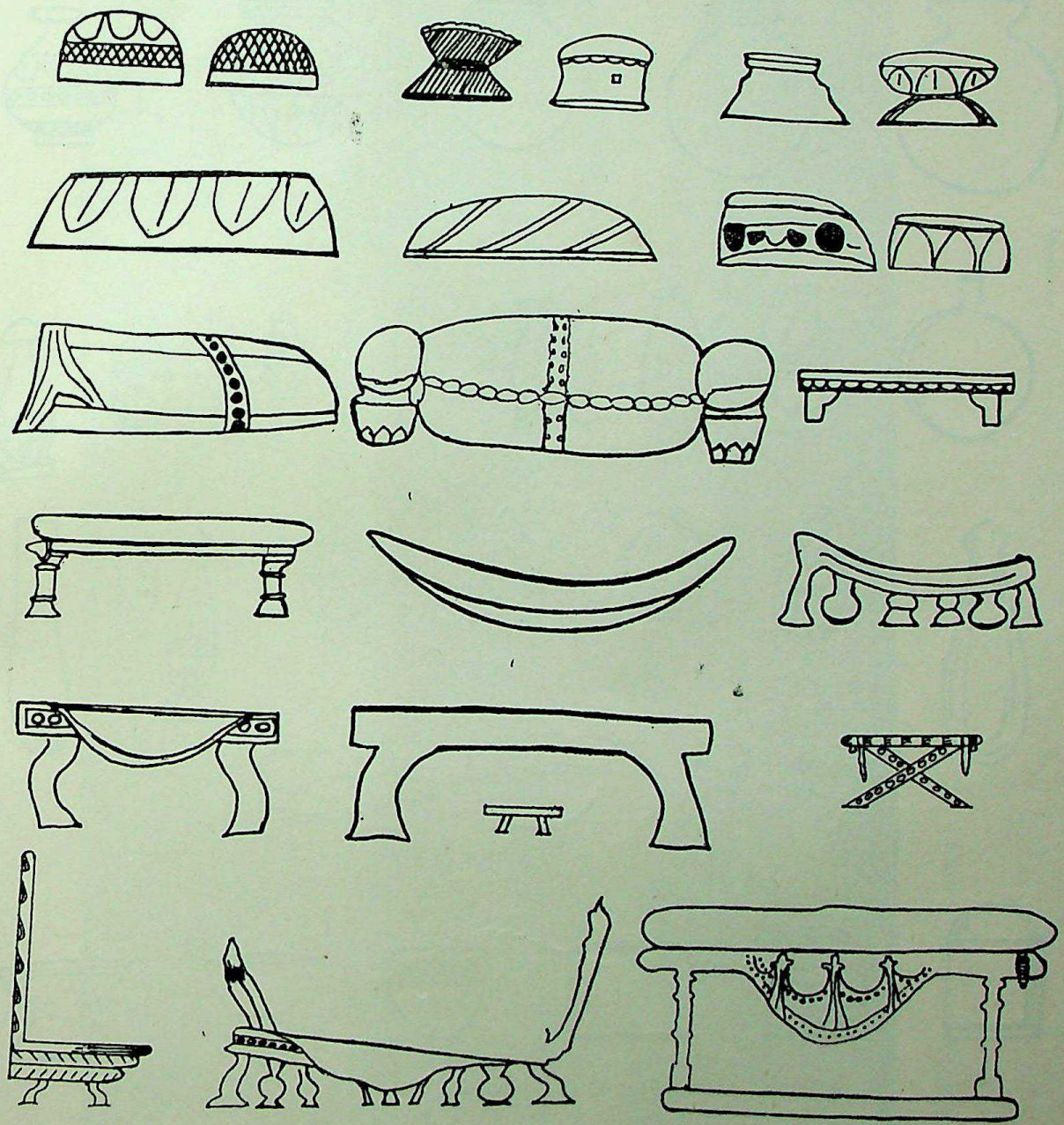

Fig. XVI : Furniture

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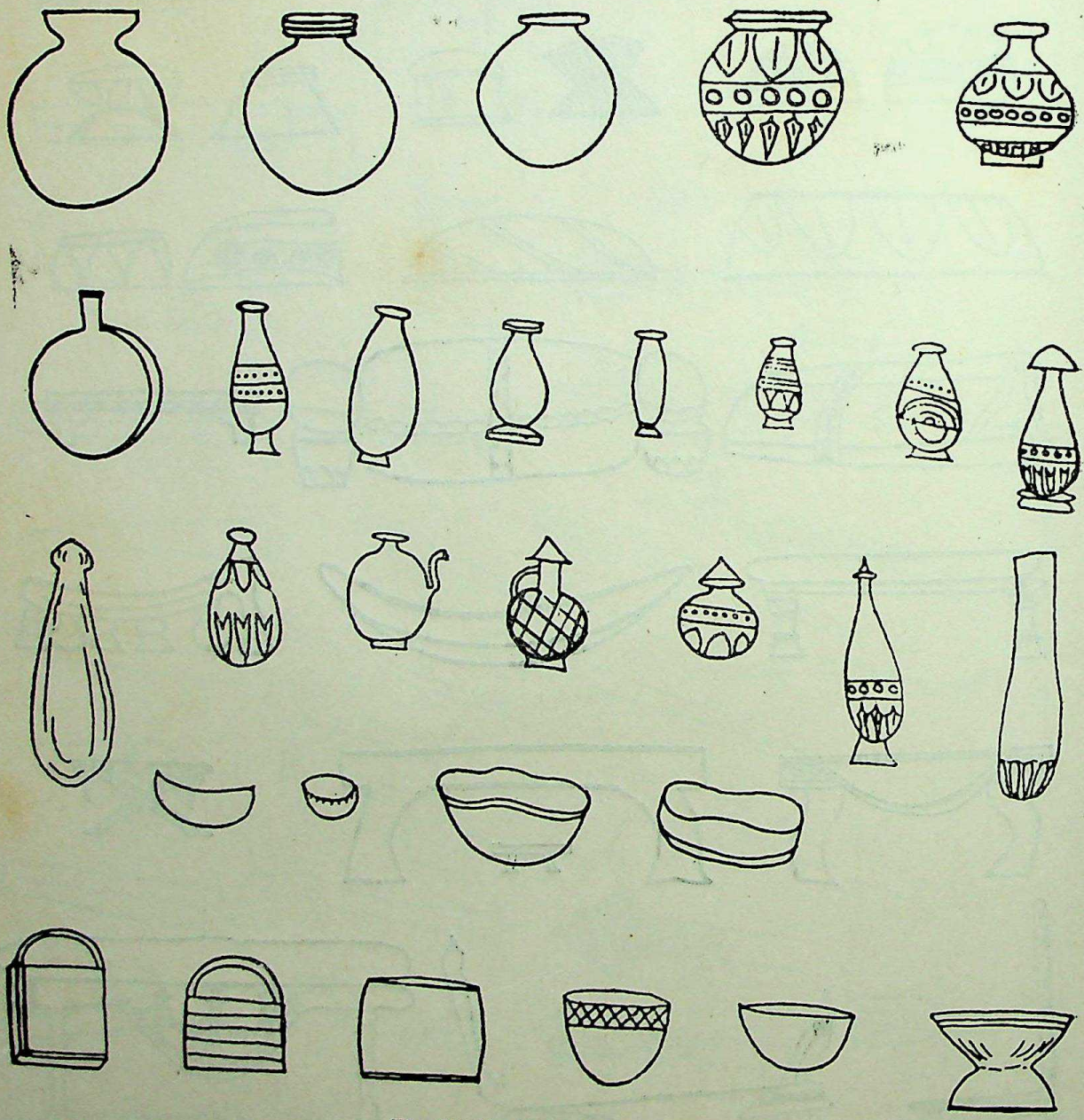

Fig. XVII : Utensils

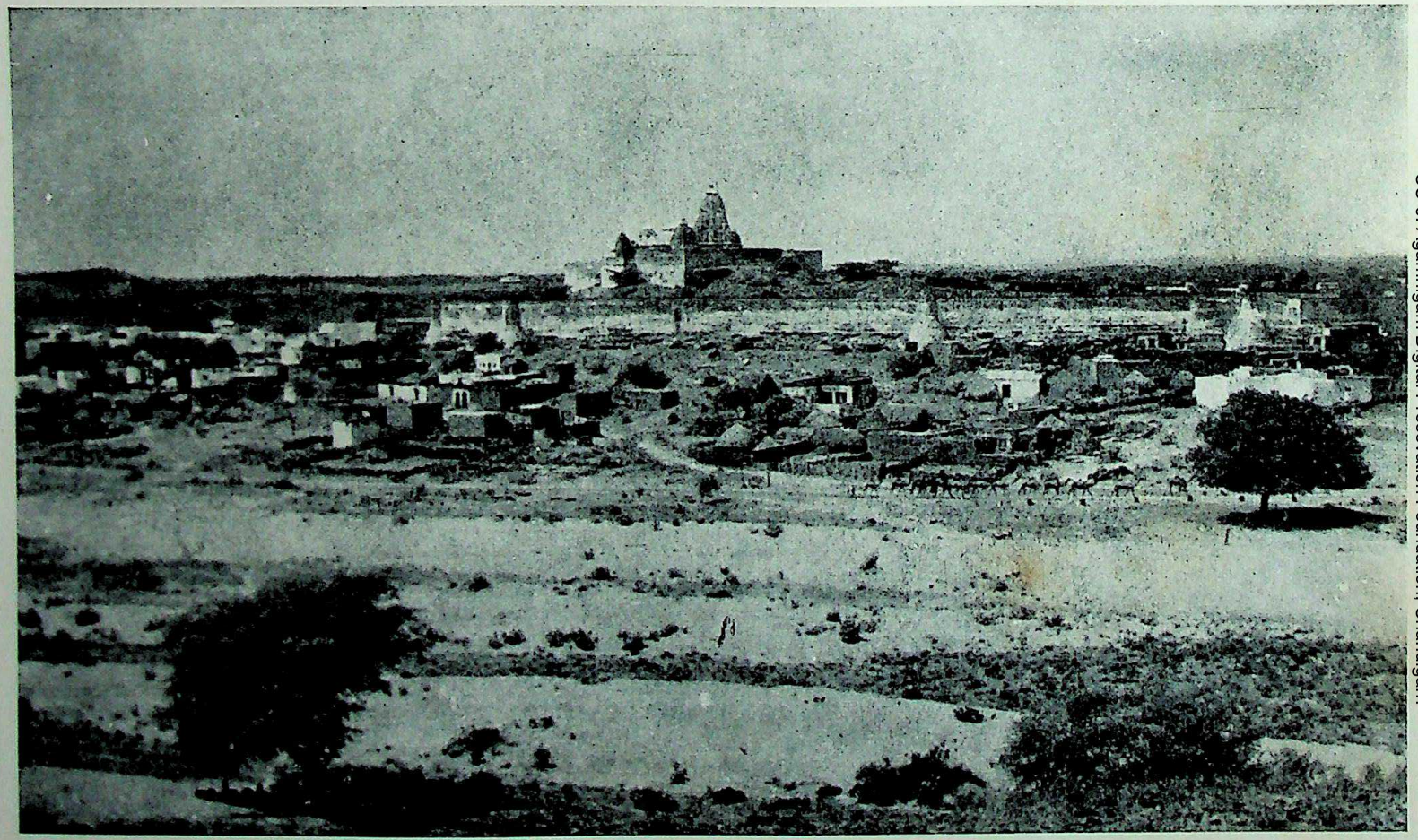

Plate 1. SMT and old Osian town

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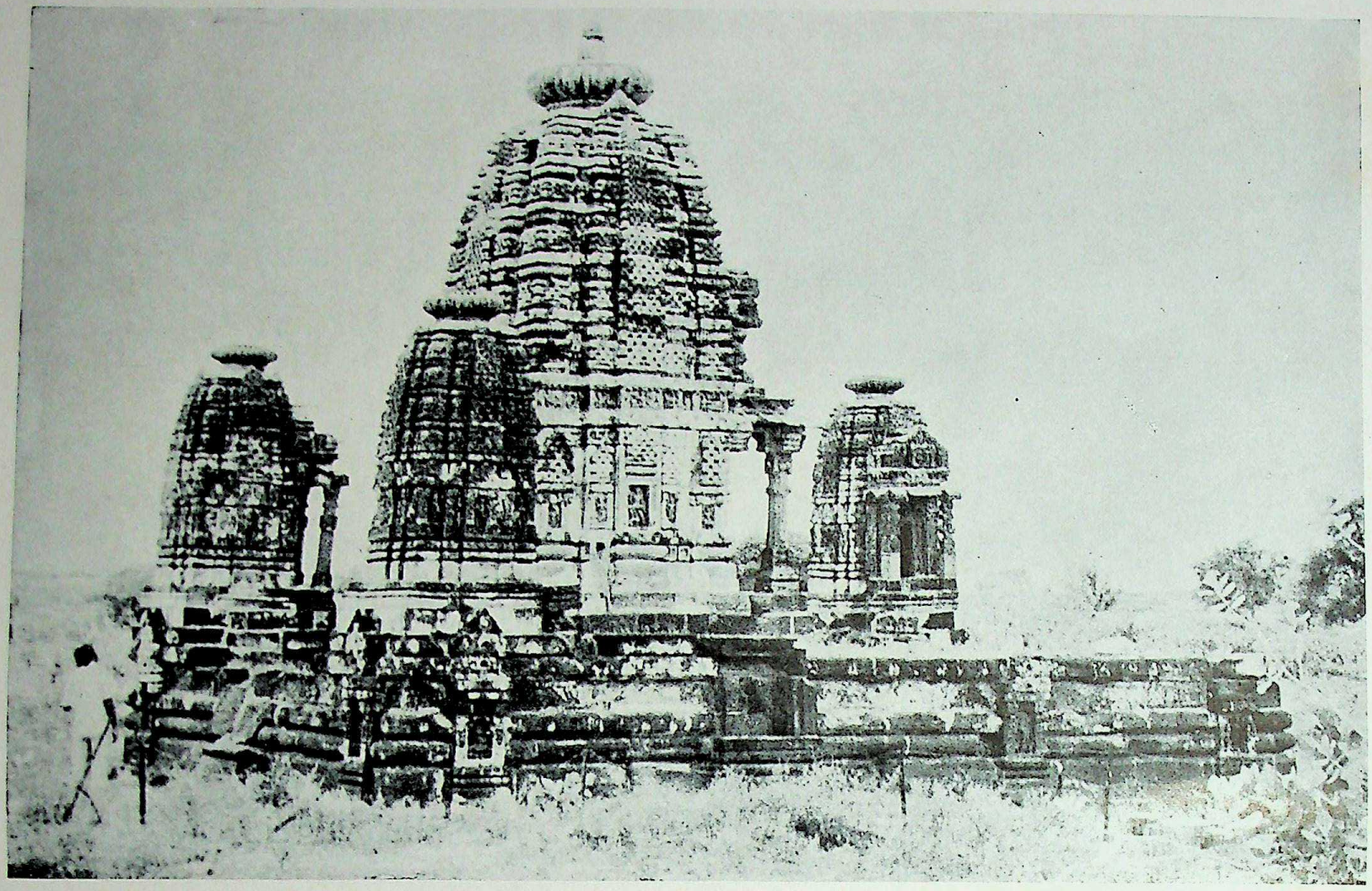

Plate 2. HH-1 from NE

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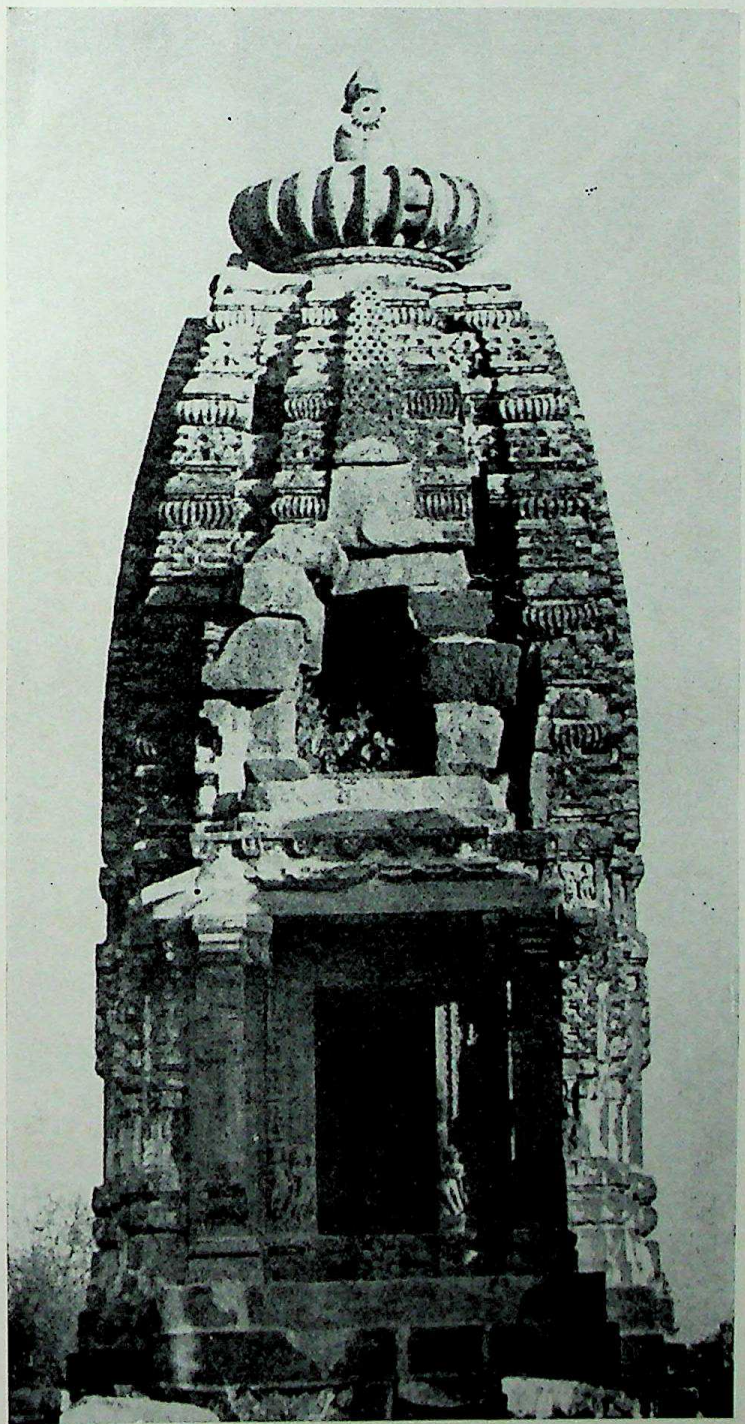

Plate 3. HH·1. *Mūlaprāsāda*, front view

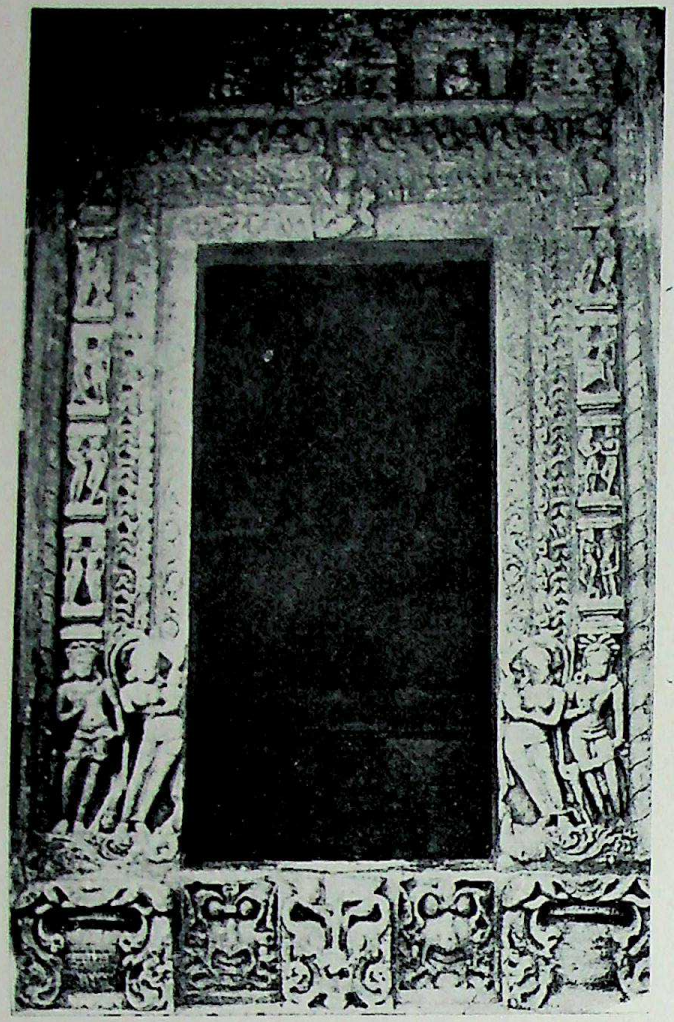

Plate 4. HH-1, doorframe

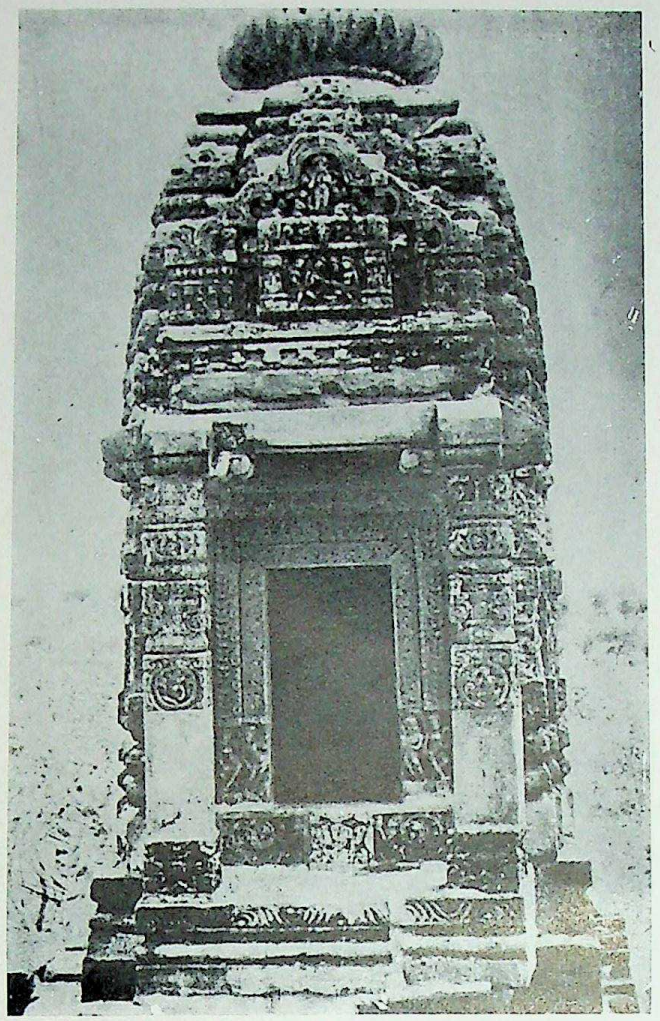

Plate 5. HH-1, SW subsidiary shrine

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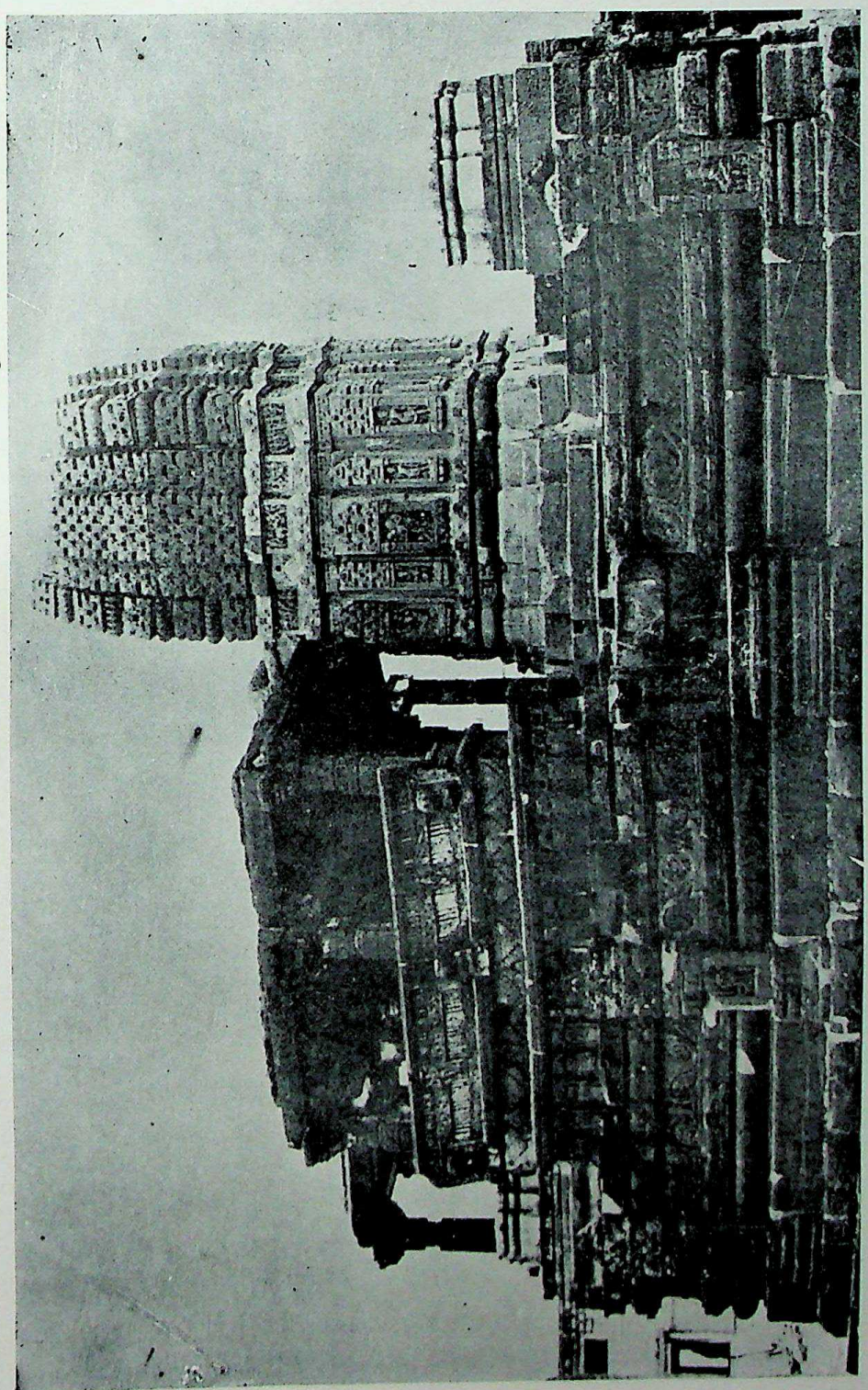

Plate 6. HH-2 from SE

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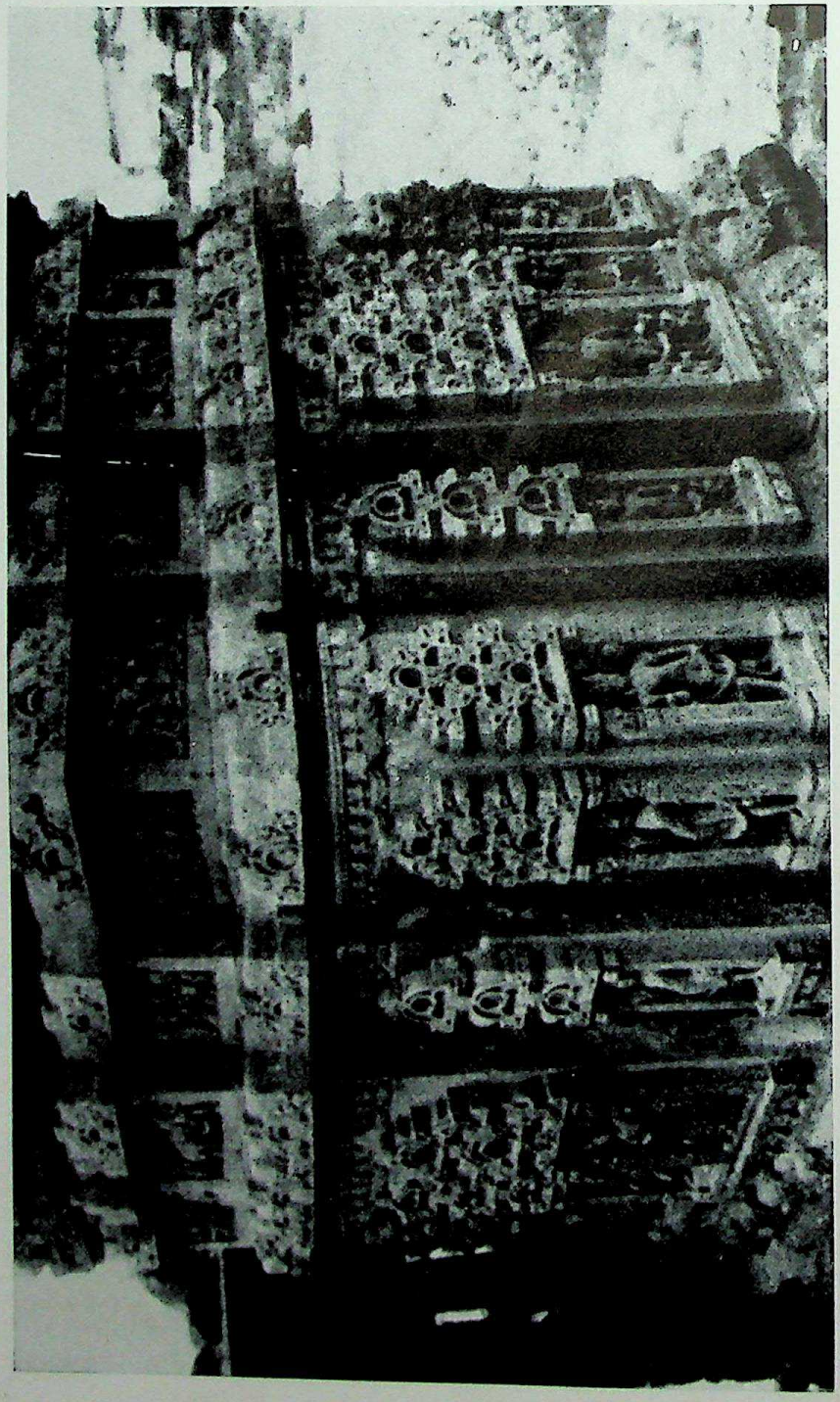

Plate 7, HH-2, E and S walls

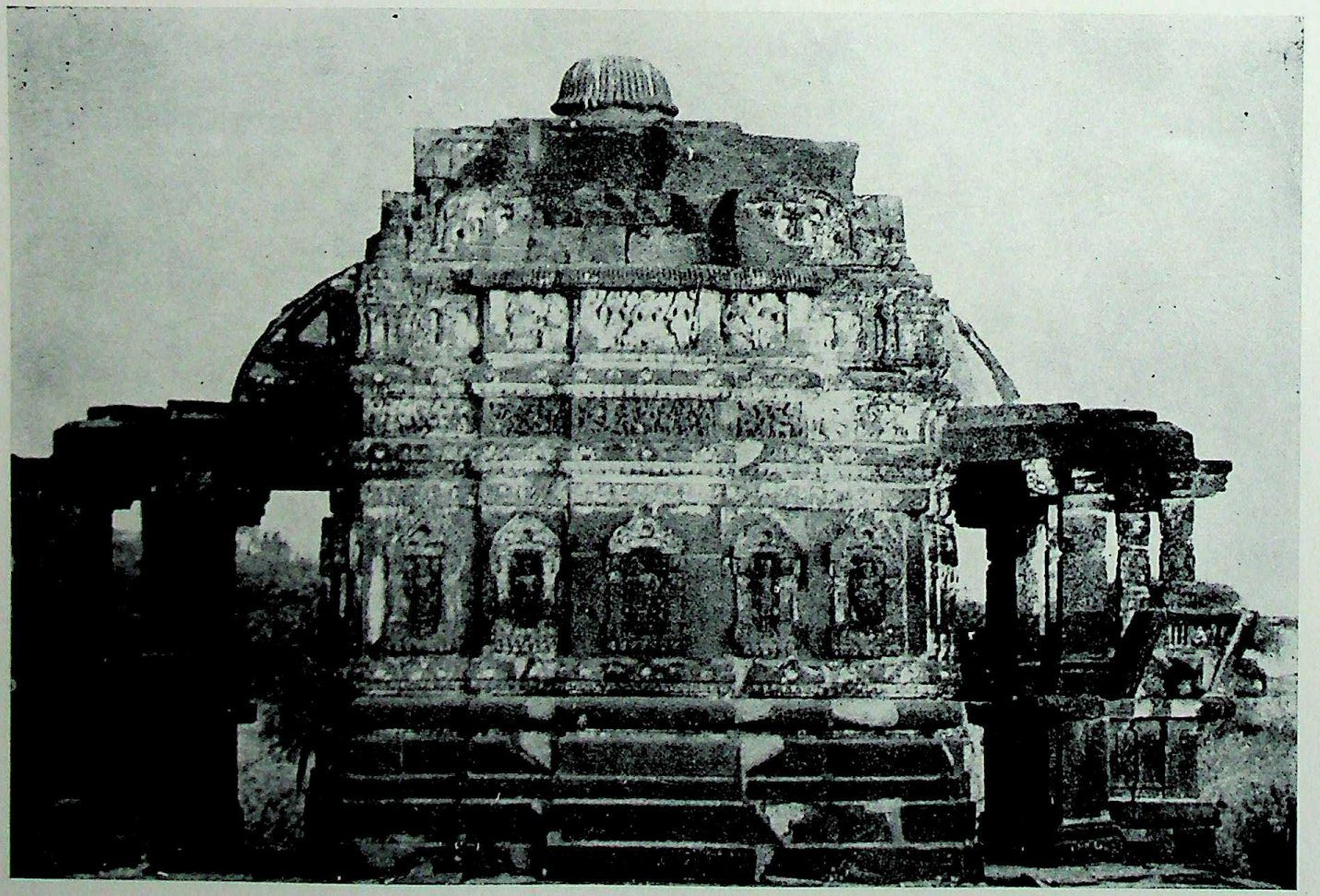

Plate 8. HH-3 from W

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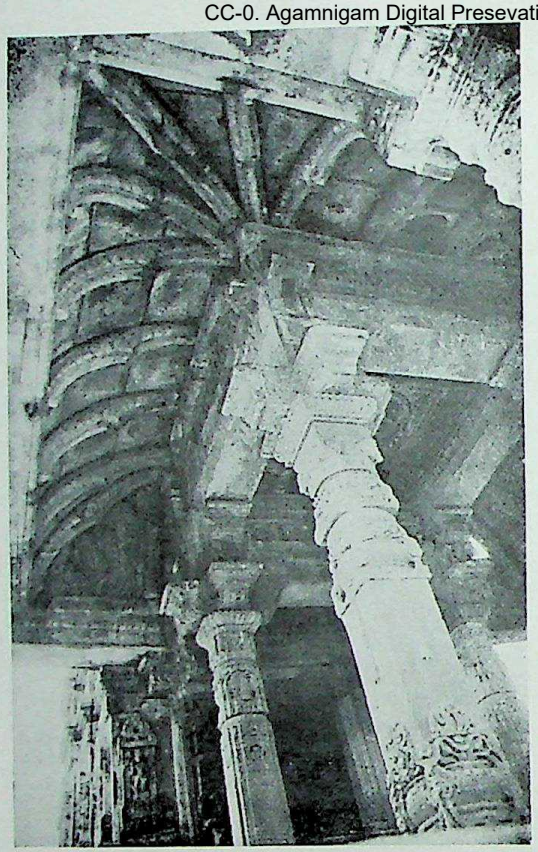

Plate 9. HH-3, *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, ceiling and pillars

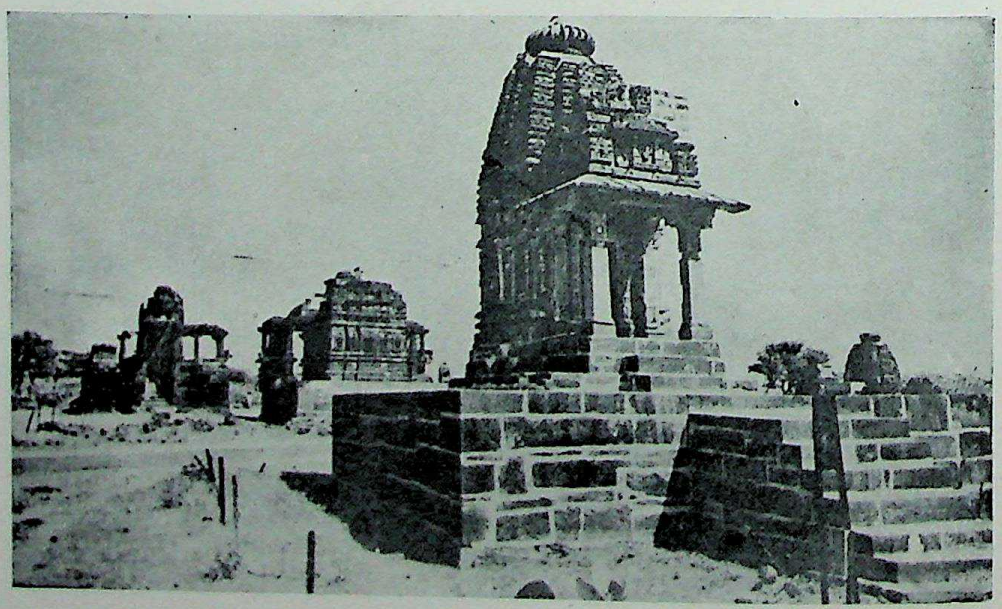

Plate 10. VT-1 from NW

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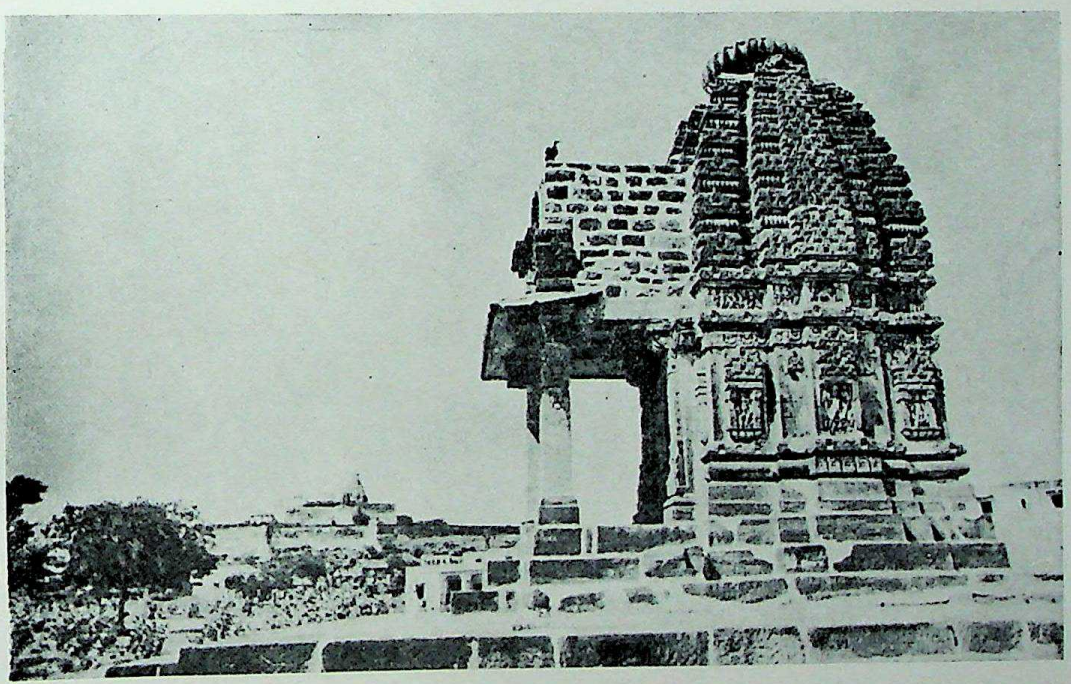

Plate 11. VT-1 from S

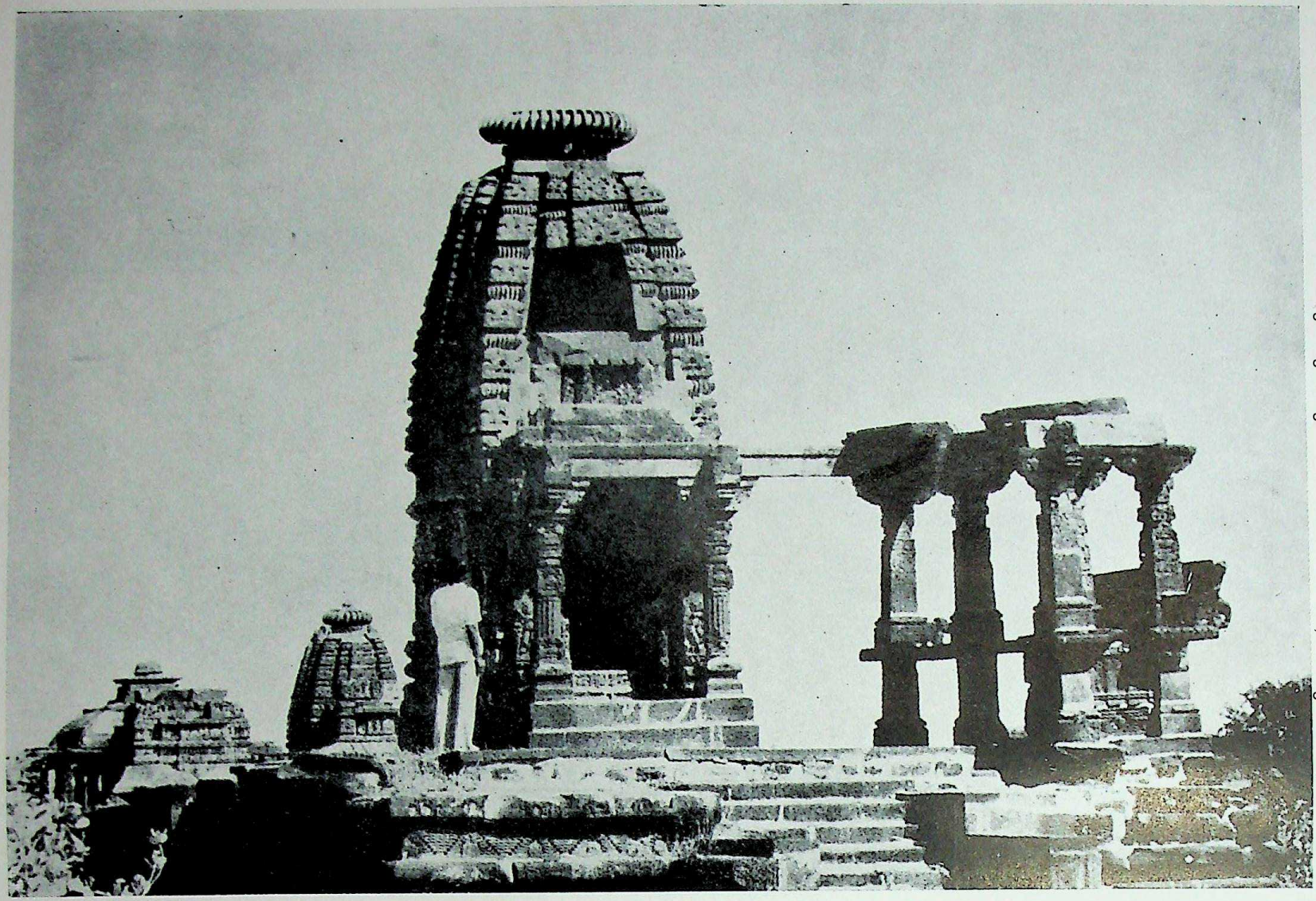

Plate 12. ST 1 from NW

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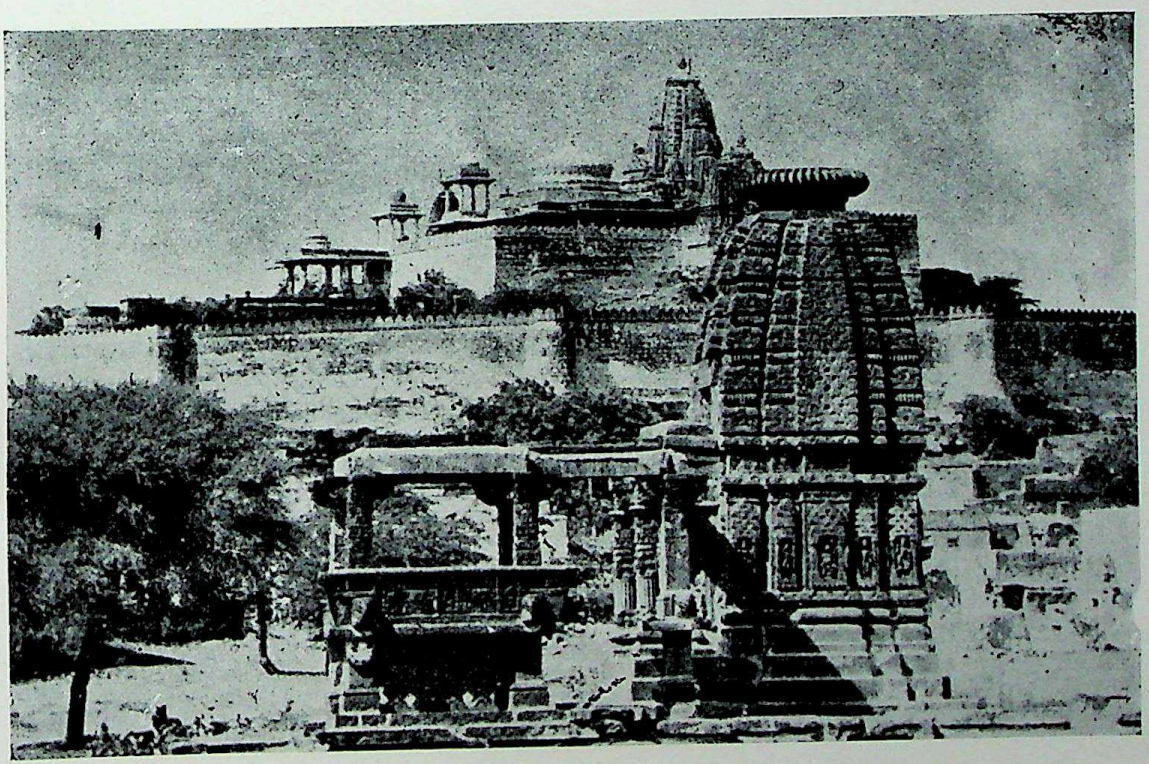

Plate 13. ST-1 from S with SMT in the background

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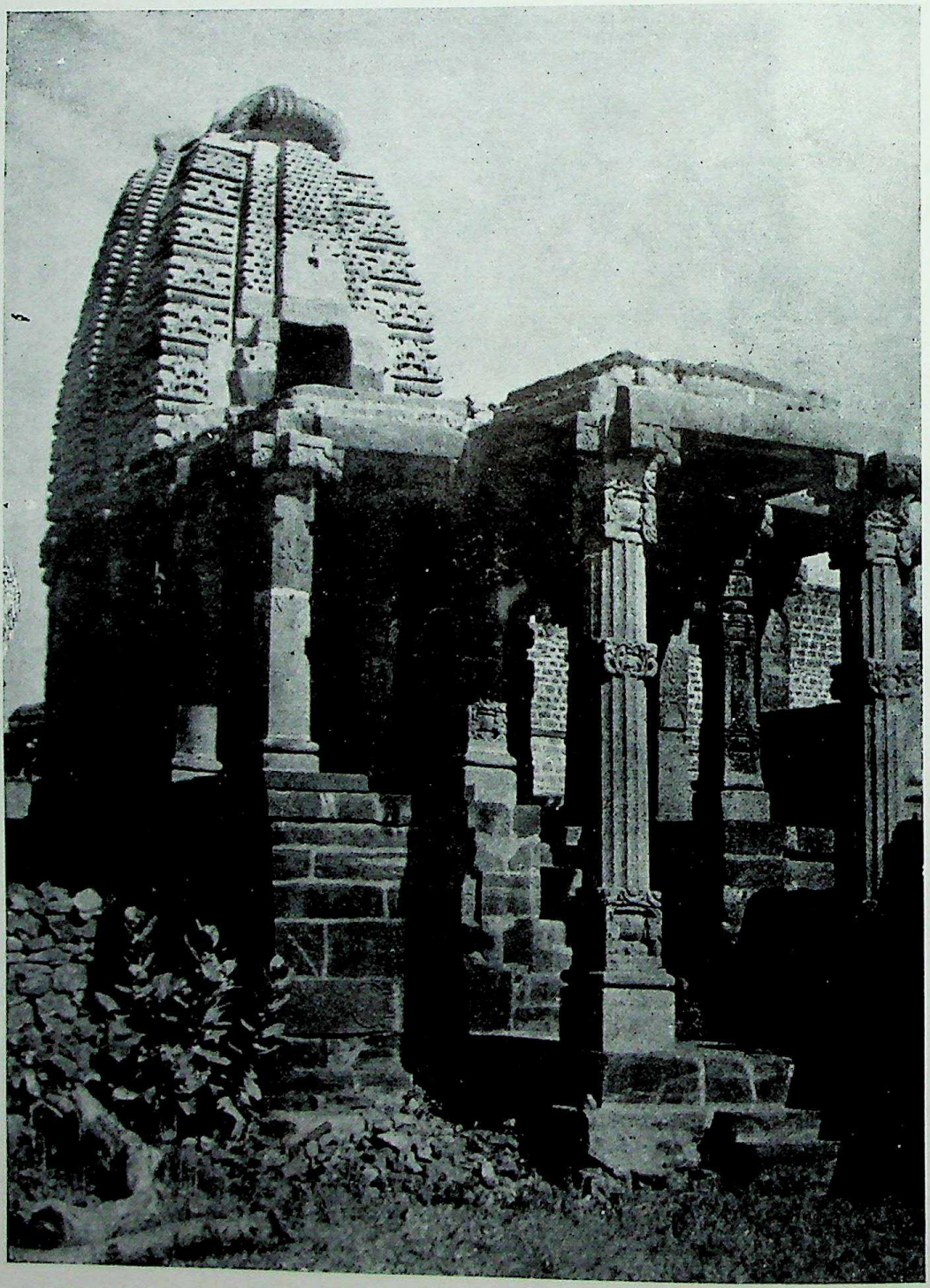

Plate 14. ST-2 from NW

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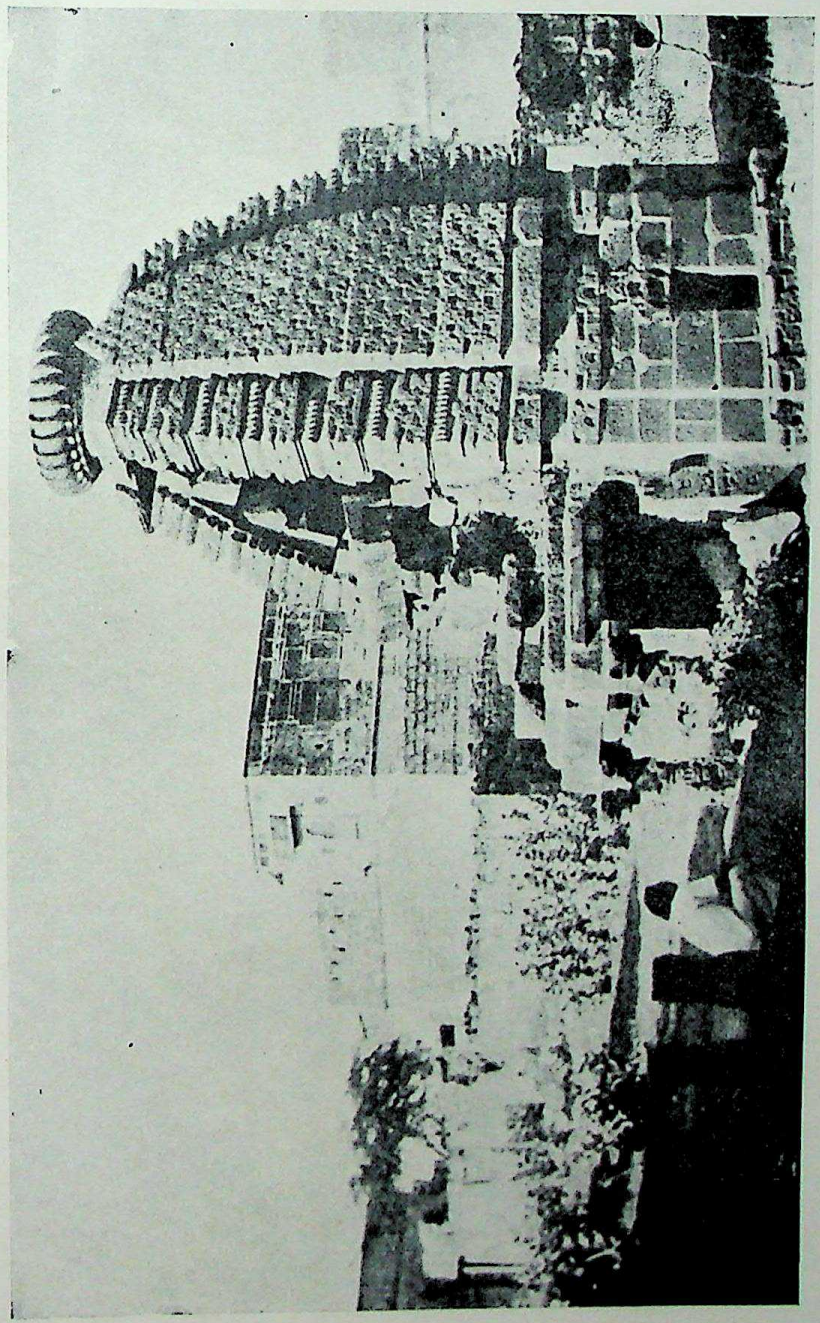

Plate 15. Śiva Temple No. 2 from SW

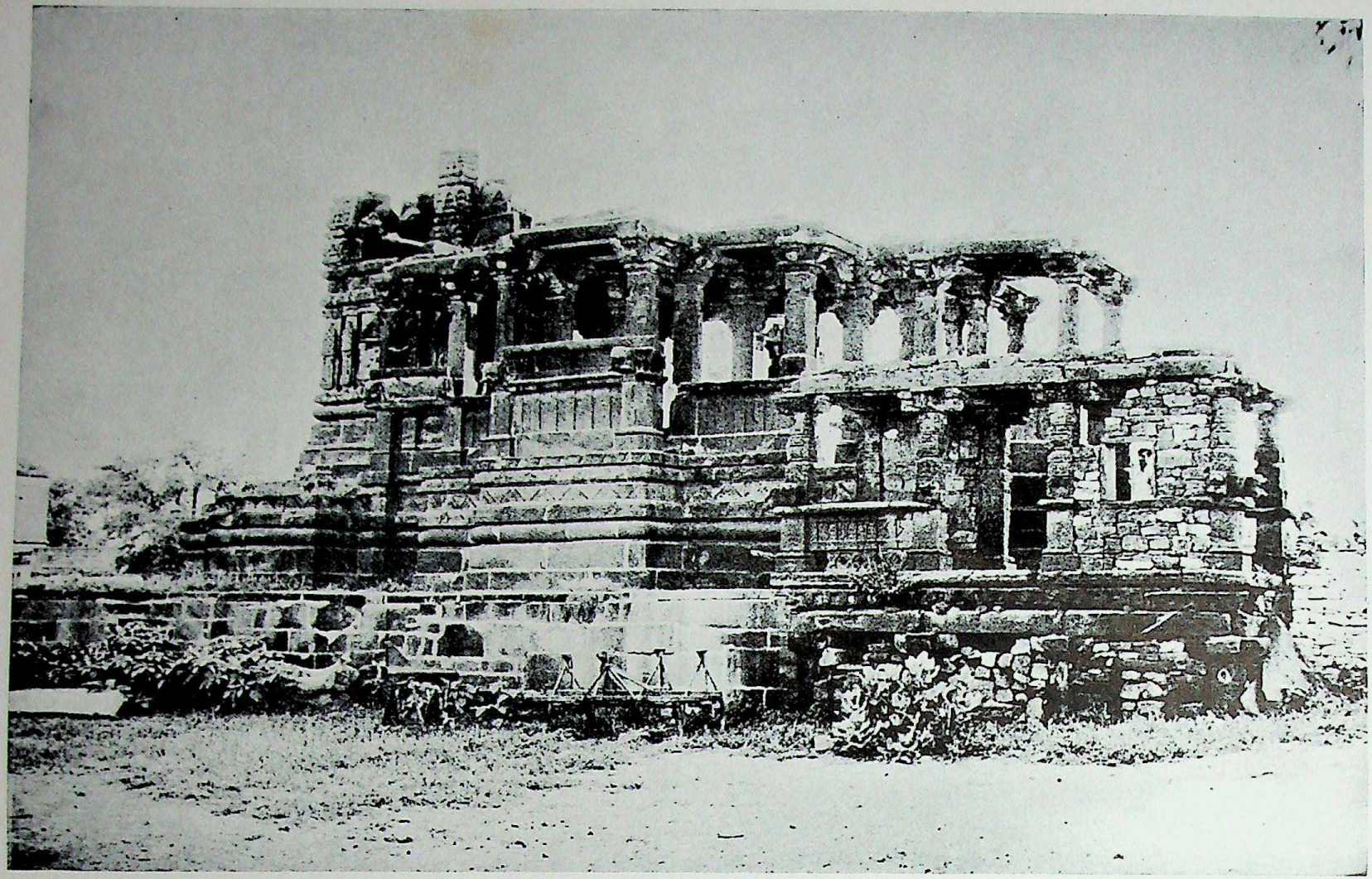

Plate 16. PDT from NE

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

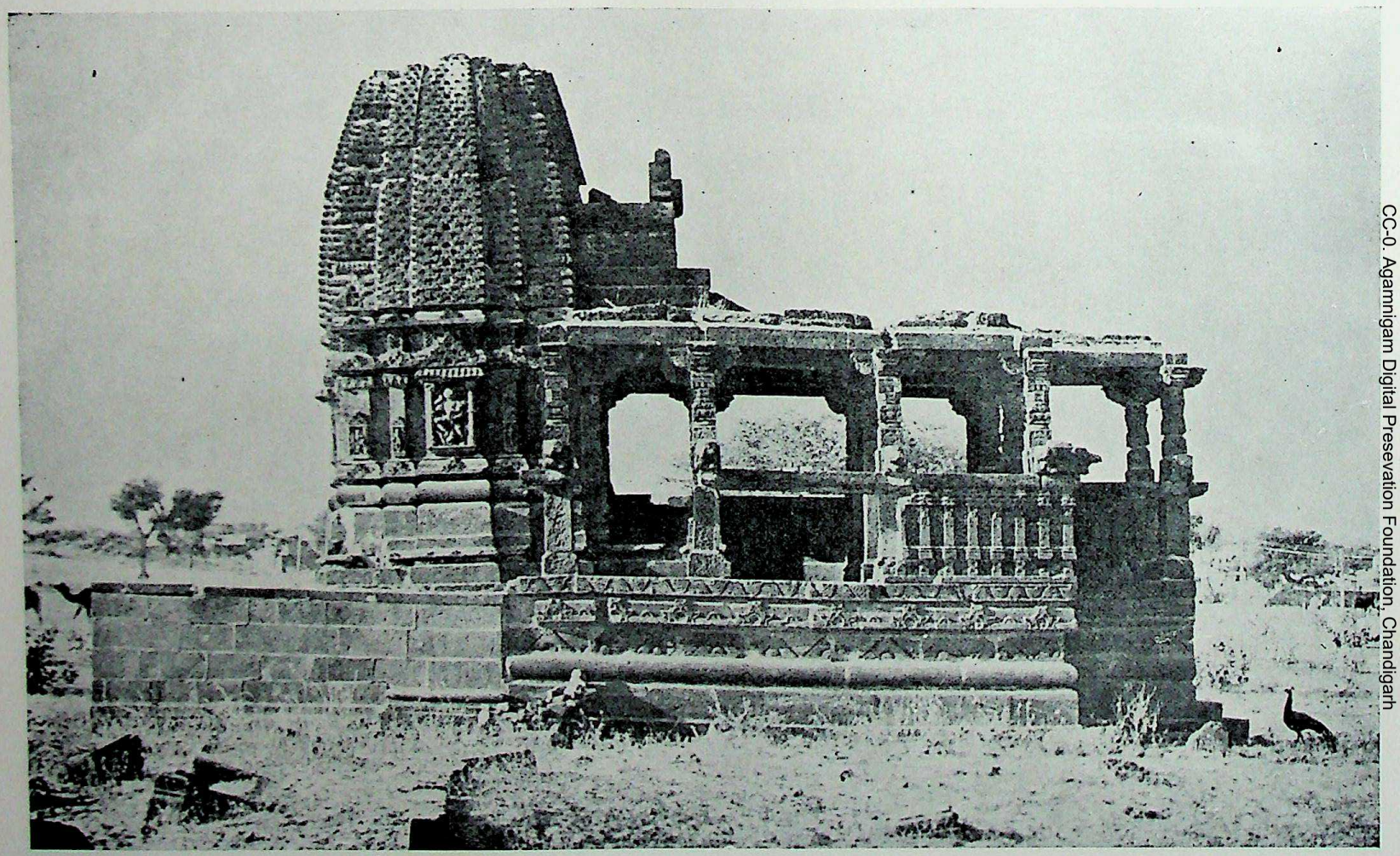

Plate 17. VT-2 from SE

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

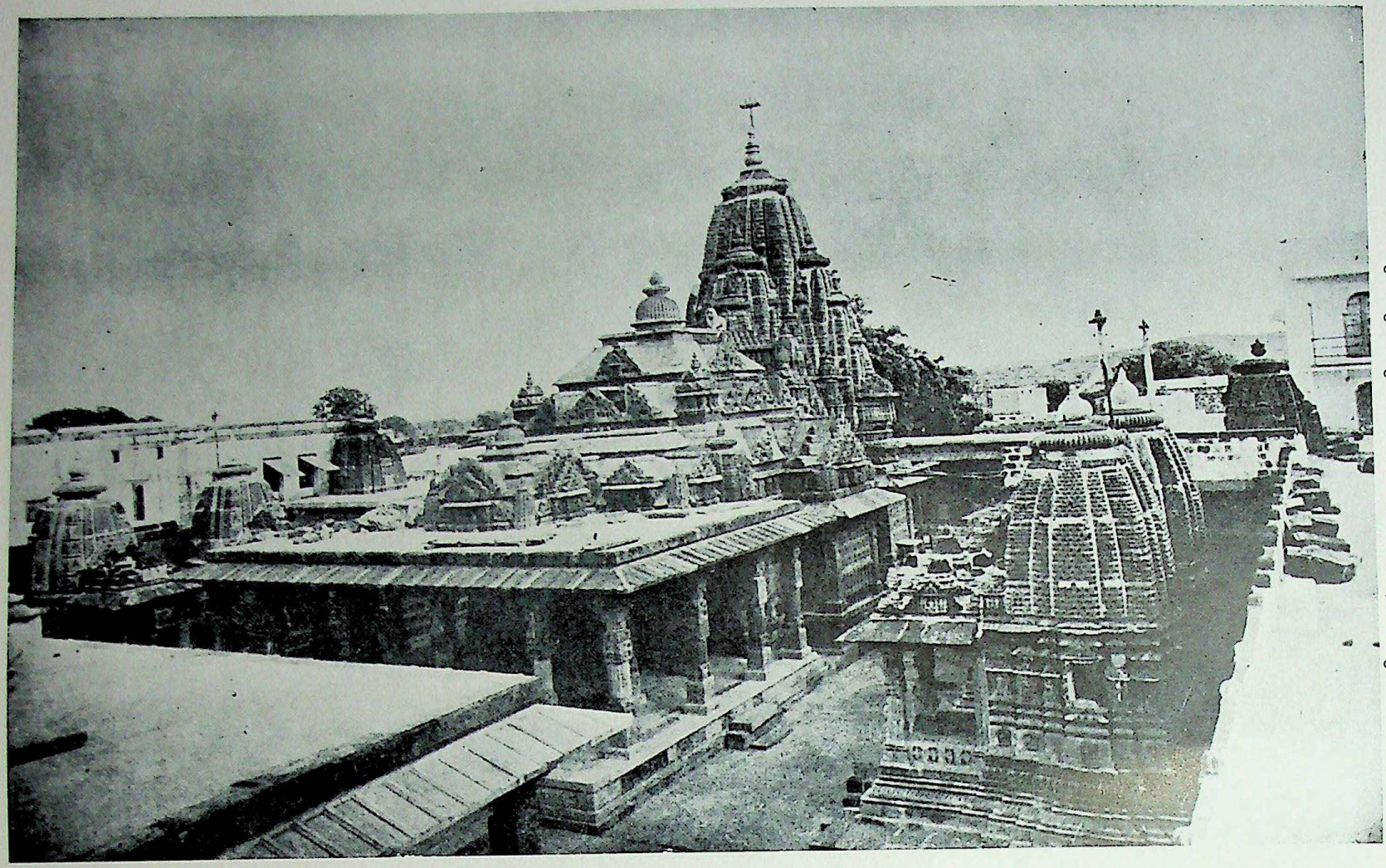

Plate 18. MT complex

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

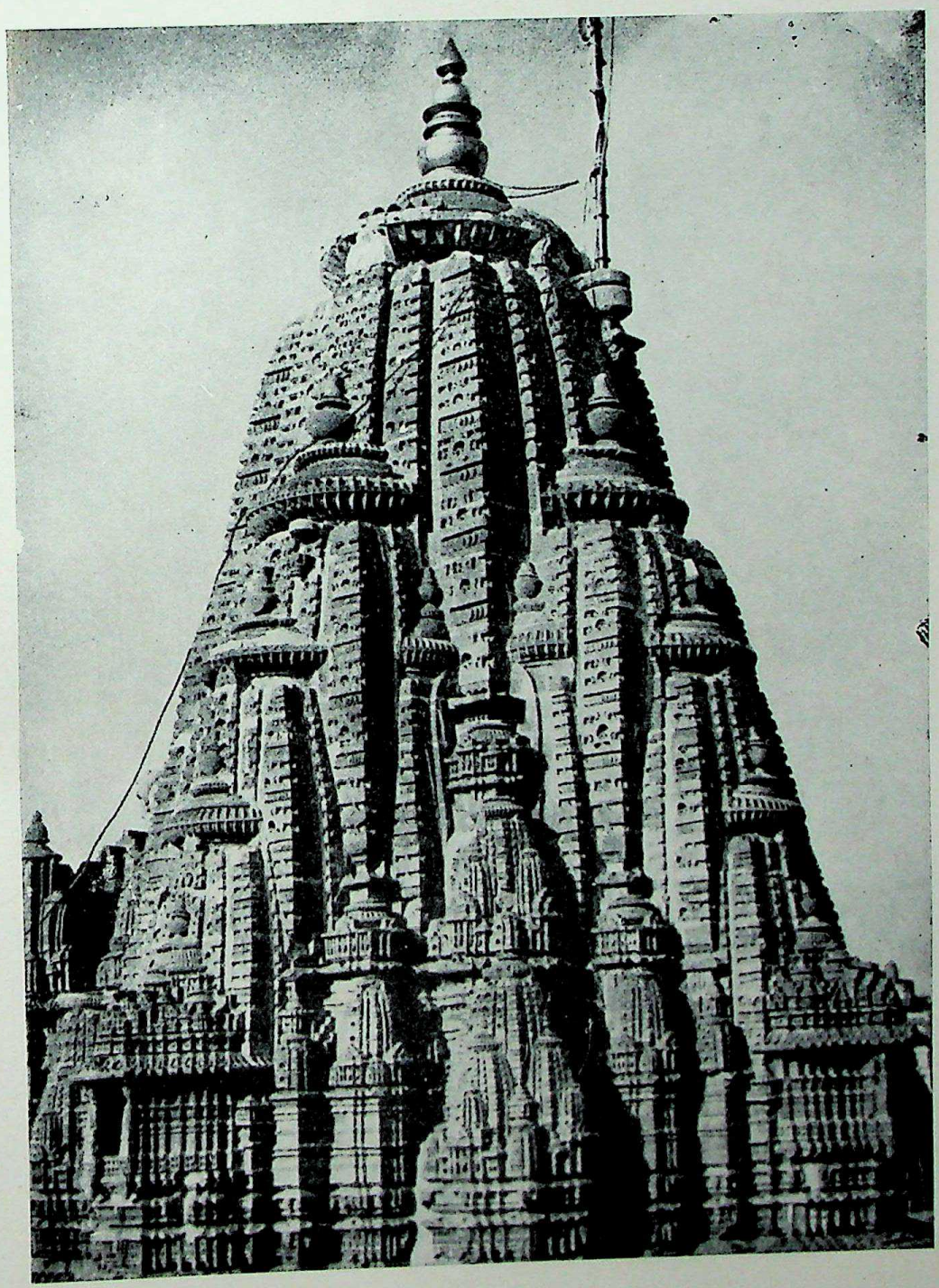

Plate 19. MT, *śikhara*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

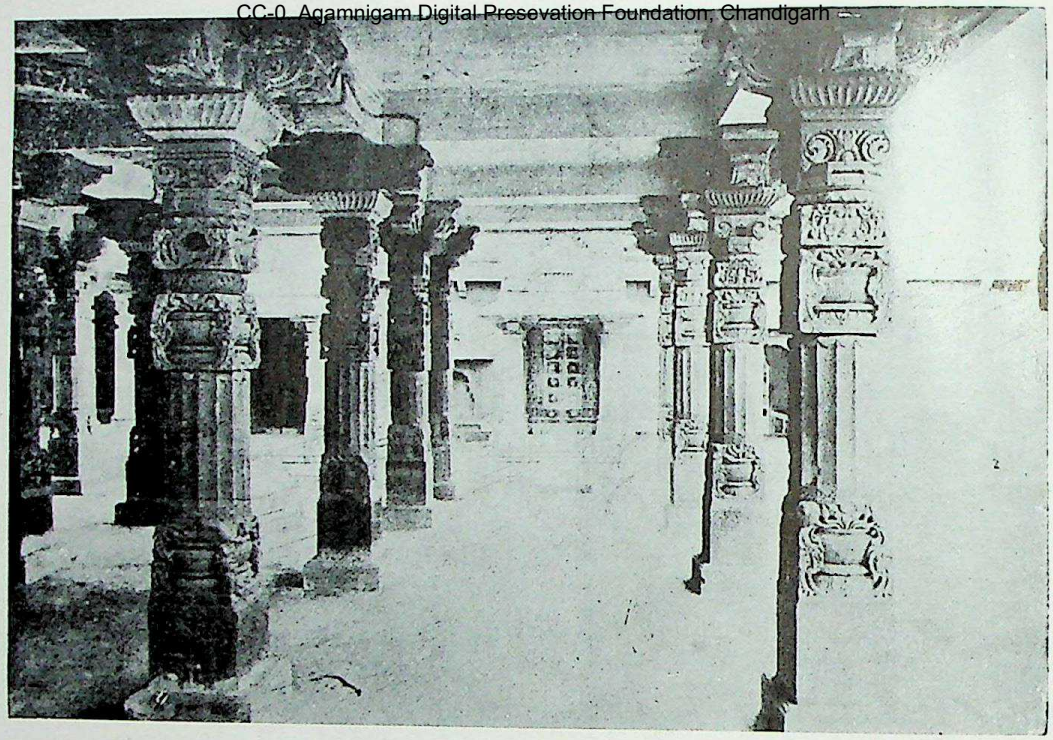

Plate 20. MT, part of the *mukhamaṇḍapa*

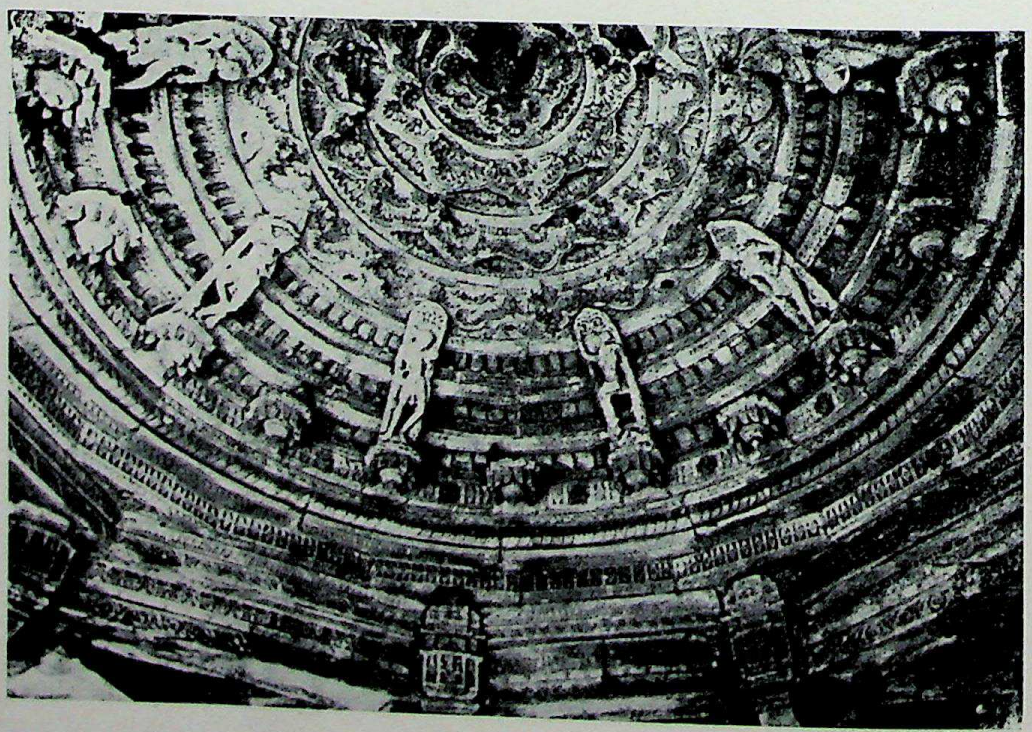

Plate 21. MT, *valānka*, ceiling with *apasarases*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

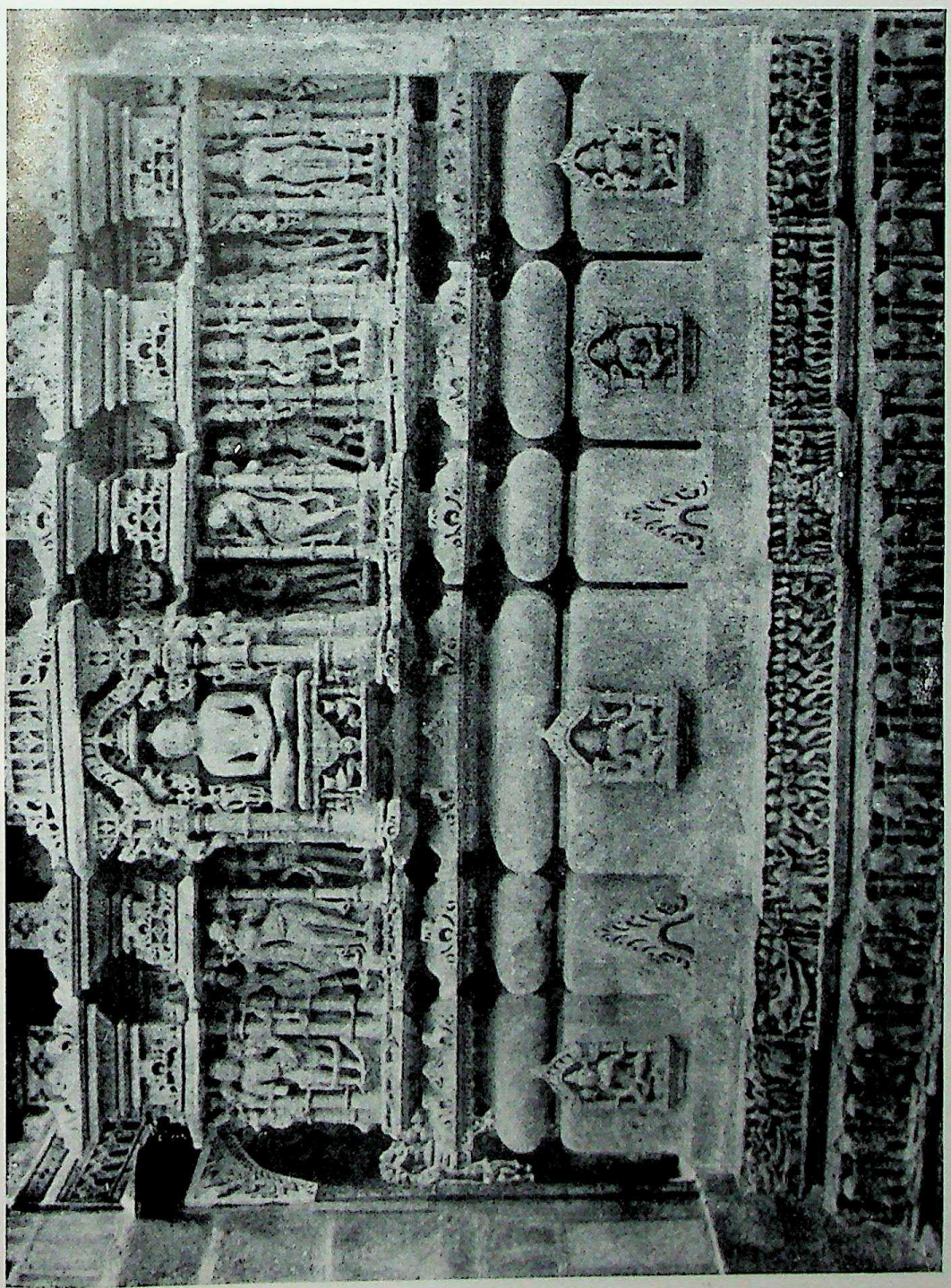

Plate 22. DK-1 N wall

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

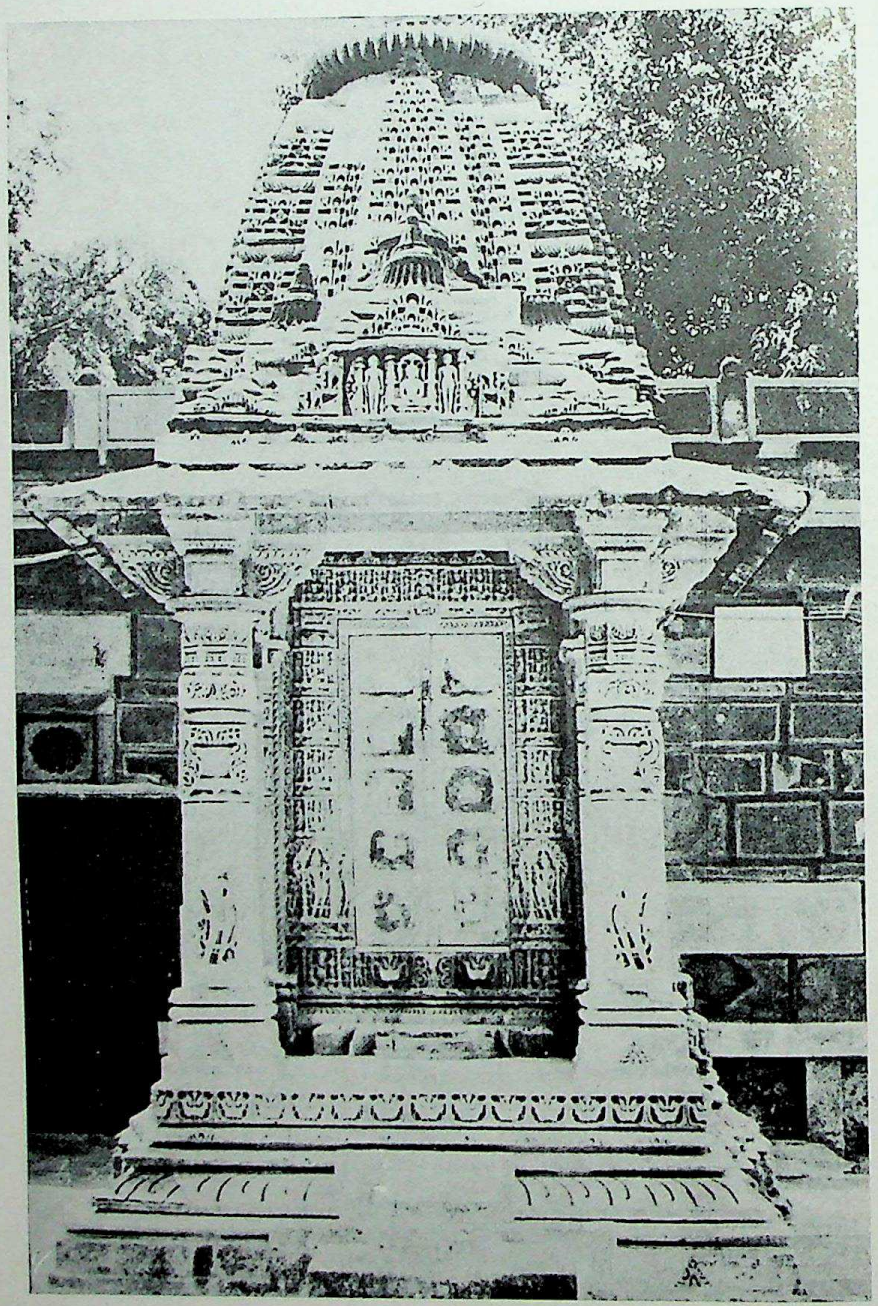

Plate 23. **DK-2 front view**

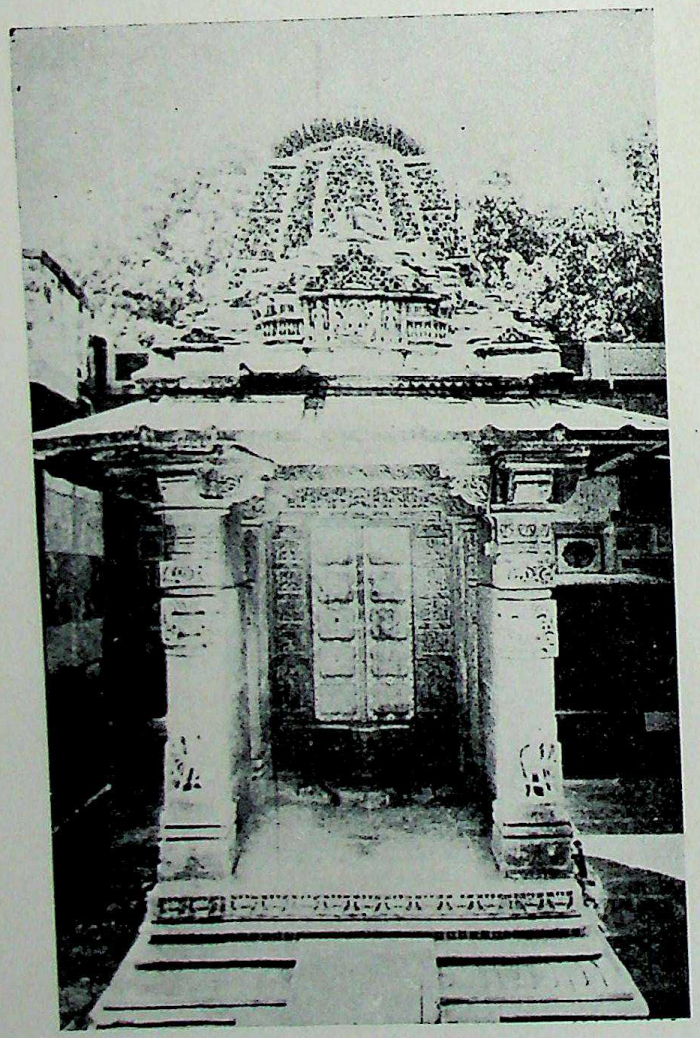

Plate 24. DK-3, front view

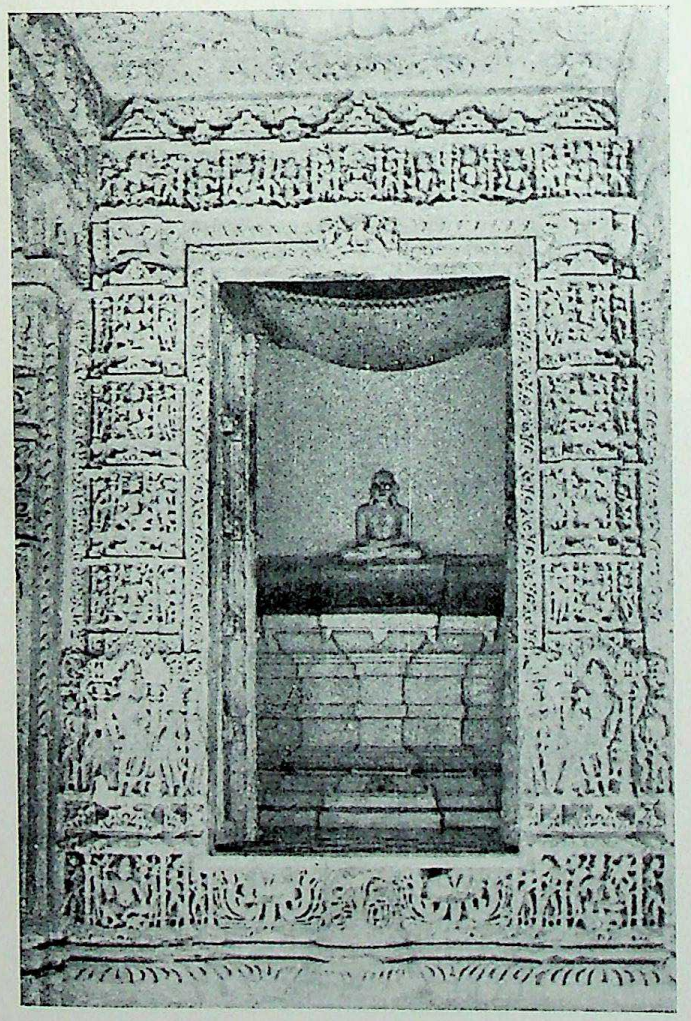

Plate 25. DK-3, doorframe

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

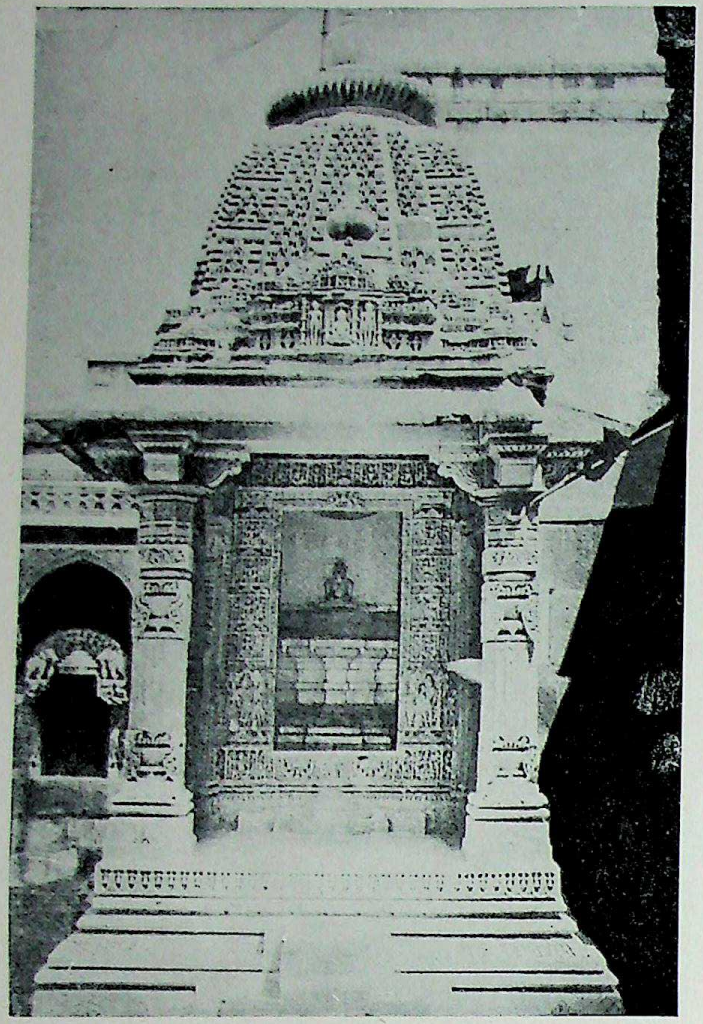

Plate 26. DK-4, front view

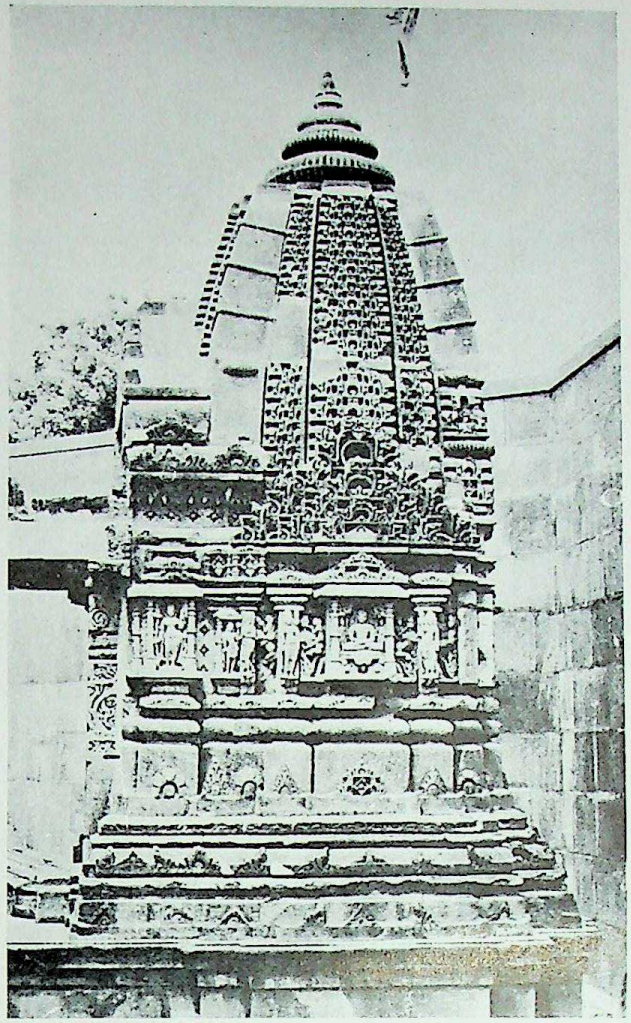

Plate 27. DK-5 from S

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

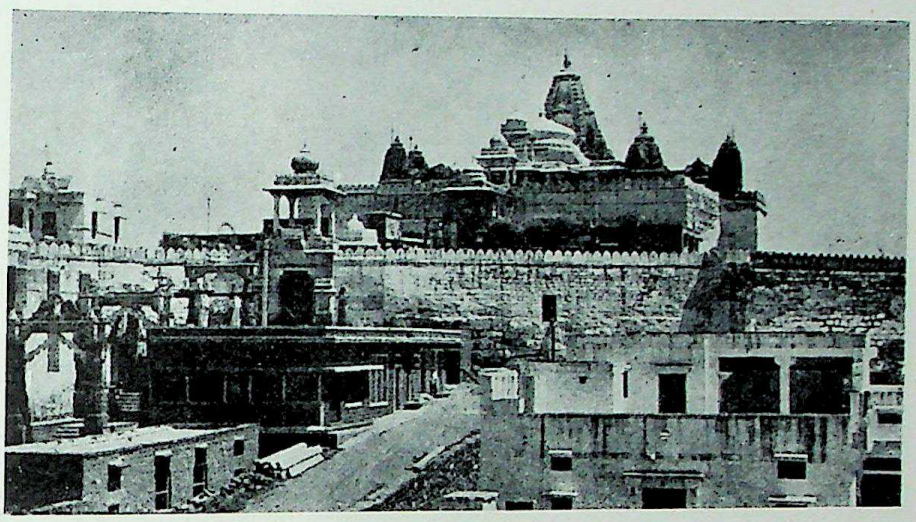

Plate 28. SMT, stairs and side entry

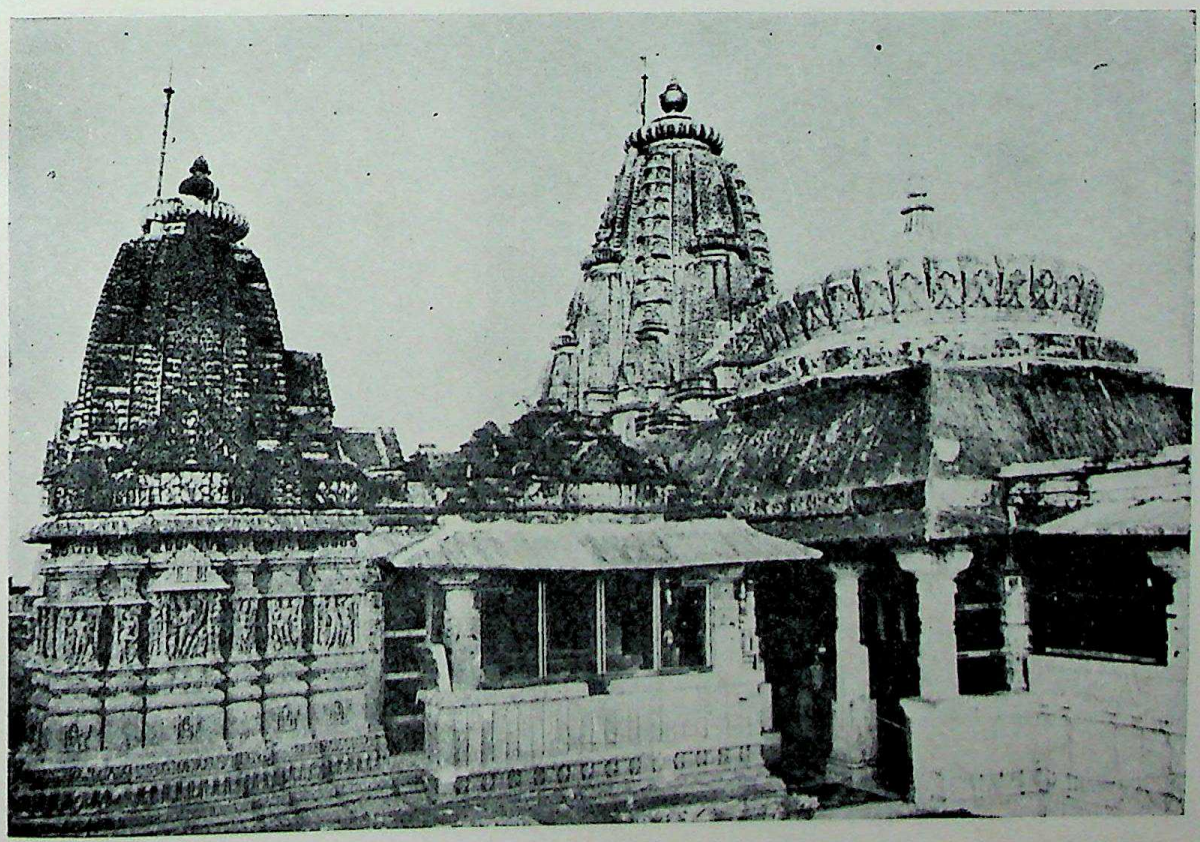

Plate 29. SMT and VT-5 from NW

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

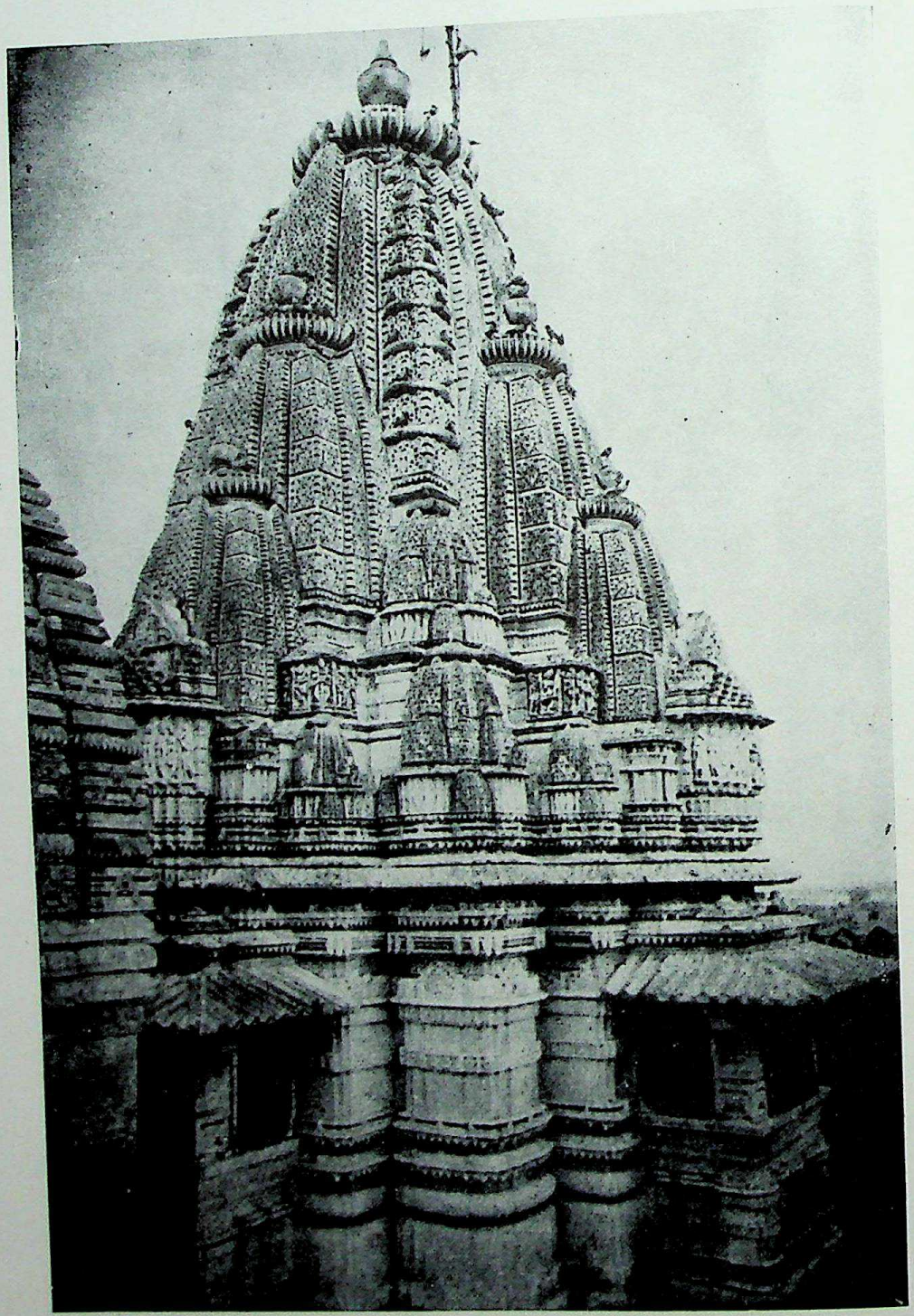

Plate 30. SMT from SE

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

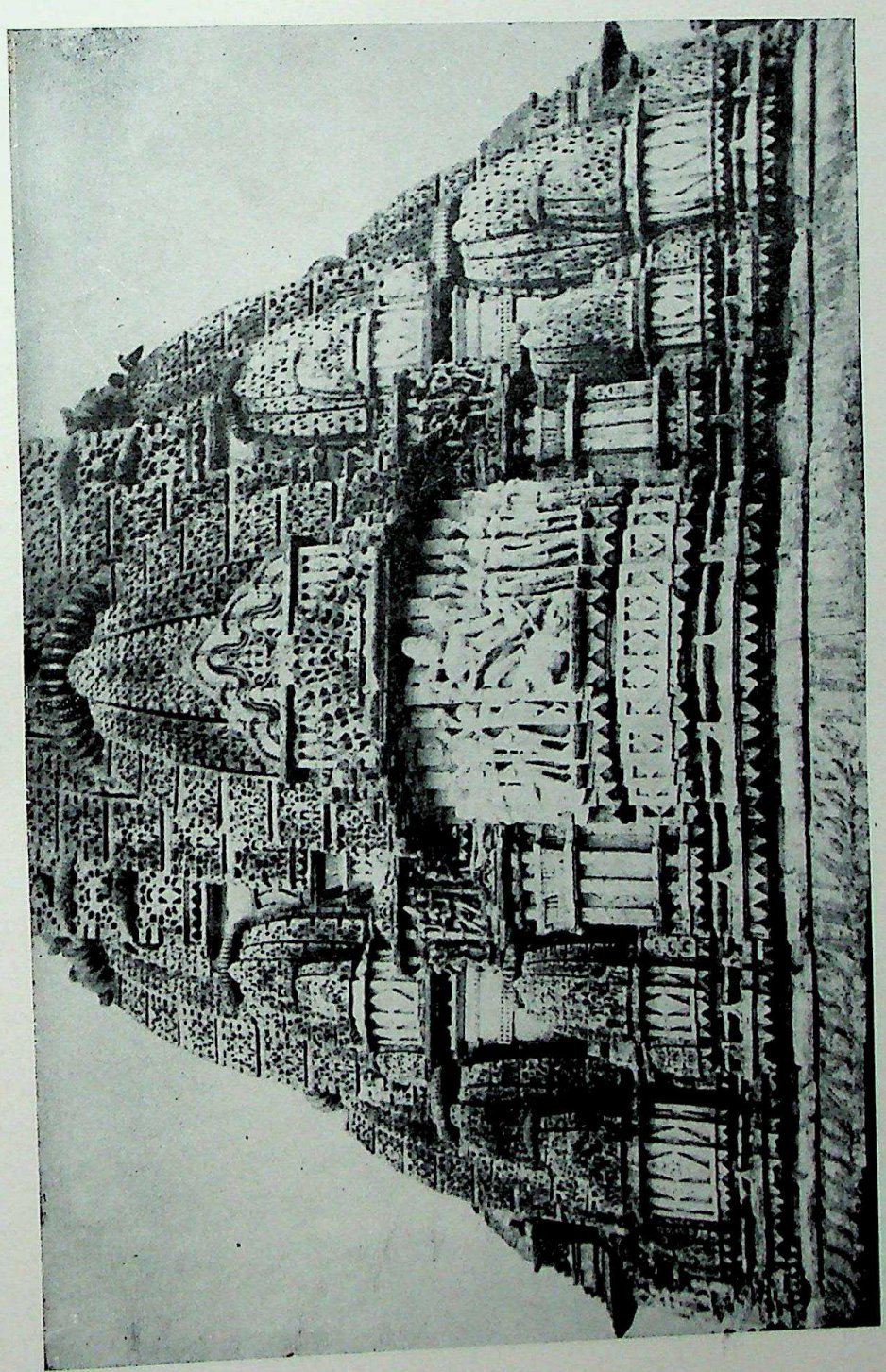

Plate 31. SMT, *śikhara*, back view

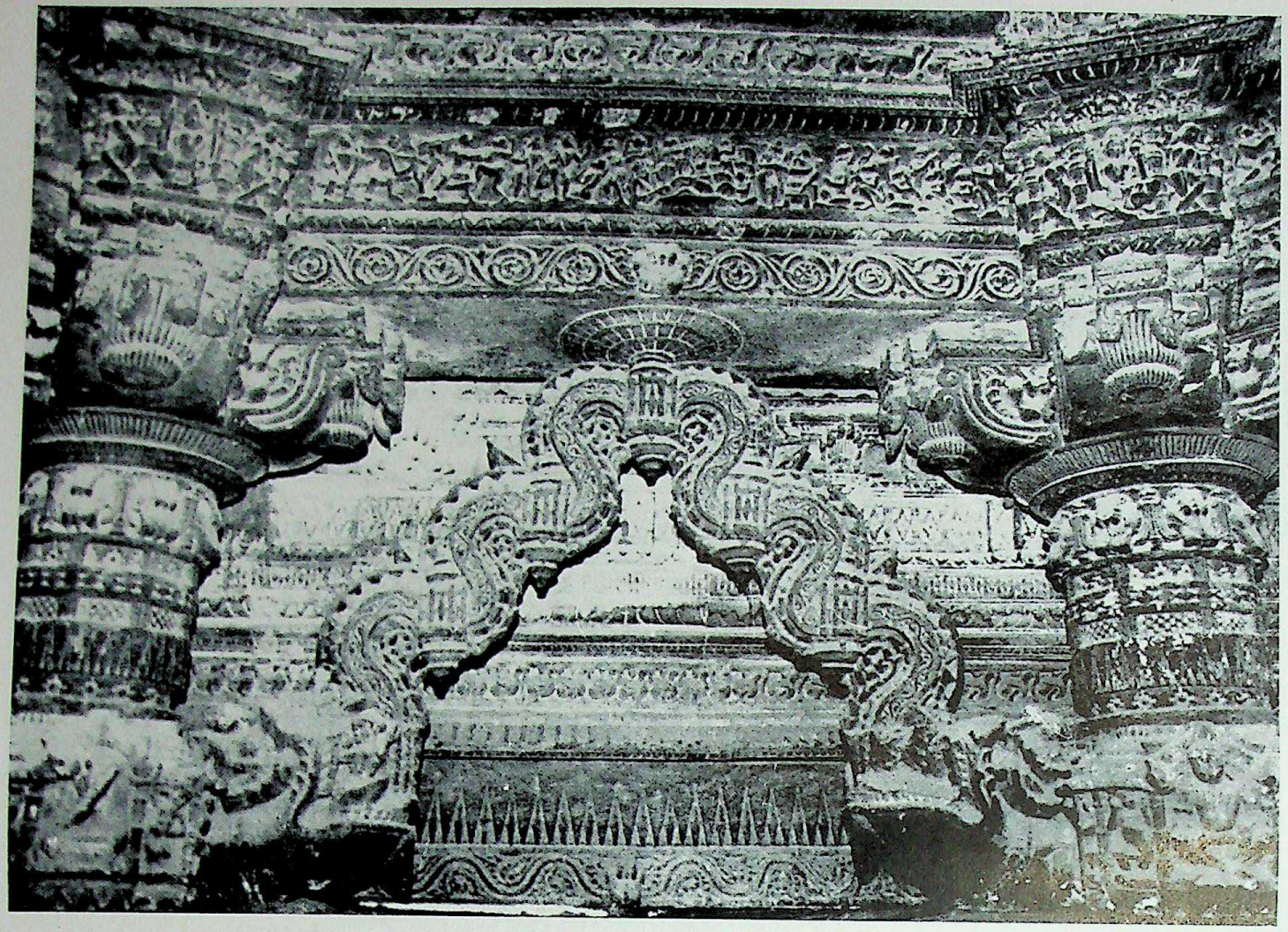

Plate 32. SMT, *raṅgamaṇḍapa, torana*

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

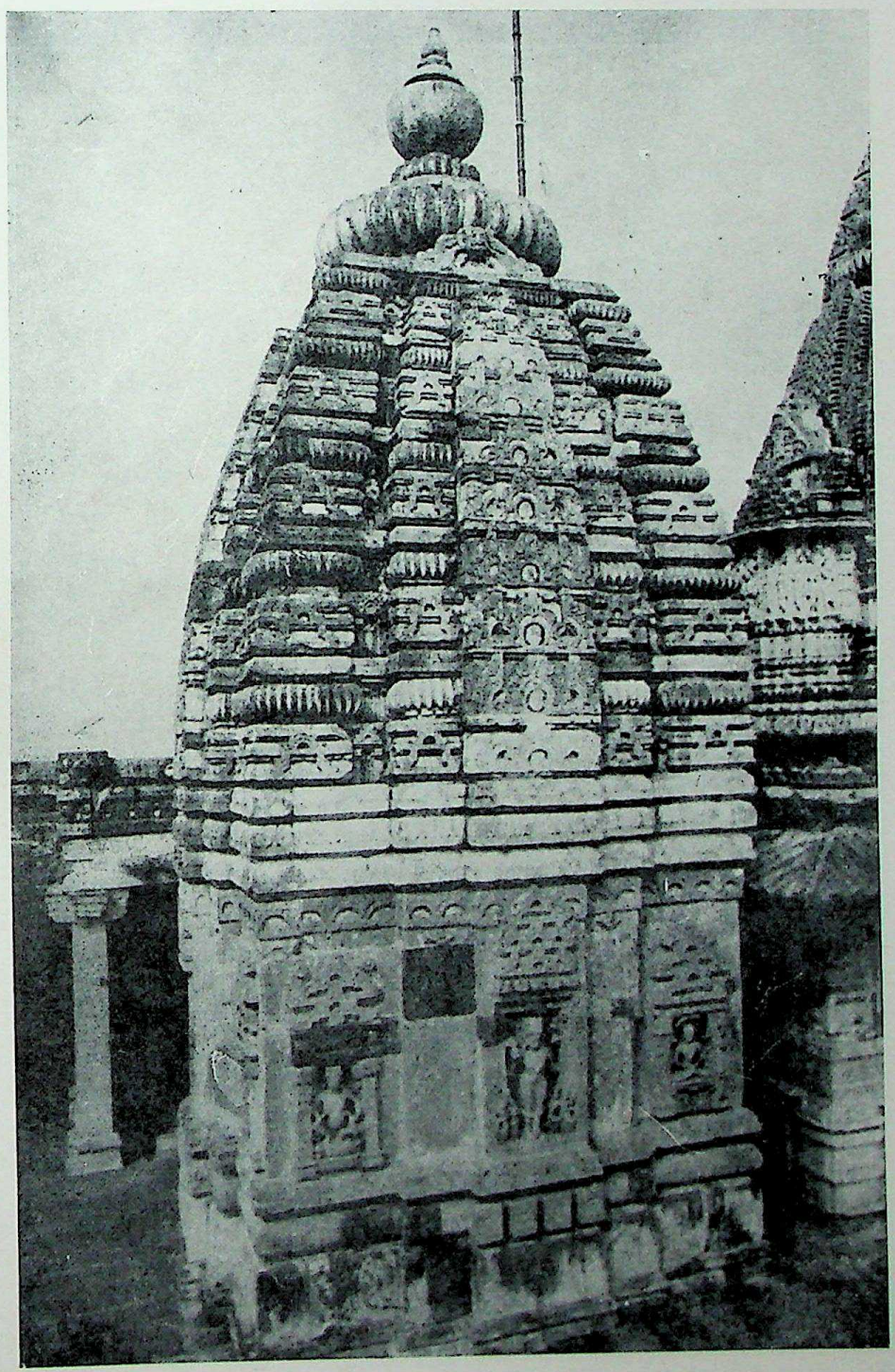

Plate 33. ST-3, back view

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 34. ST-3, doorframe

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 35. ST-3, ceiling of the porch

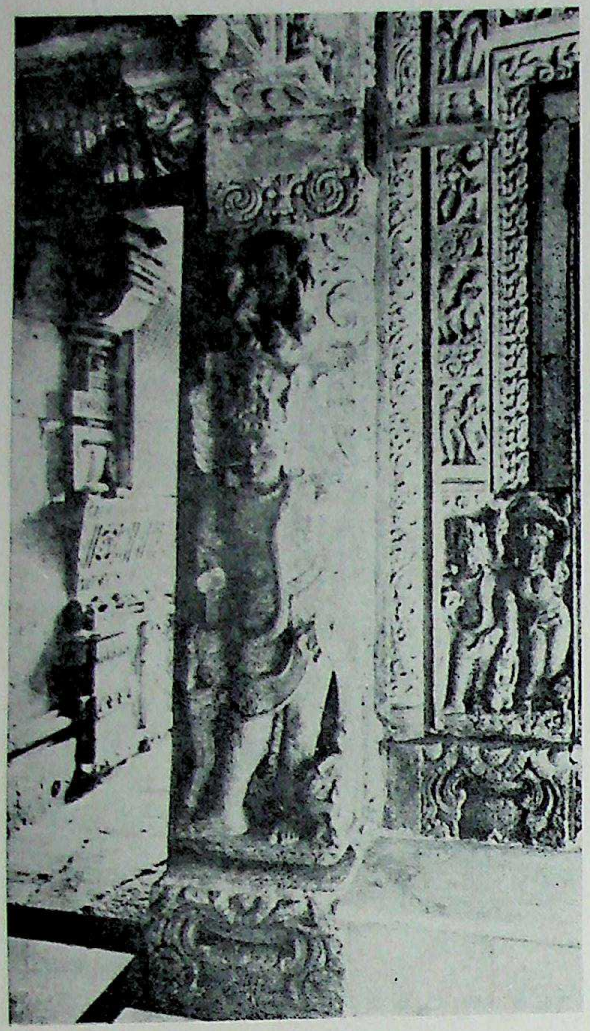

Plate 36. ST-3, pilaster with ostuary and Saṁkarṣaṇa

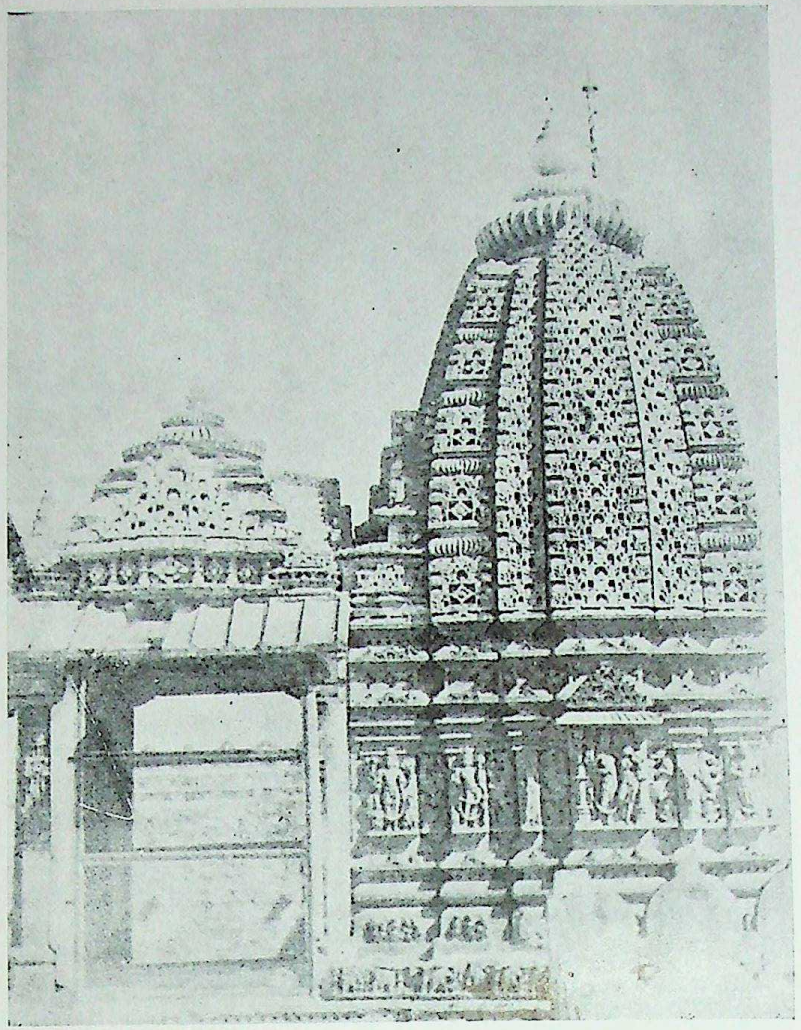

Plate 37. VT-3 from W

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

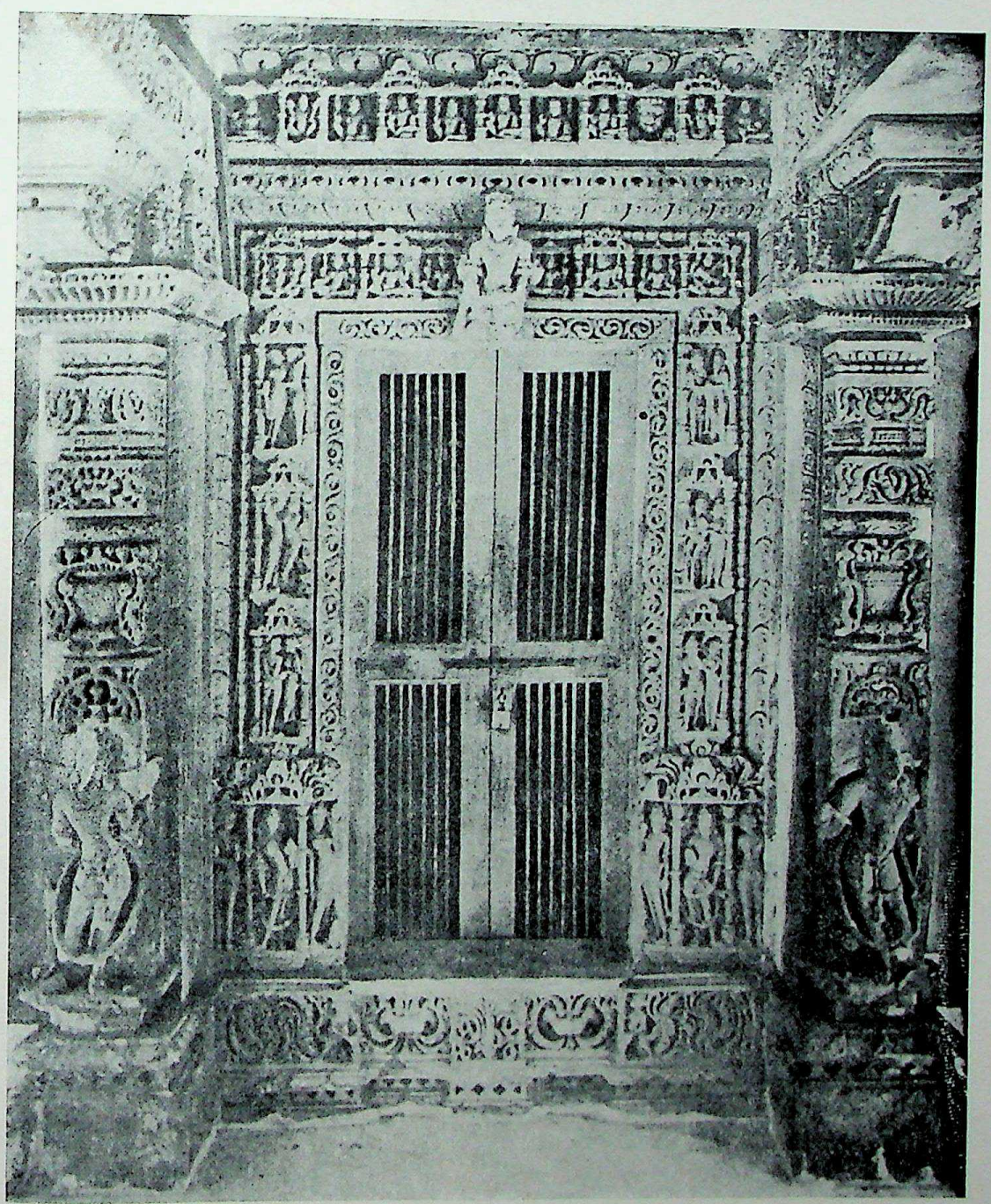

Plate 38. VT-3, doorframe

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

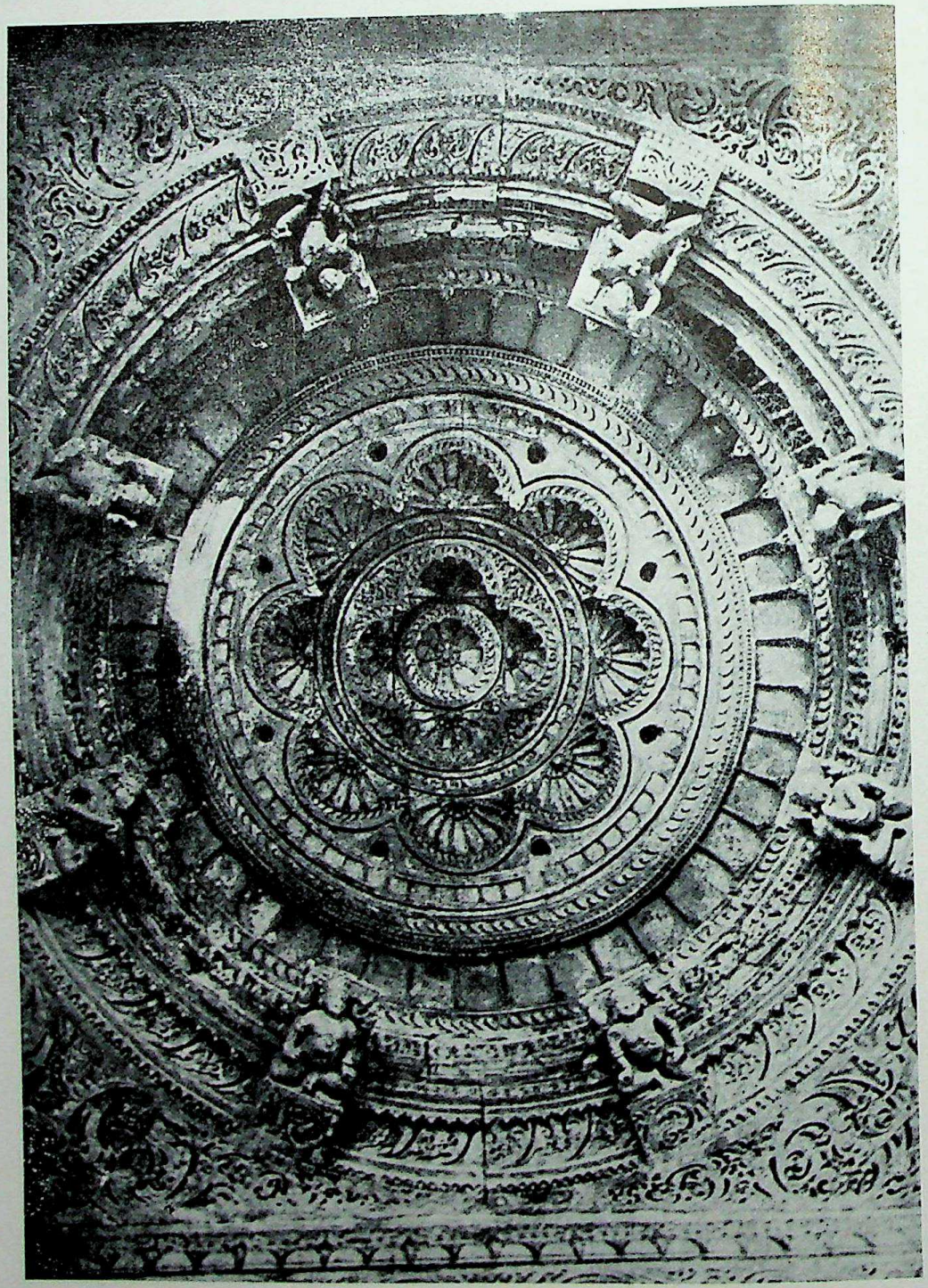

Plate 39. VT-4, ceiling of the porch

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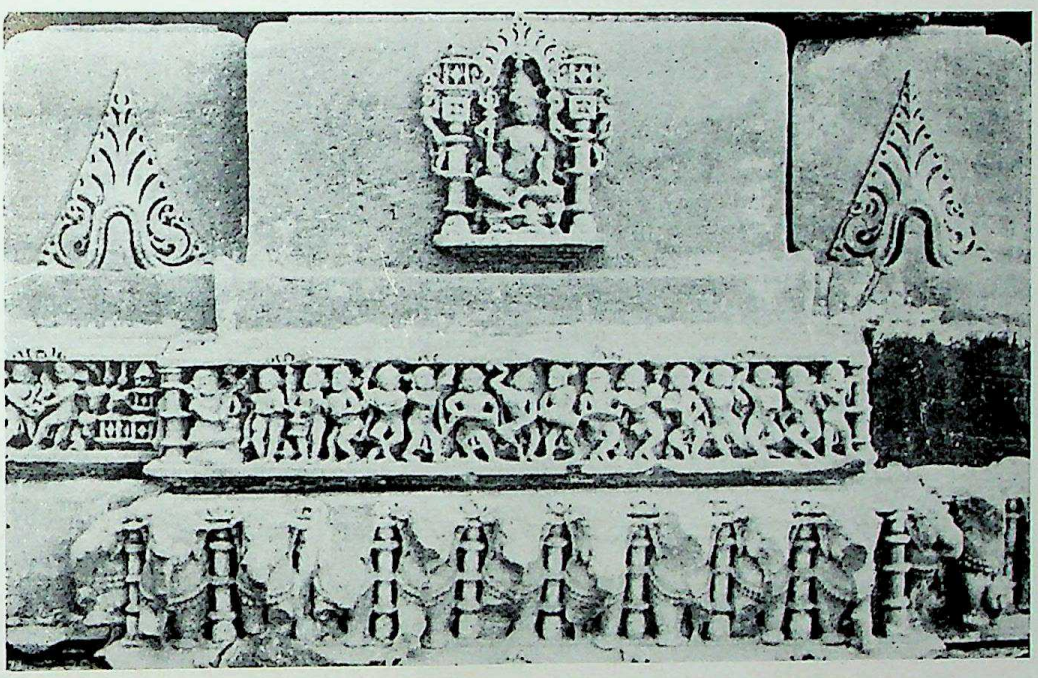

Plate 40. VT-5, socle

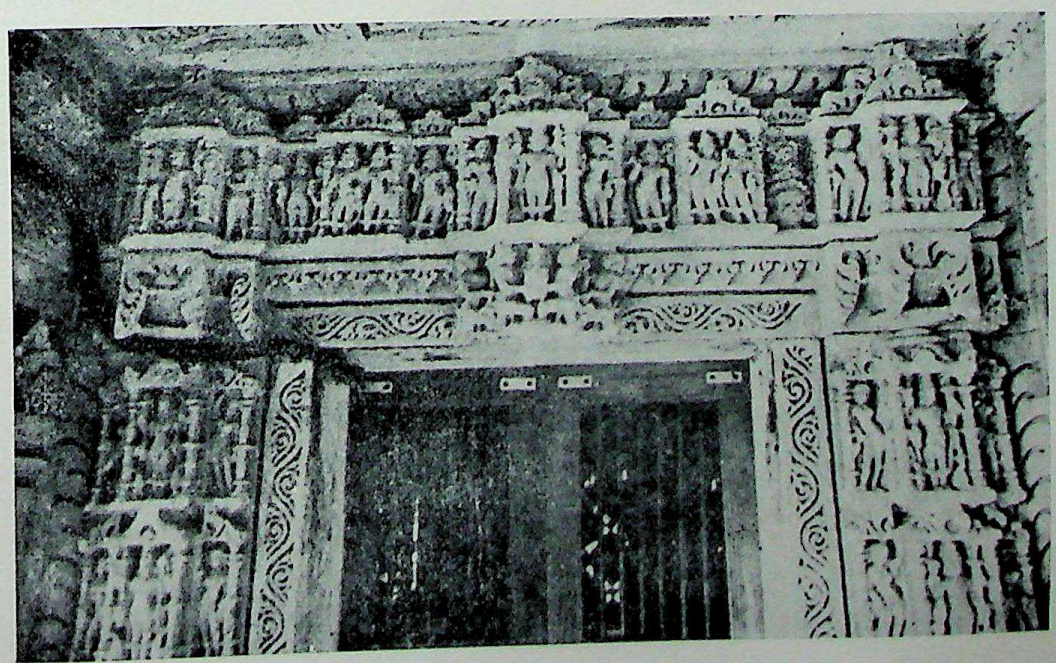

Plate 41. VT-5, doorframe, upper part

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

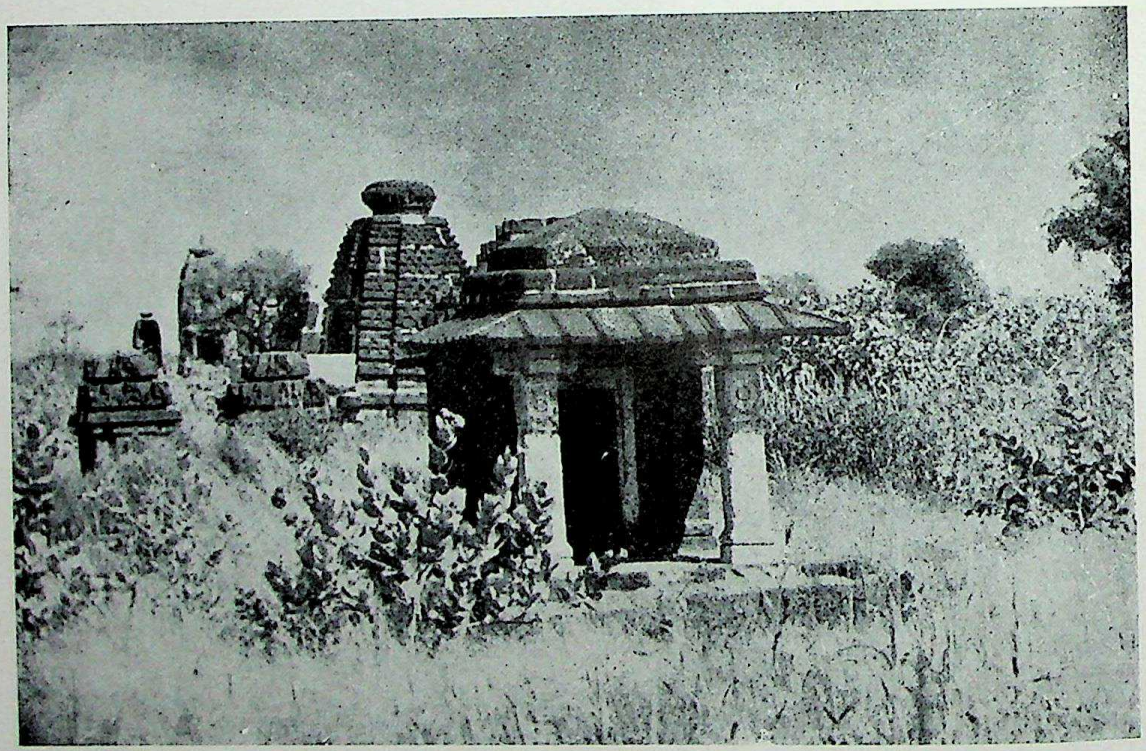

Plate 42. Group of small temples

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

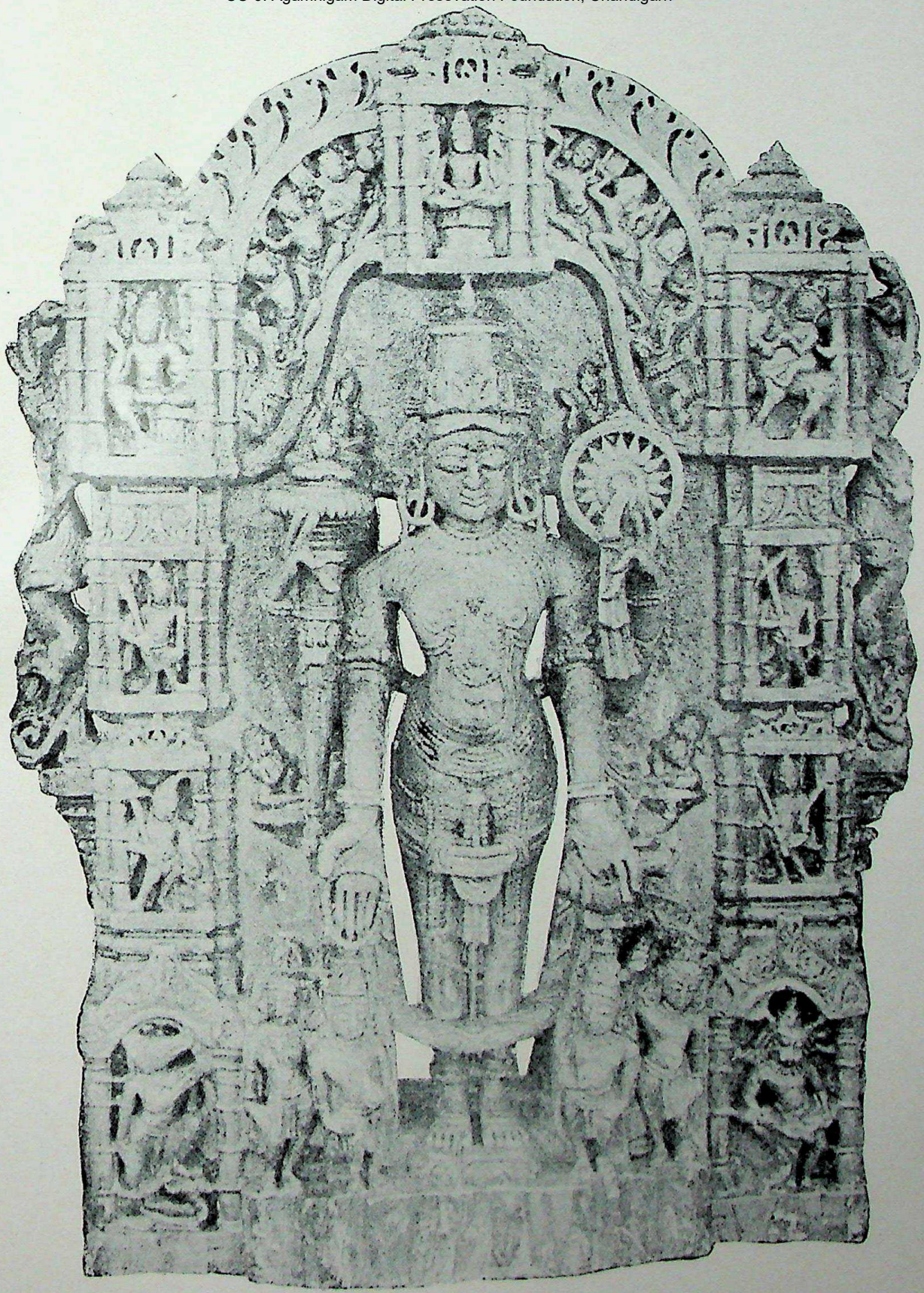

Plate 43. *Saparikara* Viṣṇu, Kunj Behari Temple

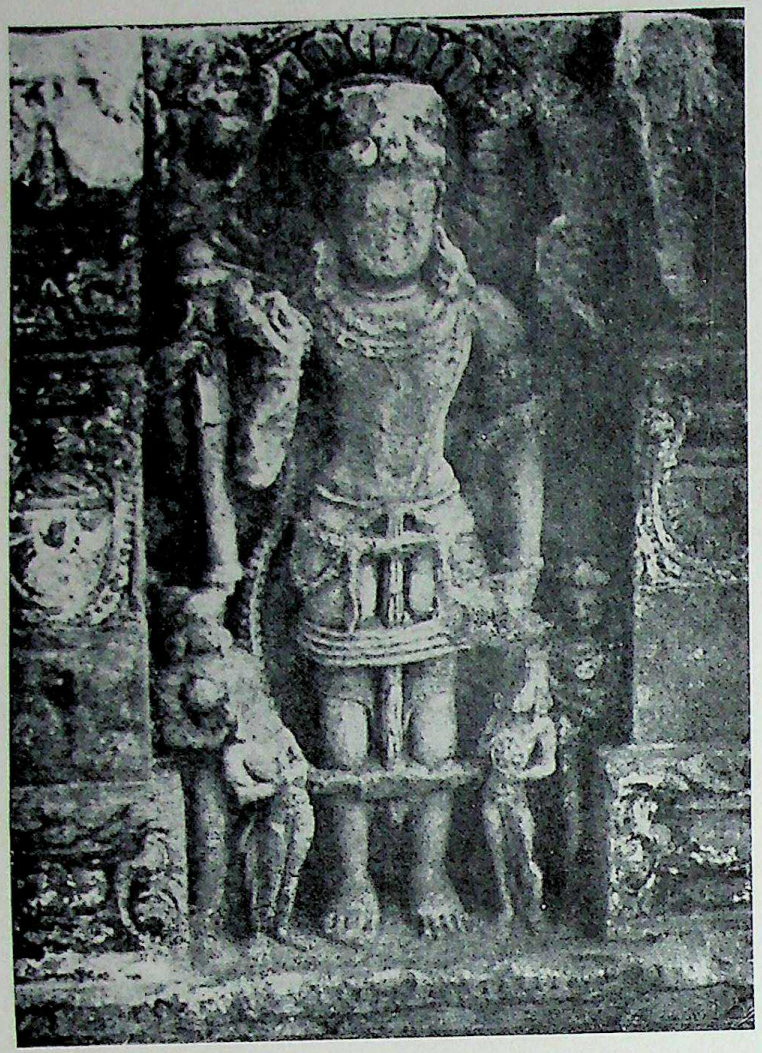

Plate 44. *Sthānaka* Viṣṇu

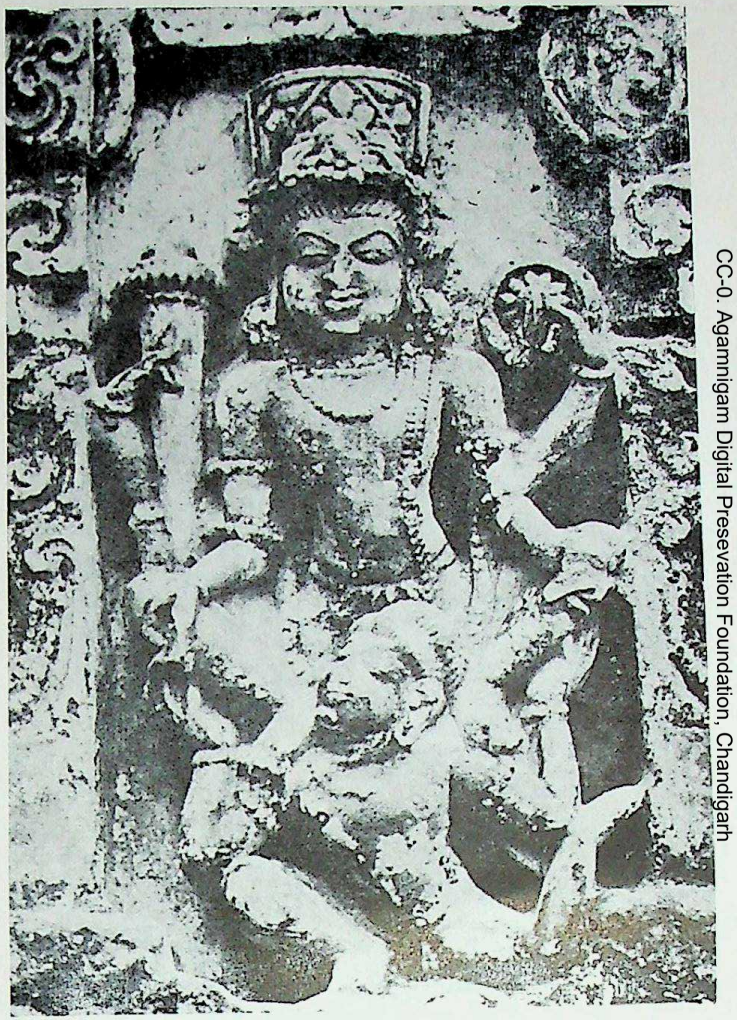

Plate 45. *Garuḍāsana* Viṣṇu, HH-1, NE corner shrine

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

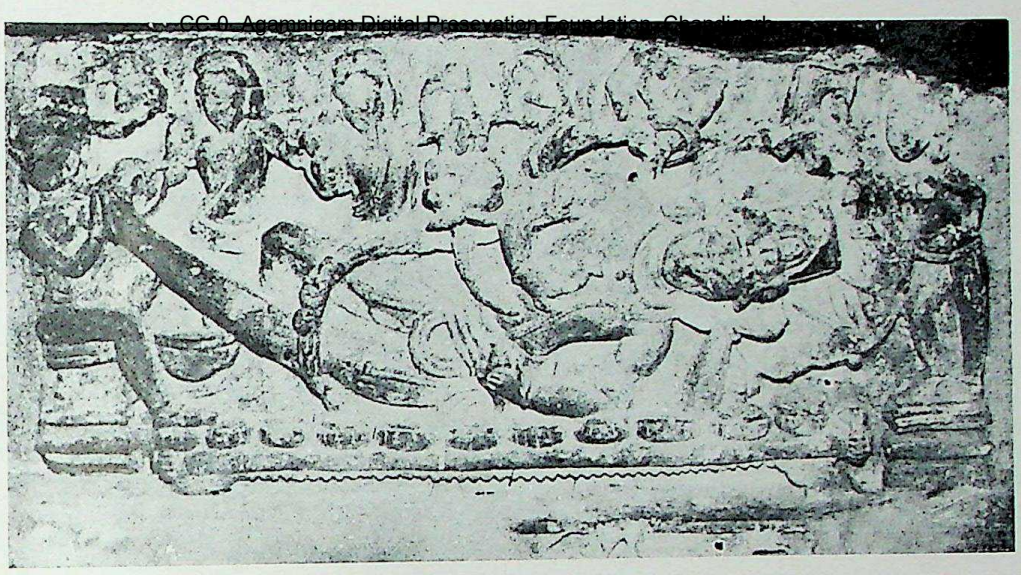

Plate 46. Śeṣaśāyī Viṣṇu, SMT complex

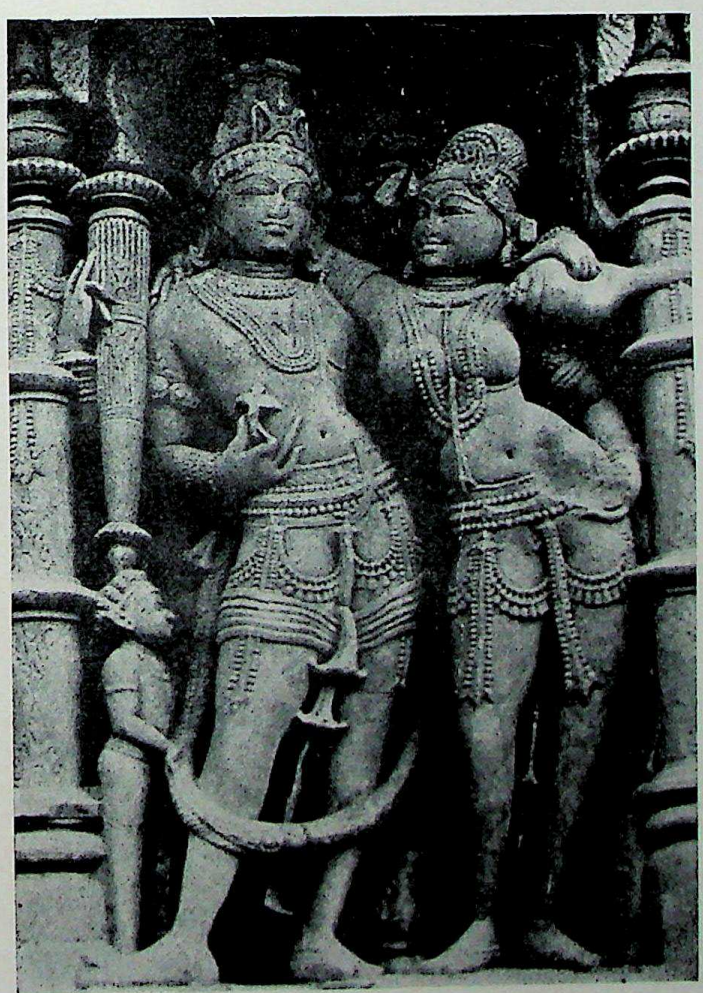

Plate 47. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, VT-4

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

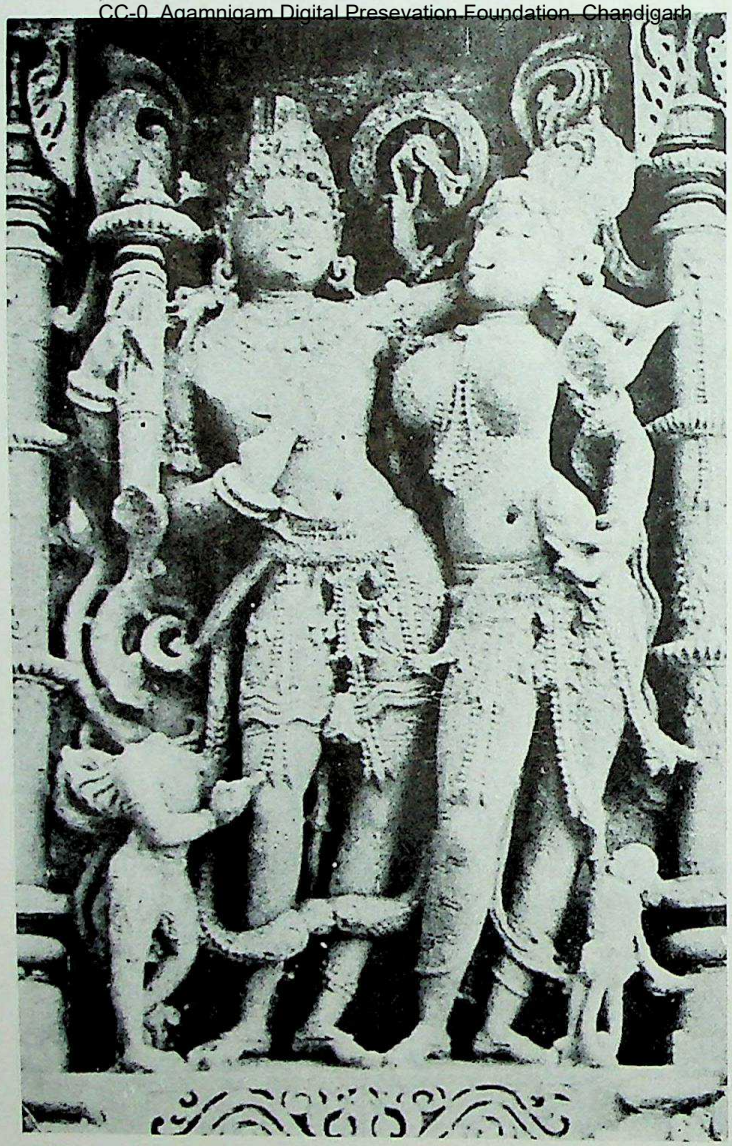

Plate 48. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, VT-5

Plate 49. Samudramanthana, VT-5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

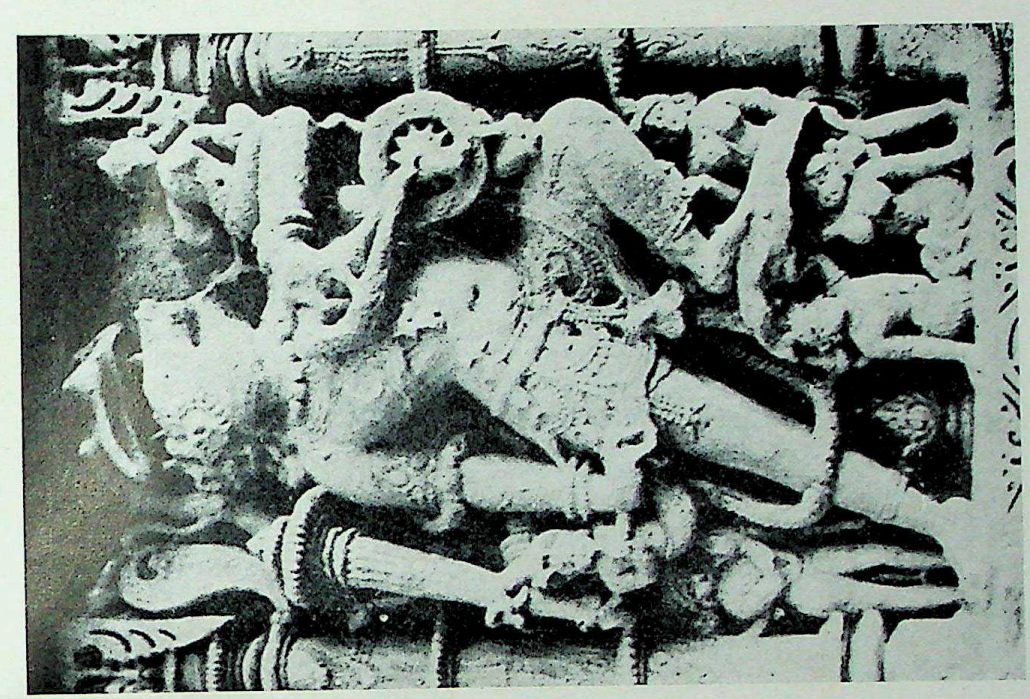

Plate 51. Varāha, VT-5

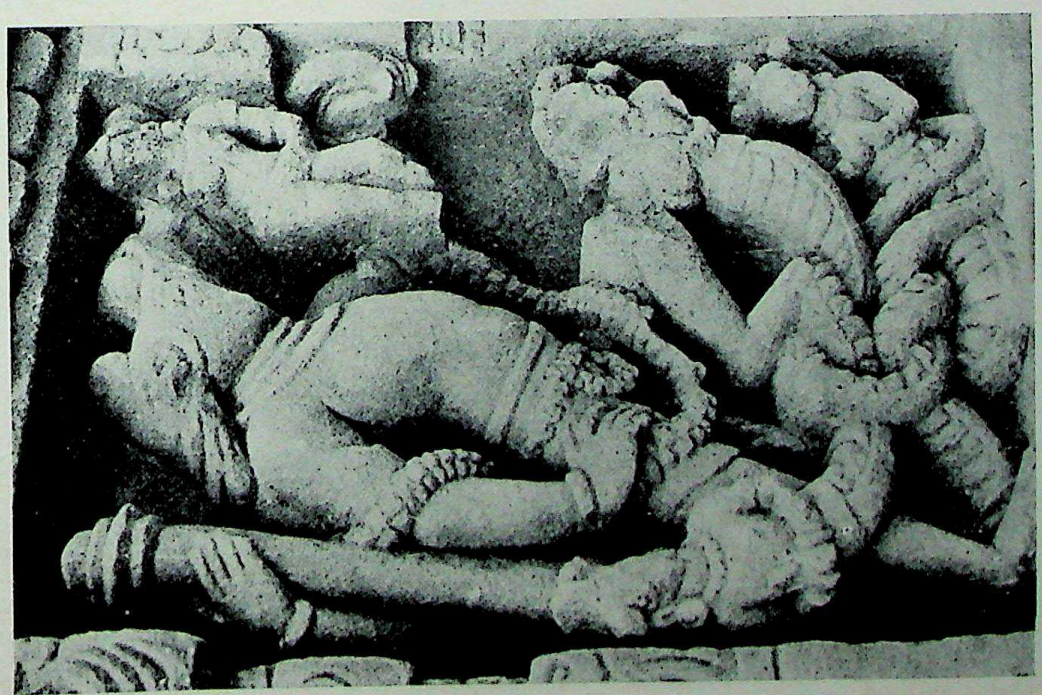

Plate 50. Varāha, ST-2

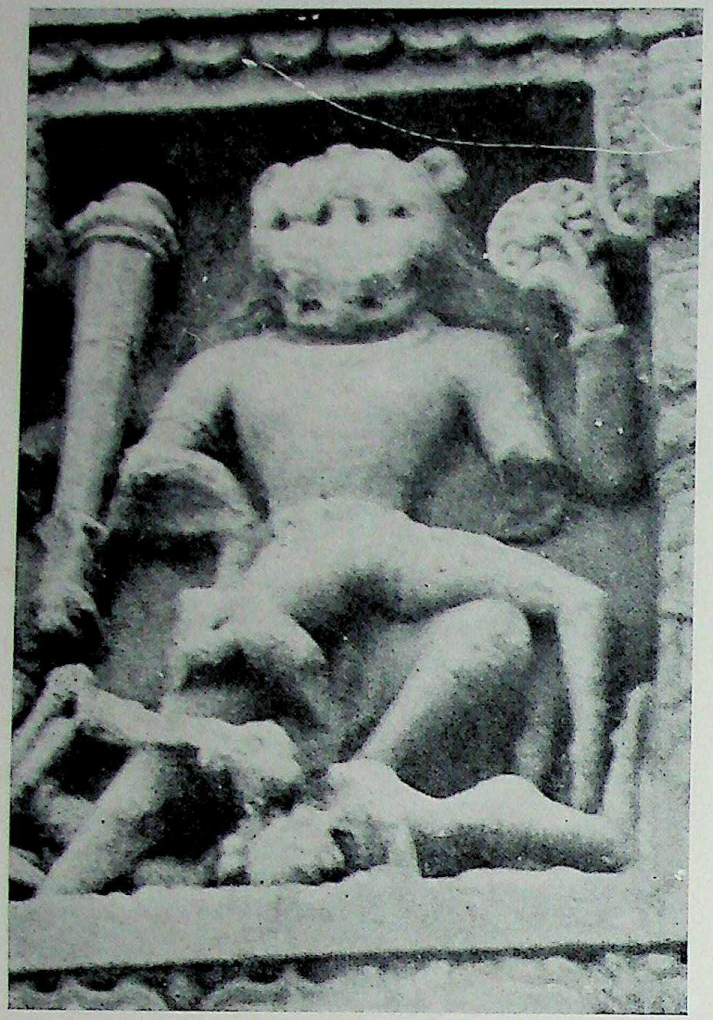

Plate 52. Nṛsiṁha, ST-2

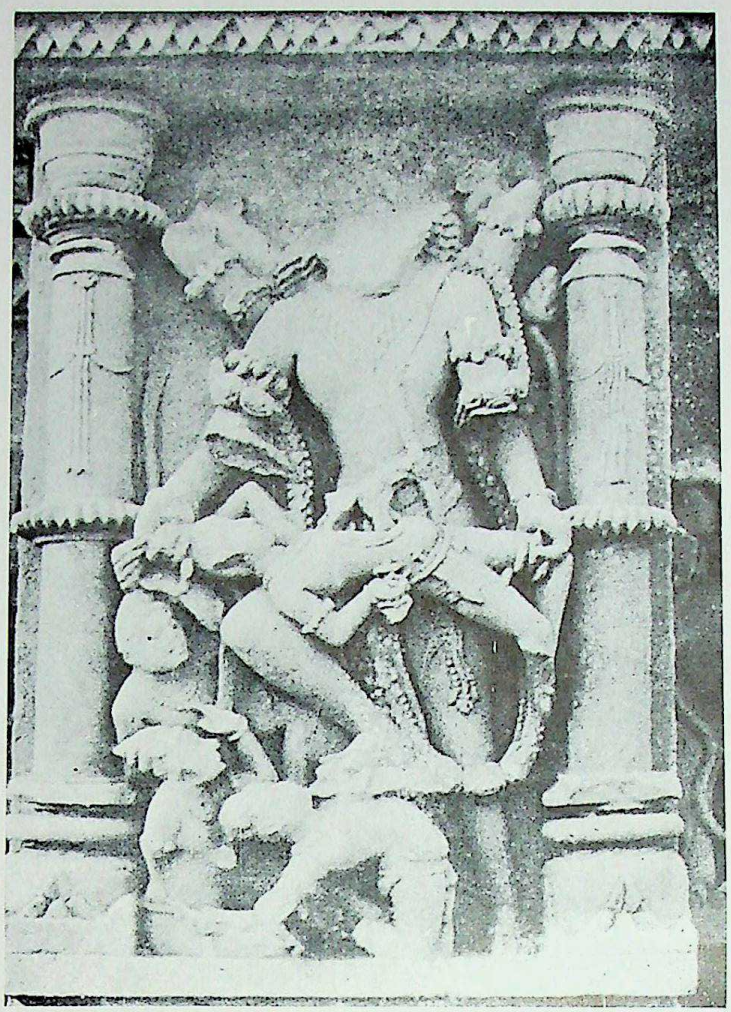

Plate 53. Nṛsiṁha, VT-3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

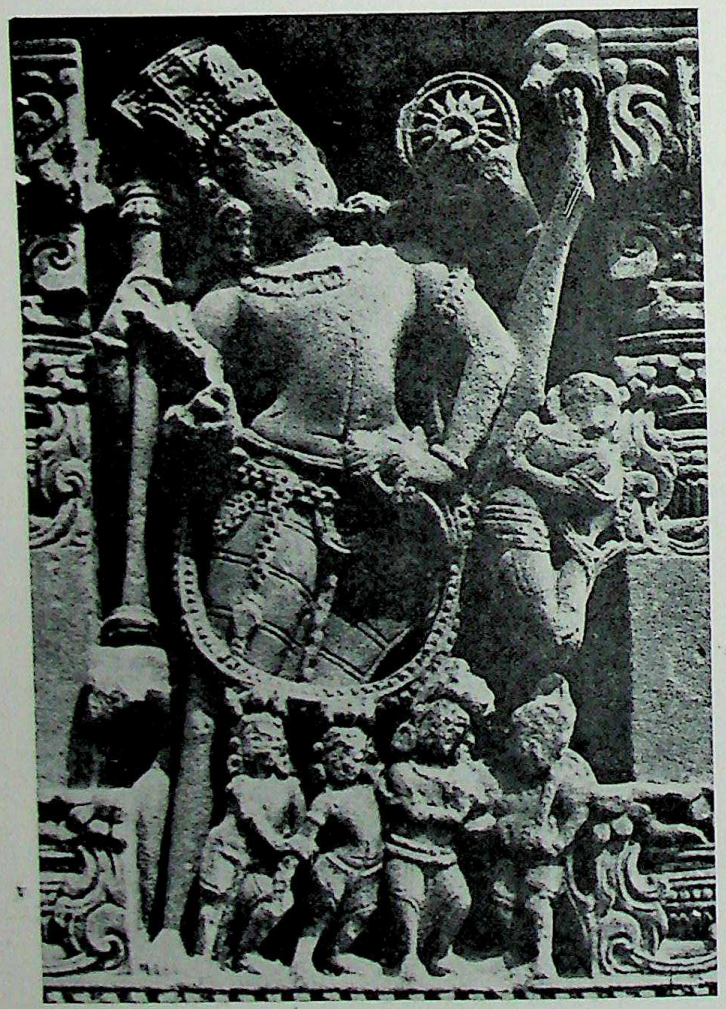

Plate 54. Vāmana-Trivikrama, HH-3

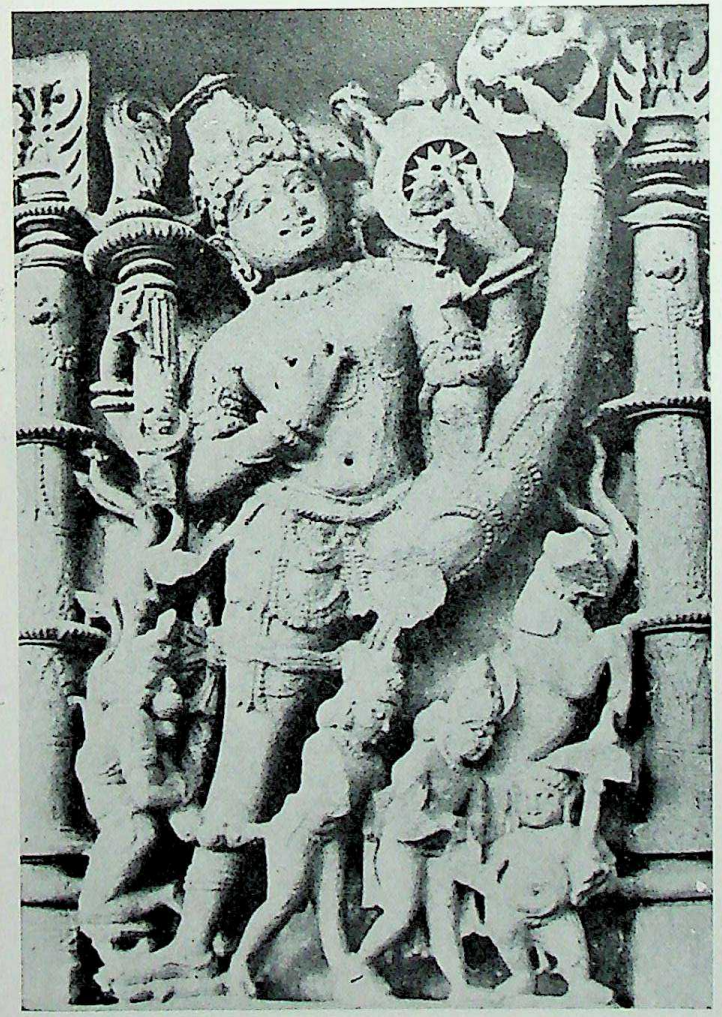

Plate 55. Vāmana-Trivikrama, VT-5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

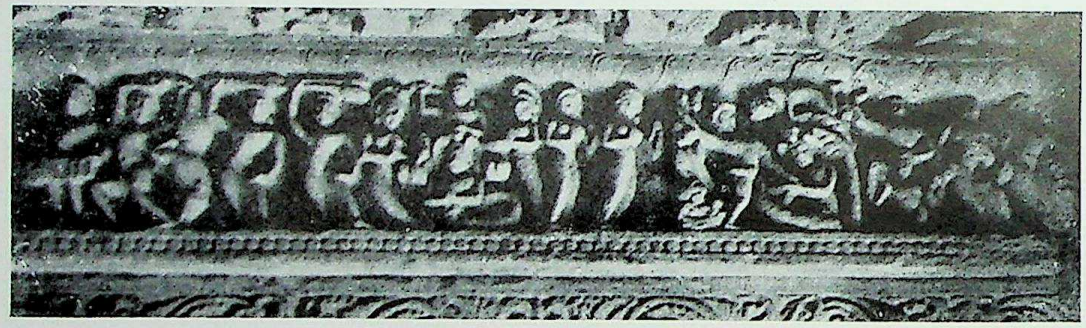

Plate 56. Kṛṣṇa-*Iṭlā* scenes, ST-3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

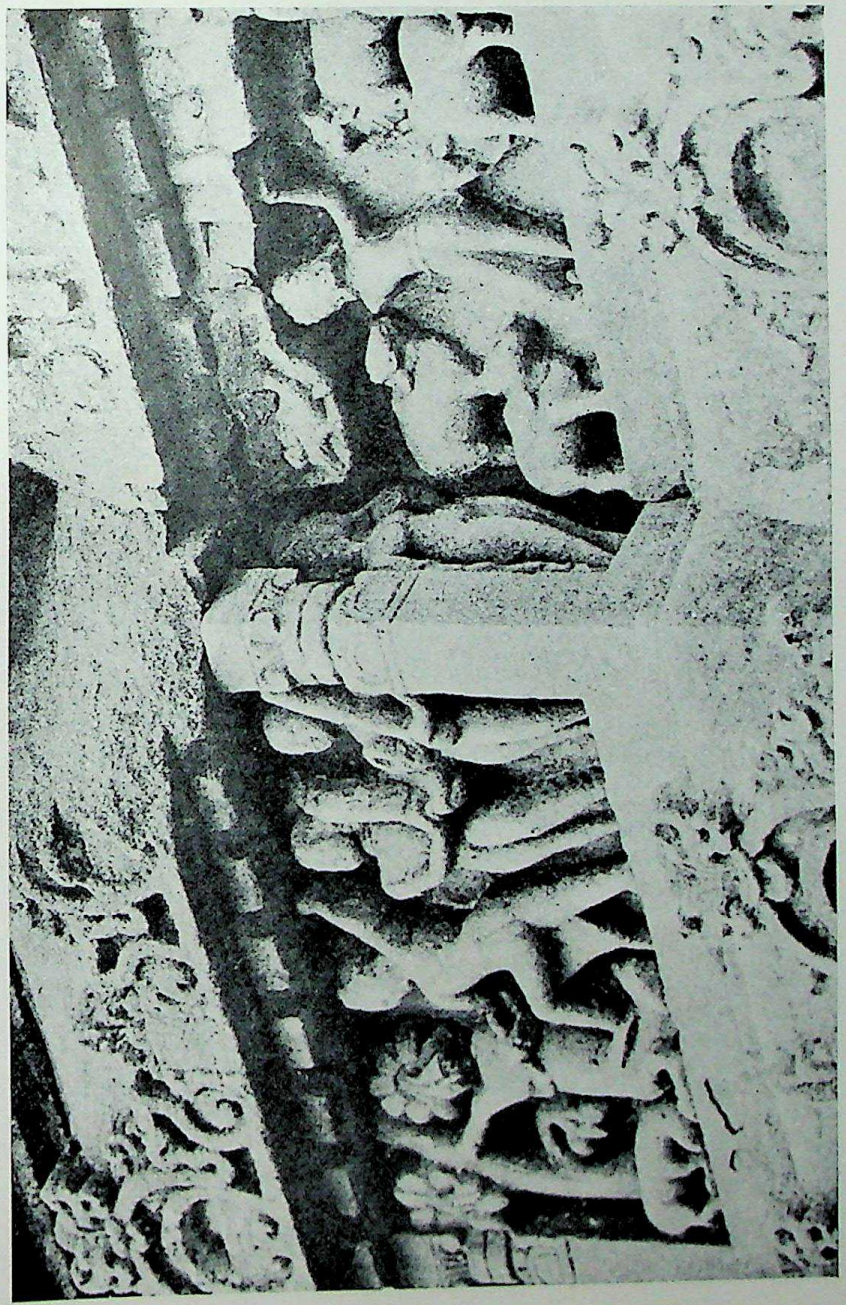

Plate 57. Kṛṣṇa-*Jālā* scene, HH-2

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

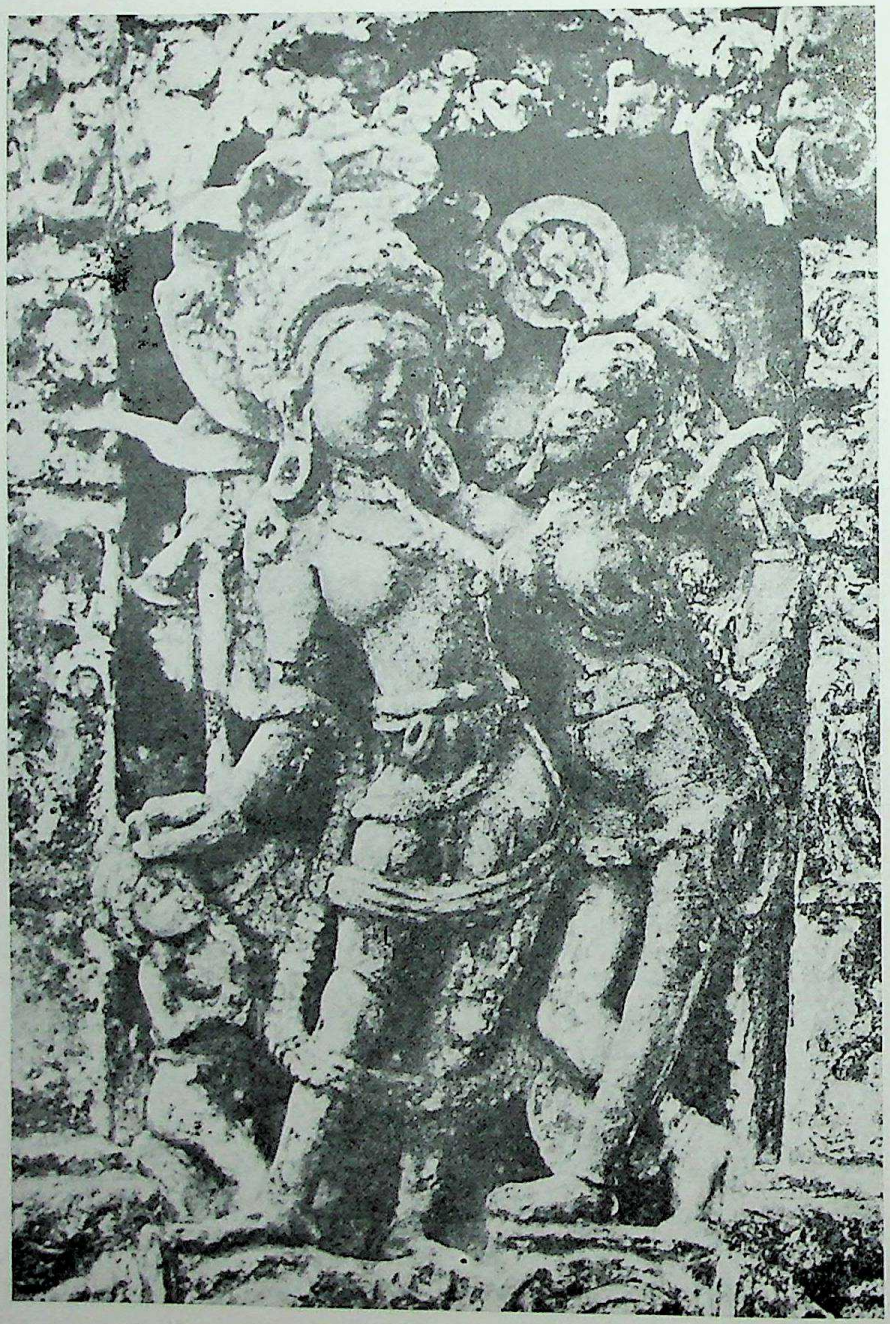

Plate 58. Balarāma embracing Revatī, HH-1, SE corner shrine

Plate 59. Balarāma, ST-2

Plate 60. Buddha, HH-1

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

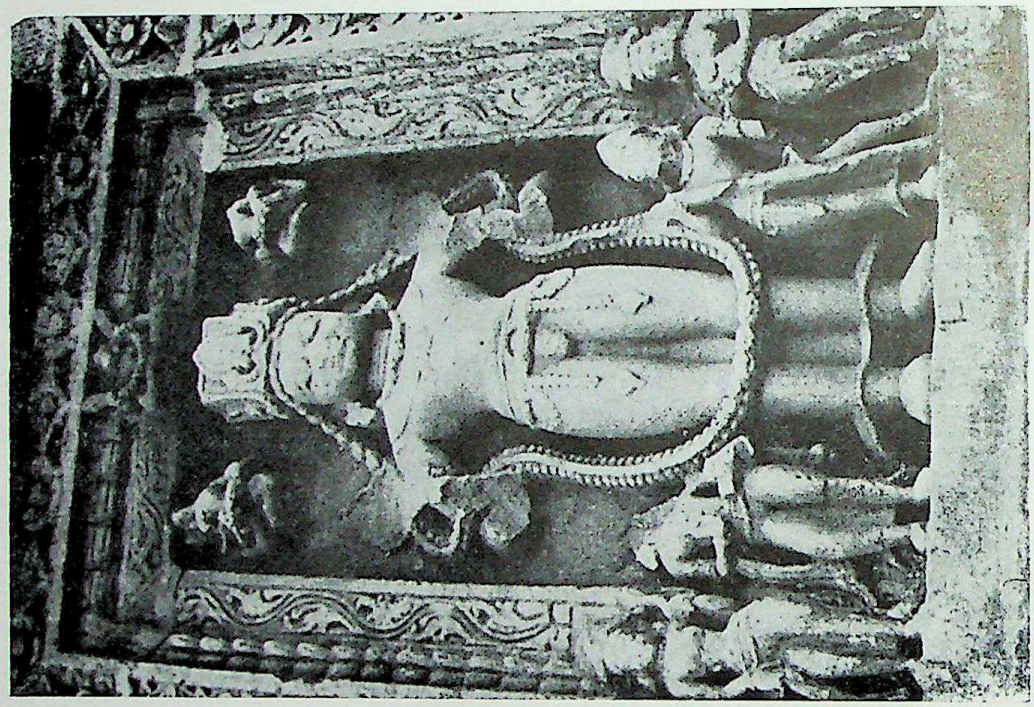

Plate 62. Sūrya, ST-2

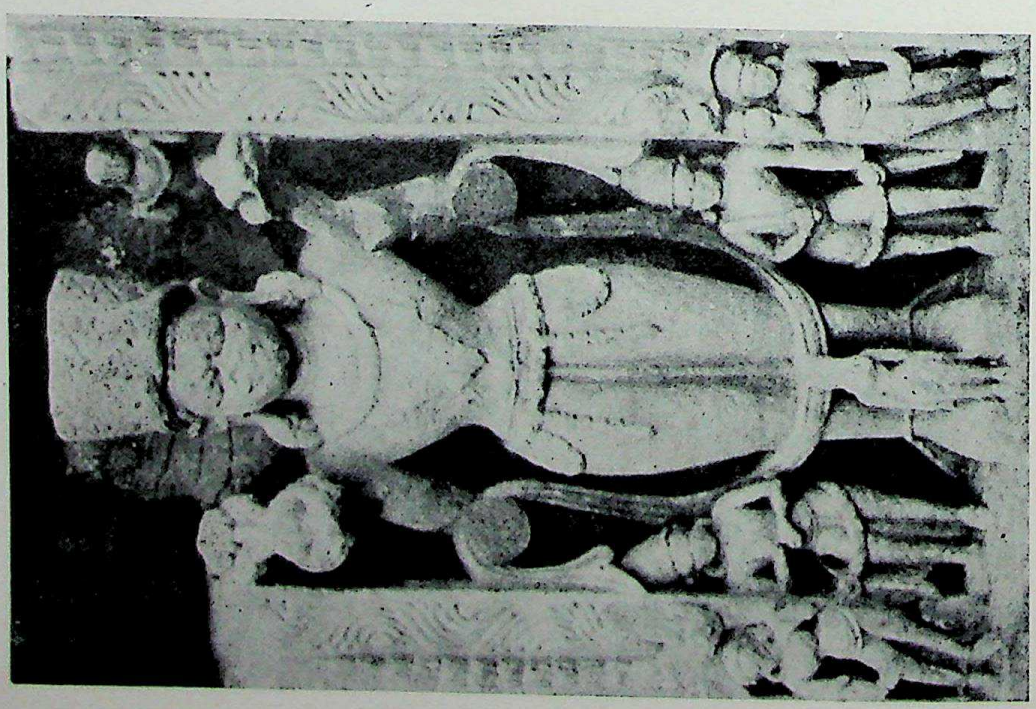

Plate 61. Sūrya, ST-3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

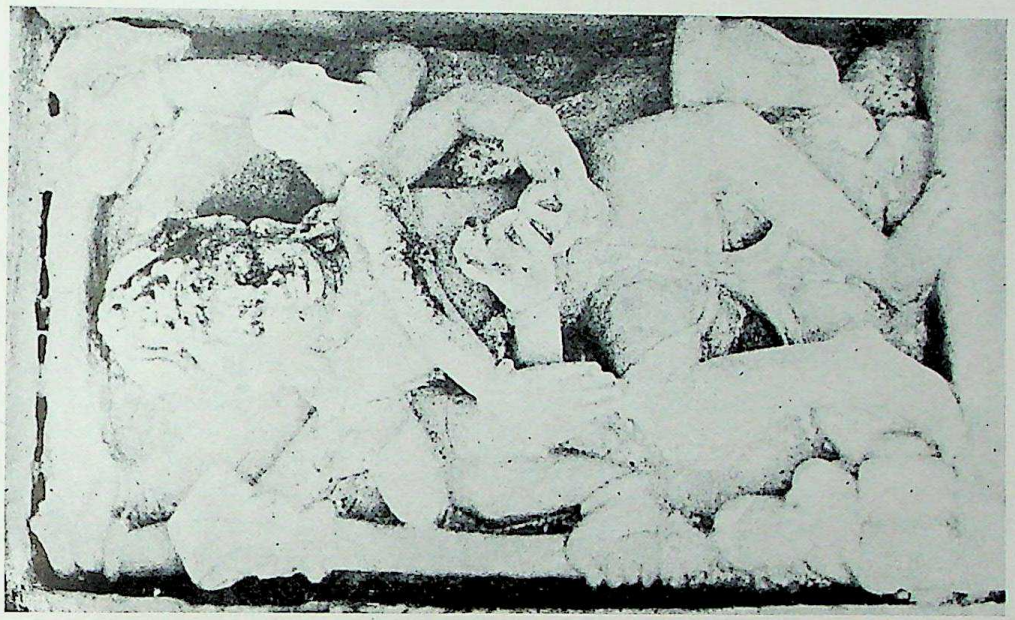

Plate 64. Śiva-Naṭarāja, ST-3

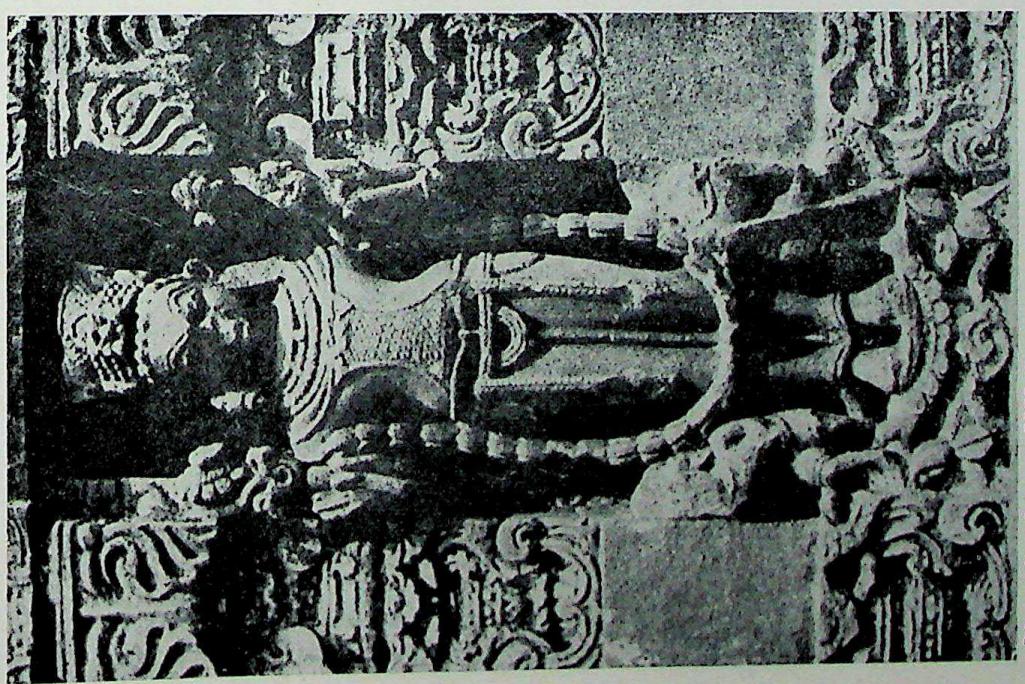

Plate 63. Sūrya, HH-3

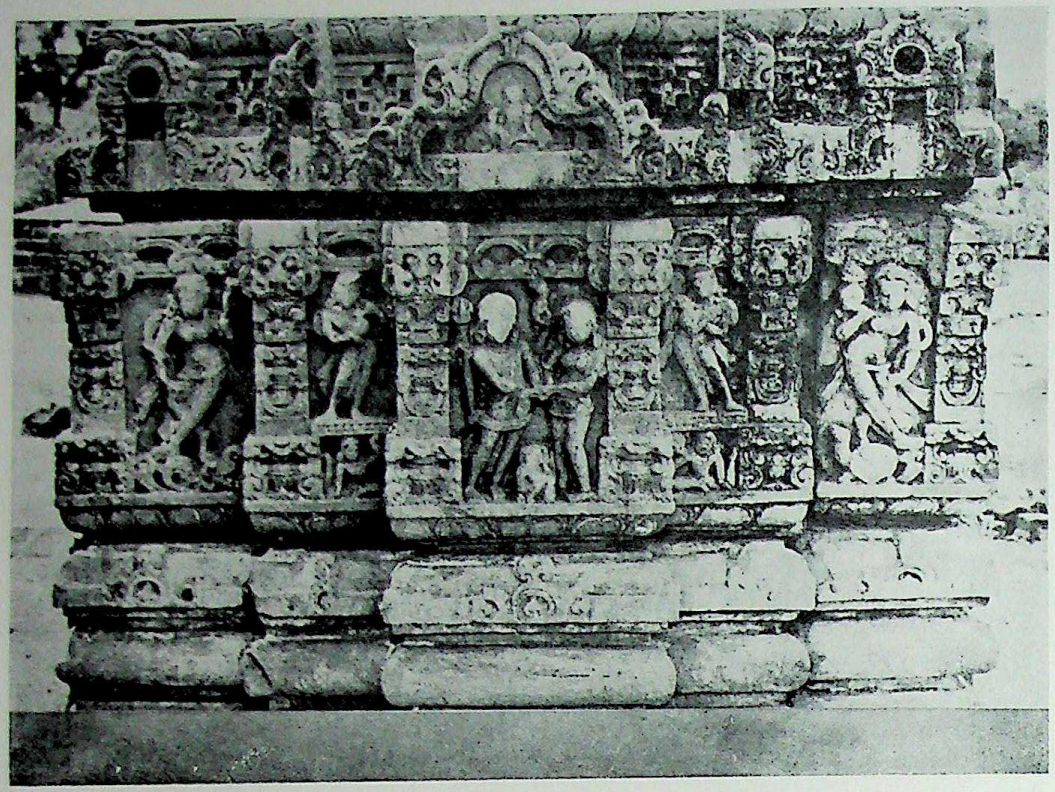

Plate 65. Kalyāṇa-Sundara, HH-2, NW corner shrine

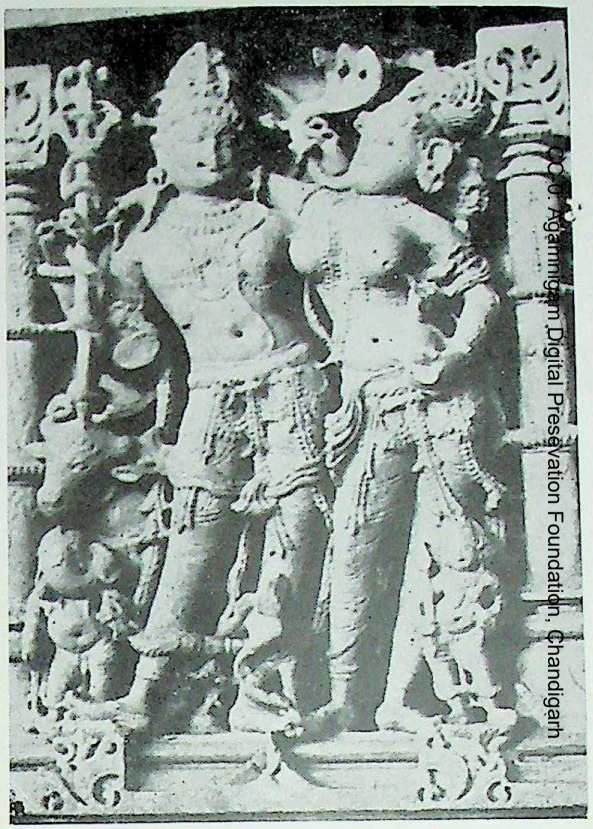

Plate 66. Śiva-Pārvatī, VT-5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 67. Bhairava, SMT

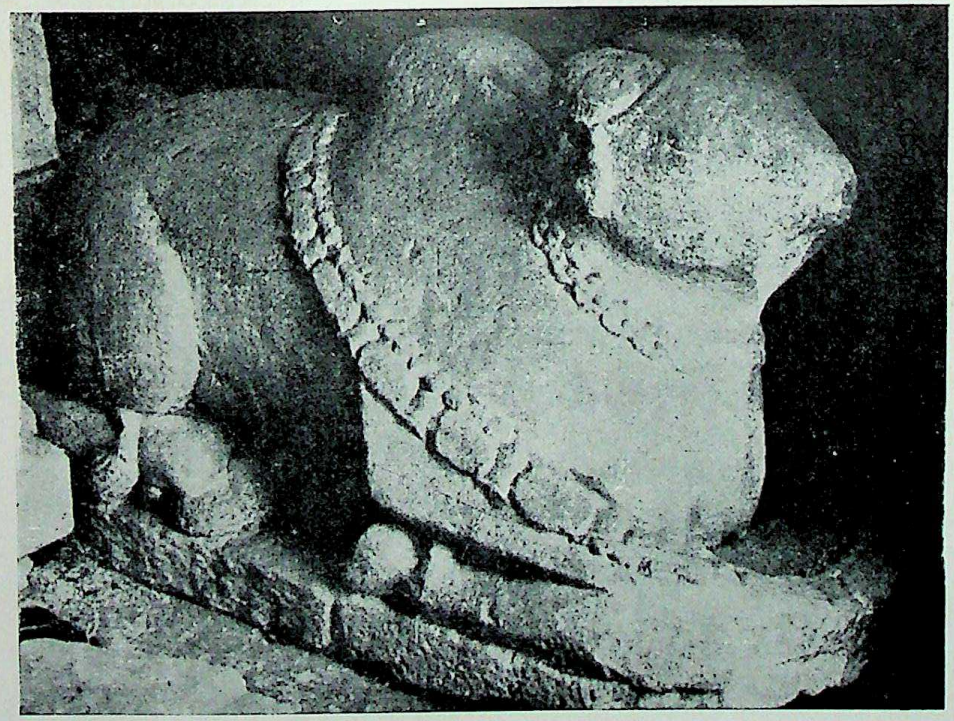

Plate 68. Nandī, MT complex

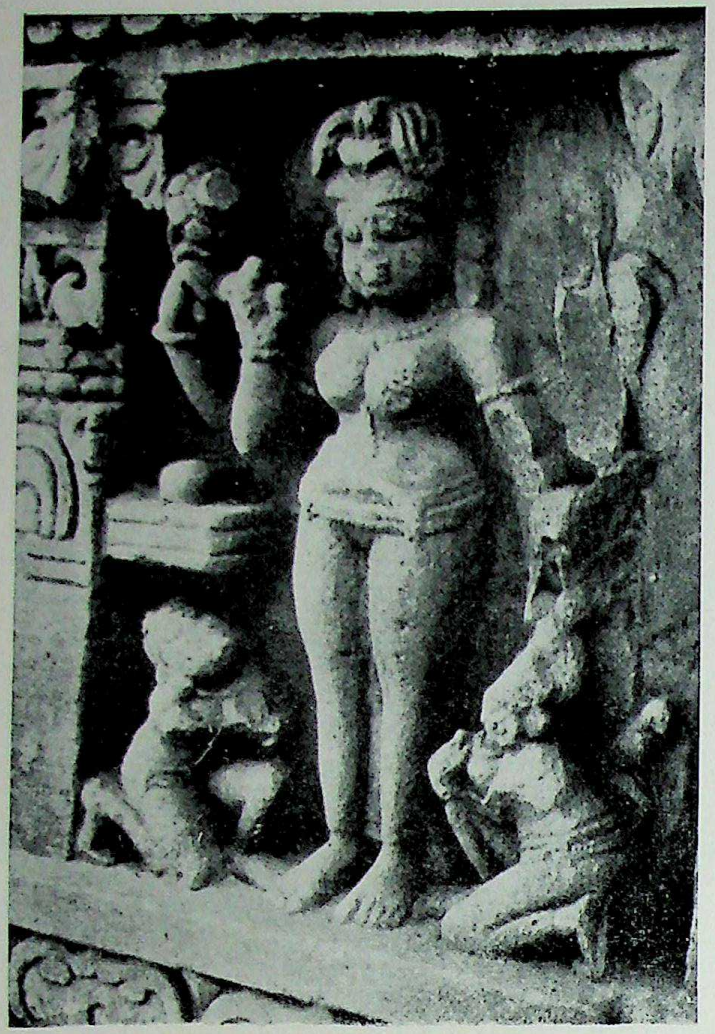

Plate 69. Pārvatī, ST-2

Plate 70. Durgā–Siṁhavāhinī, SMT complex

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 71. Gaja-Lakṣmī, STM complex

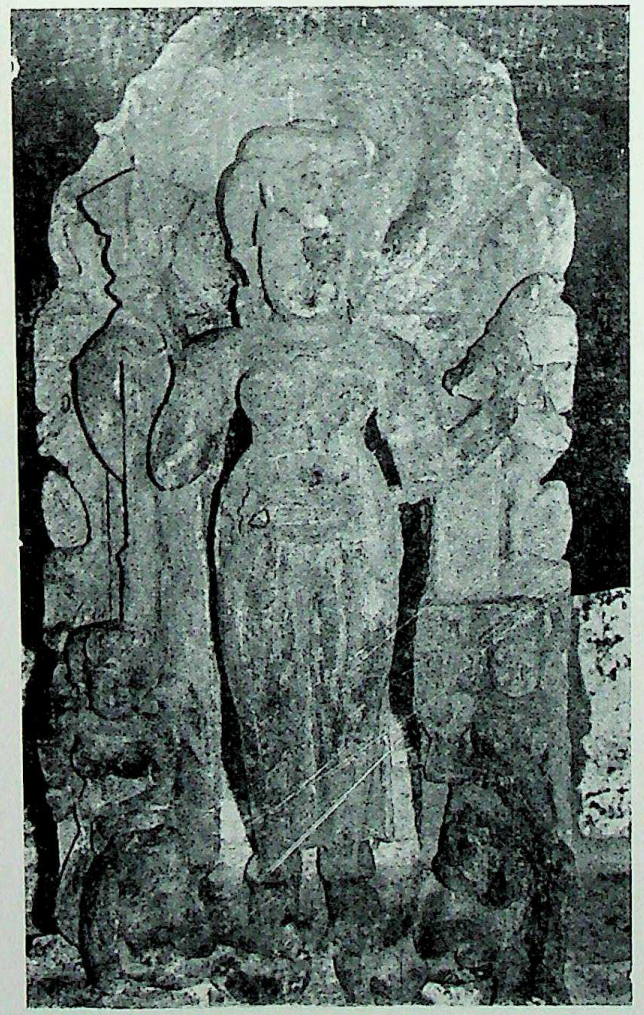

Plate 72. Durgā-Siṁhavāhinī, SMT complex

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

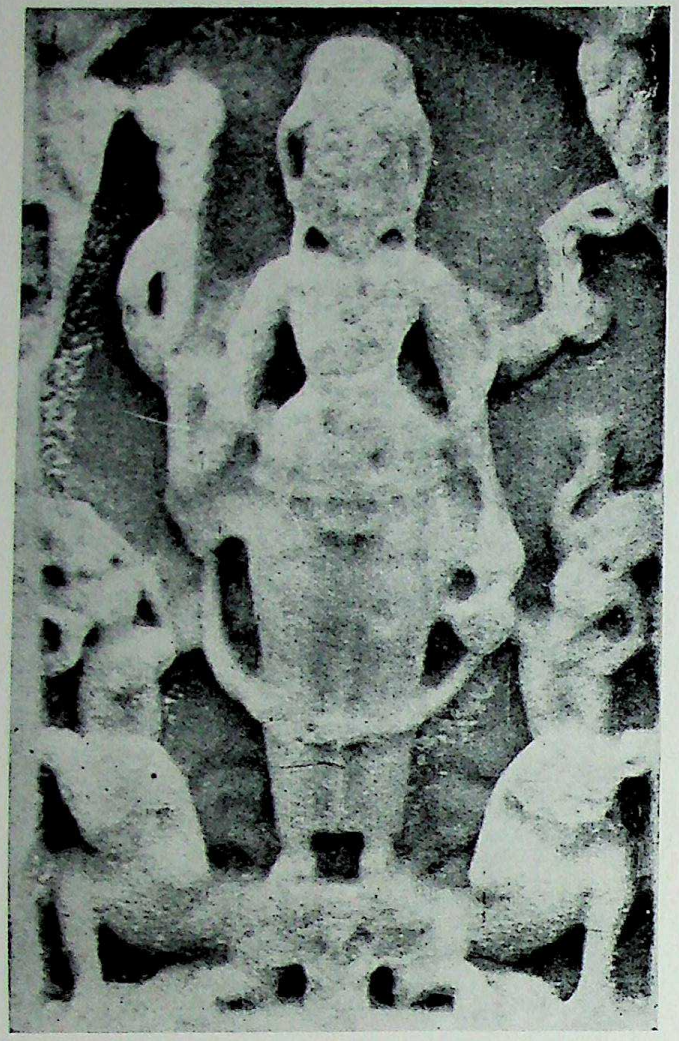

Plate 73. Durgā-Siṁhavāhinī, HH-2

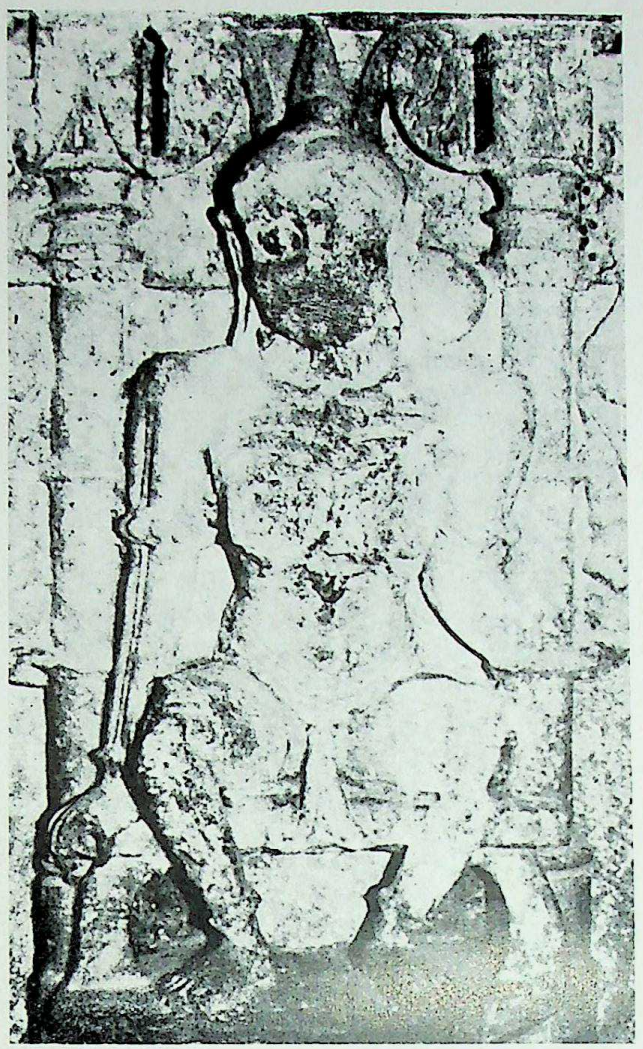

Plate 74. Kṣemaṅkarī, SMT

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 75. Śṛṅgāra-Durgā, HH-1, SW subsidiary shrine

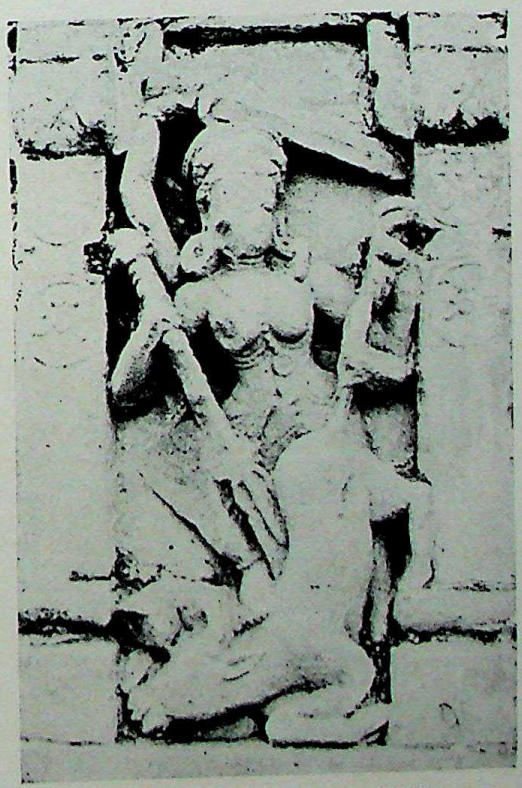

Plate 76. Mahiṣamardinī, HH-1

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

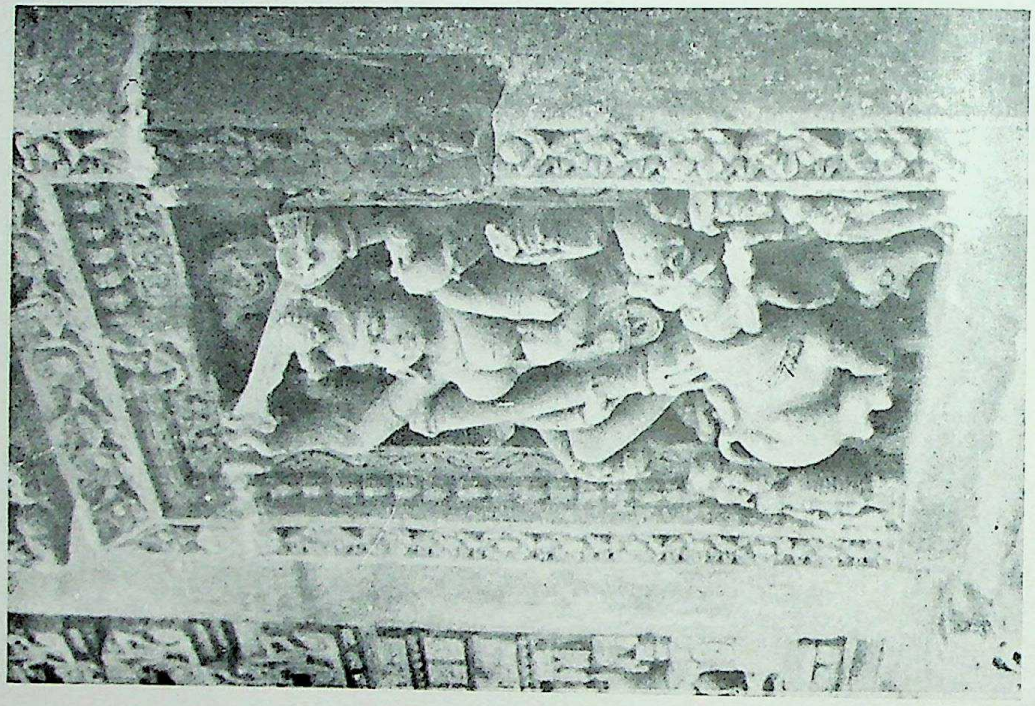

Plate 78. Mahiṣamardinī, ST-2

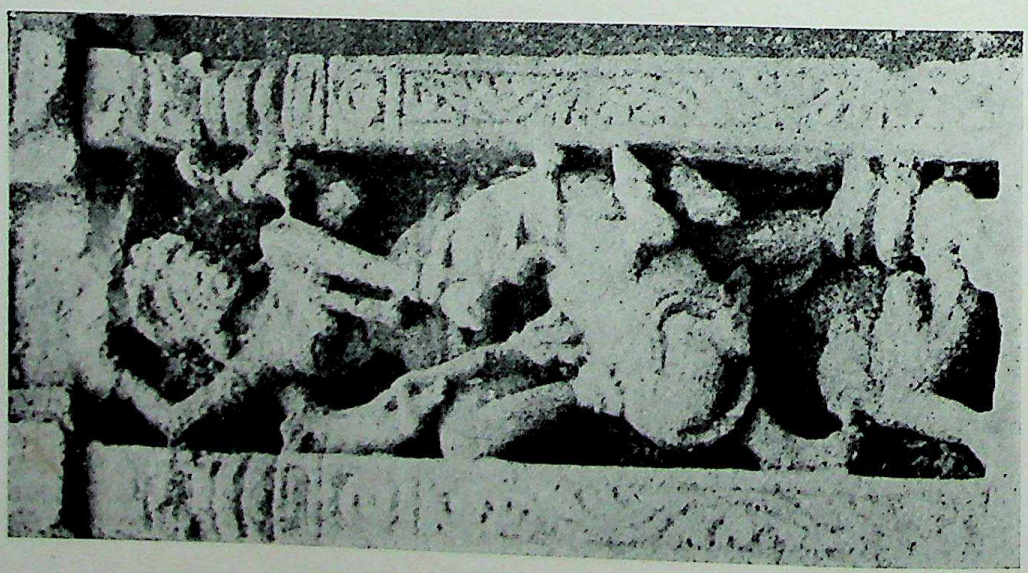

Plate 77. Mahiṣamardinī, HH-2

Plate 79. Mahiṣamardinī PDT, sanctum sanctorum

Plate 80. Mahiṣamardinī, PDT, E wall

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

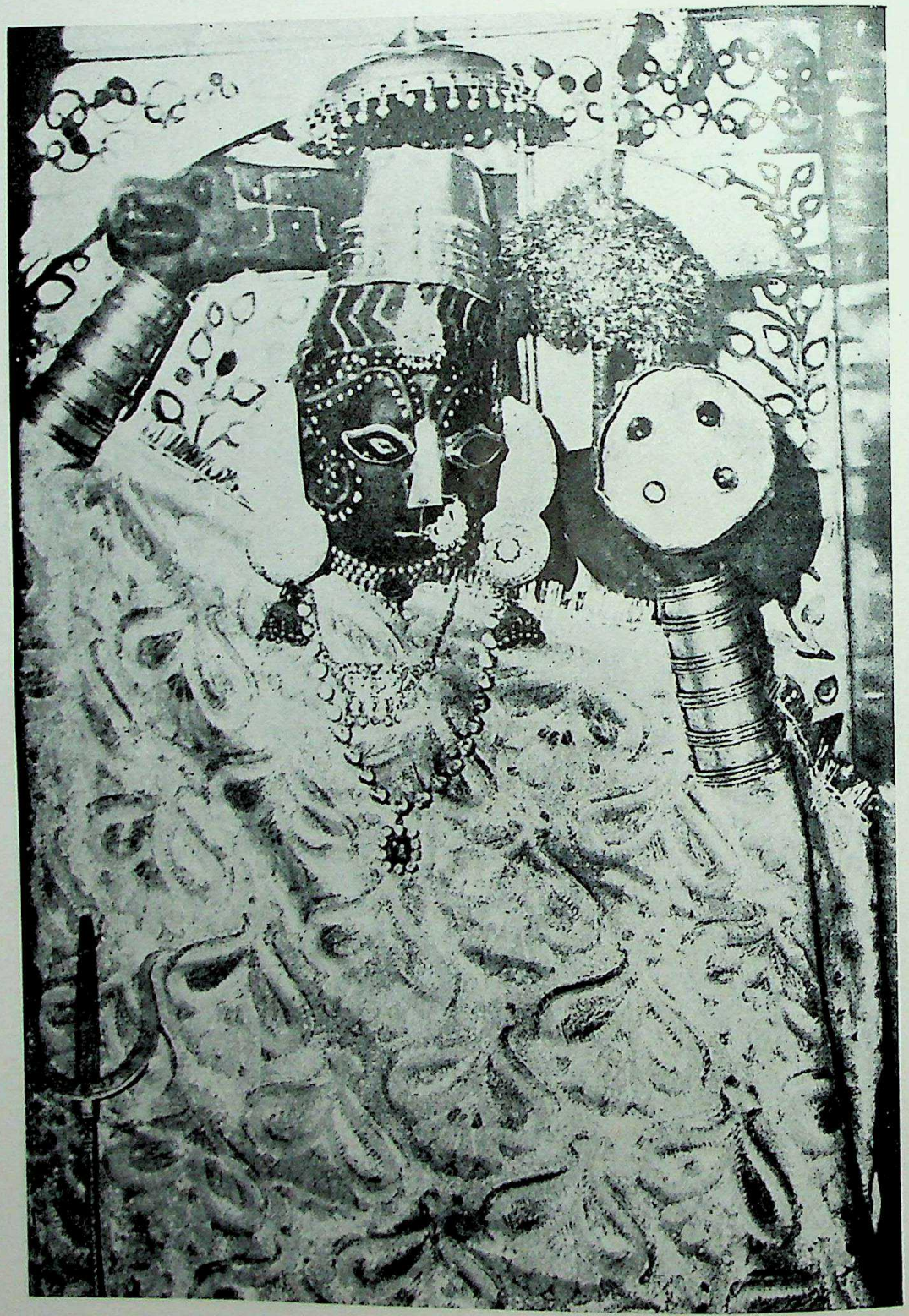

Plate 81. Mahiṣamardinī, SMT, sanctum sanctorum

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Plate 82. Mahiṣamardinī, SMT,
raṅgamaṇḍapa

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

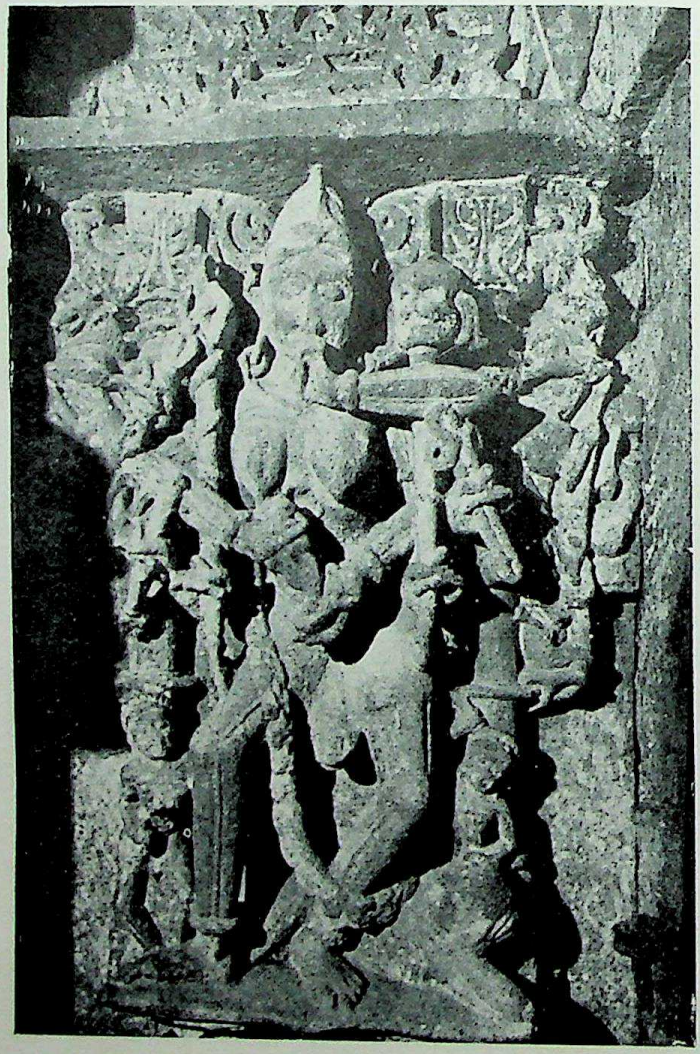

Plate 83. Caṇḍikā, SMT

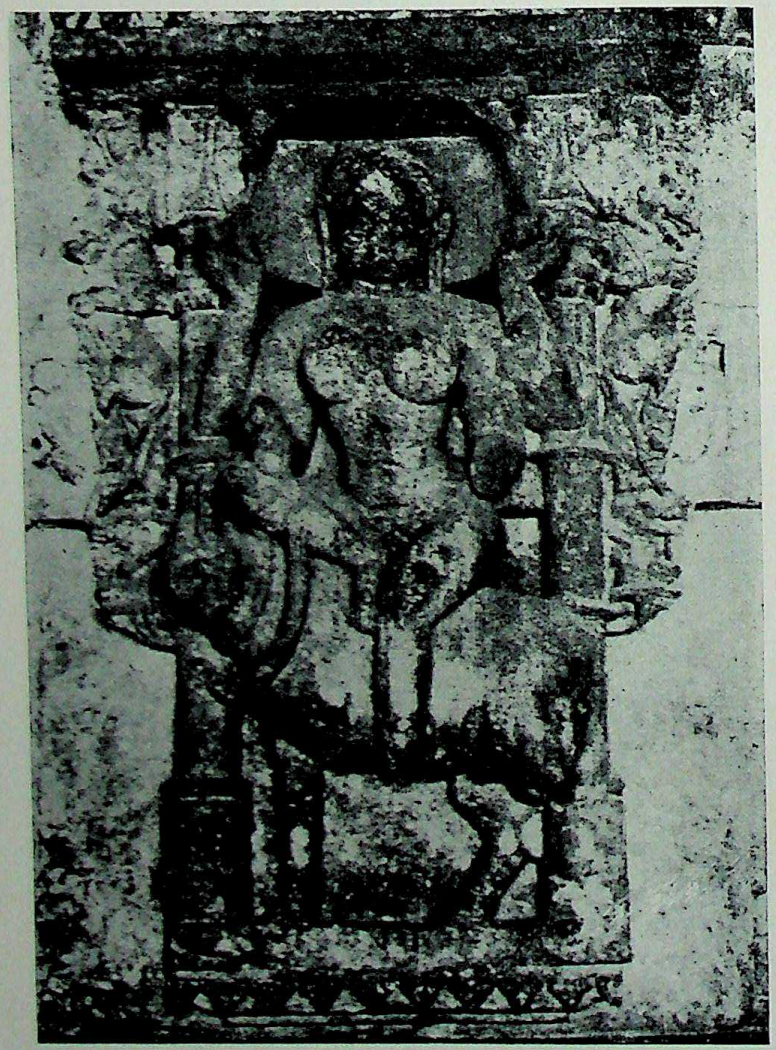

Plate 84. Śītalā, SMT

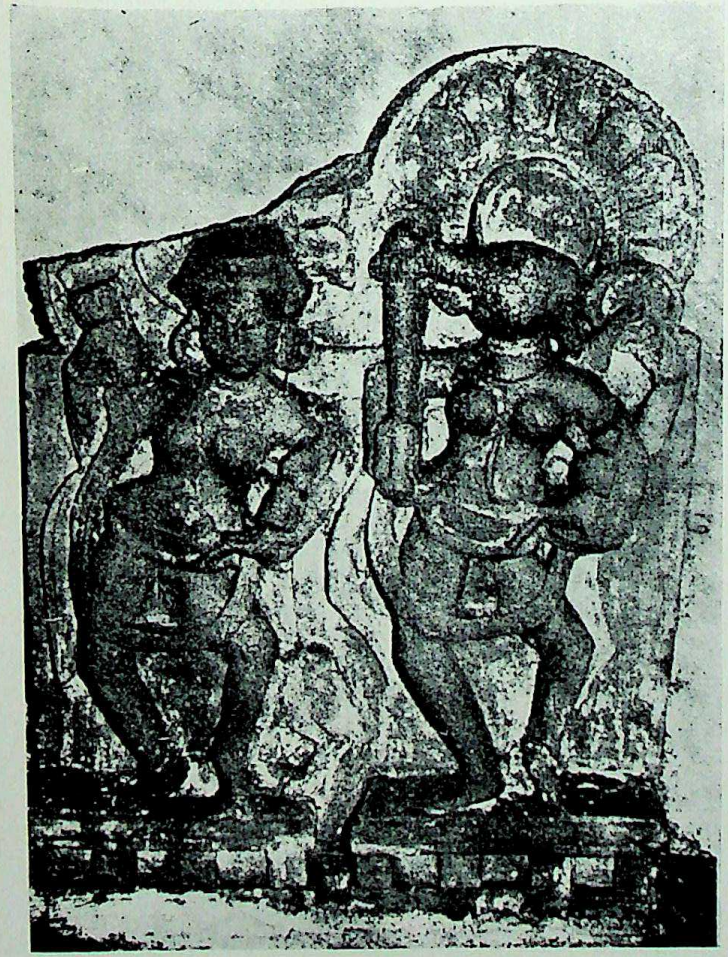

Plate 85. Vārāhī and Aindrī, SMT

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

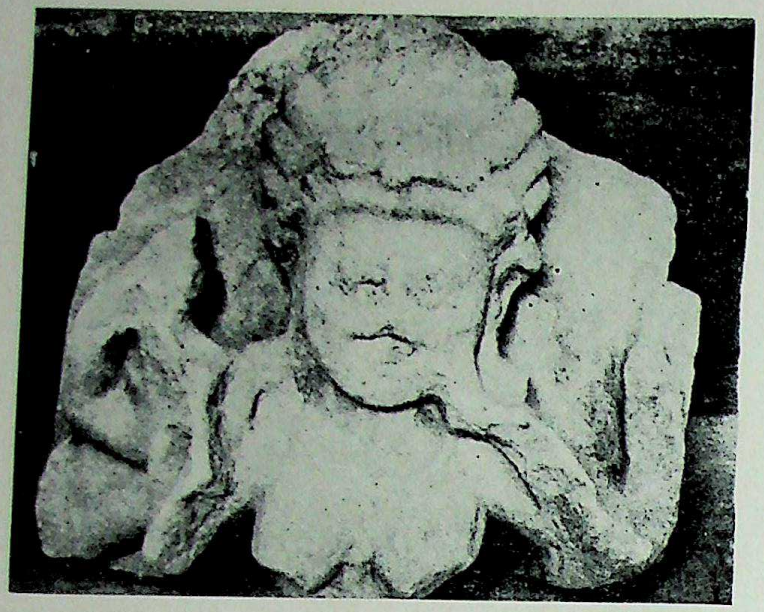

Plate 86. Cāmuṇḍā, SMT

Plate 87. Gaja-Lakṣmī, Jodhpur Museum

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

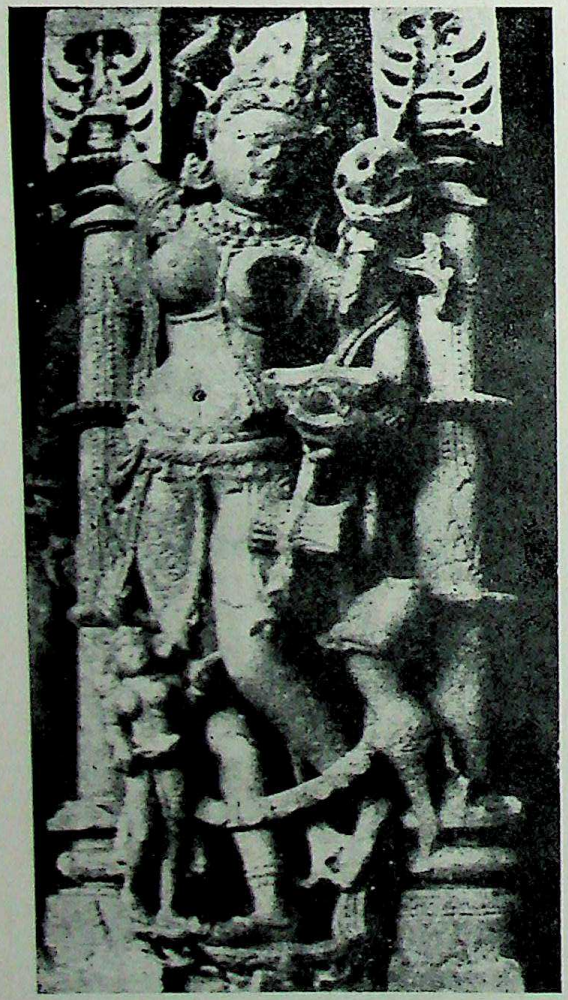

Plate 88. Nirṛti (Śakti ?), VT-5

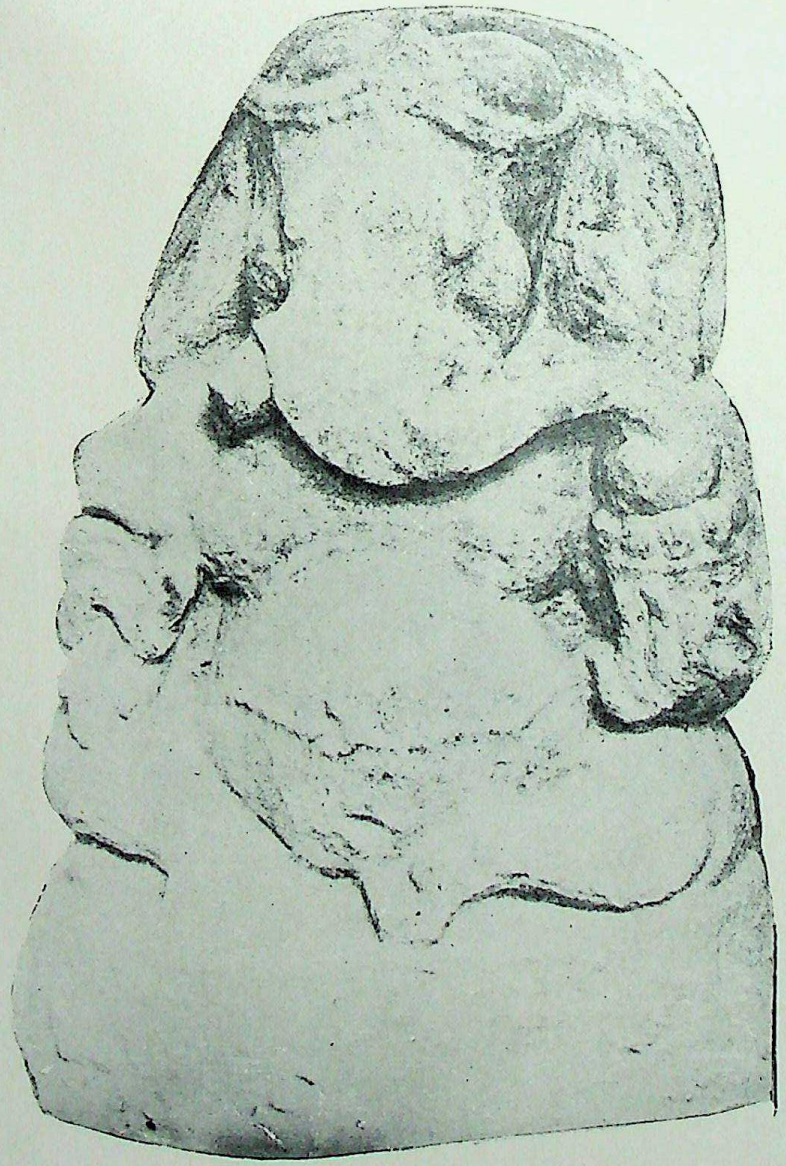

Plate 89. Gaṇeśa, SMT store

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

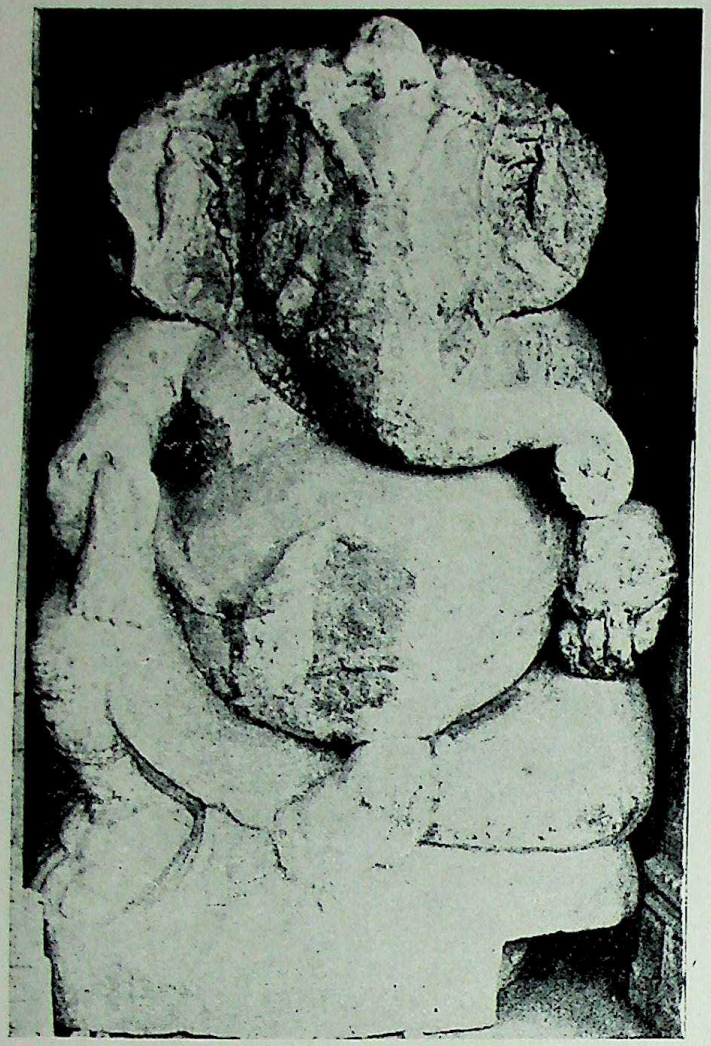

Plate 90. Gaṇeśa, MT complex

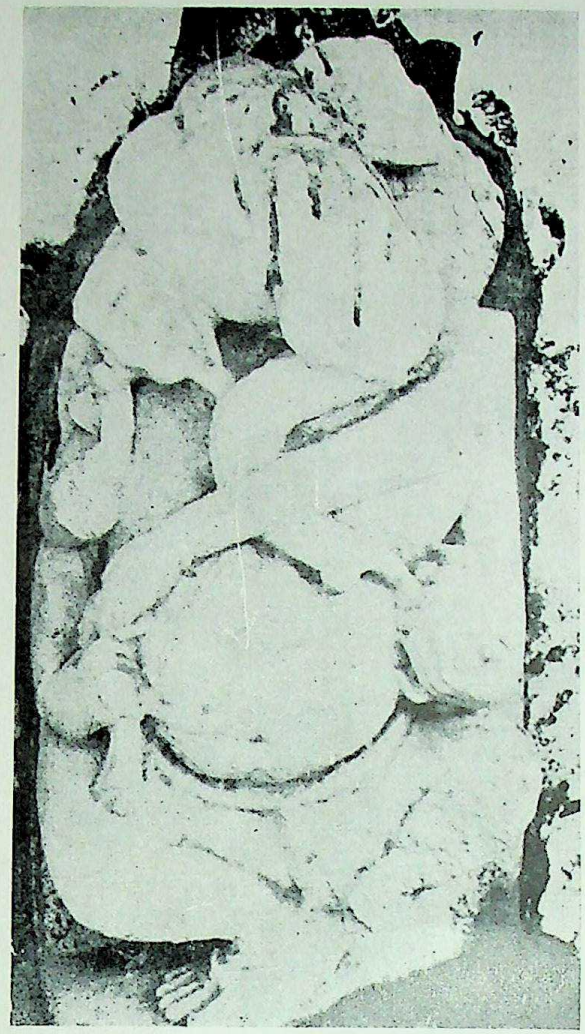

Plate 91. Nṛtta-Gaṇeśa, SMT store

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

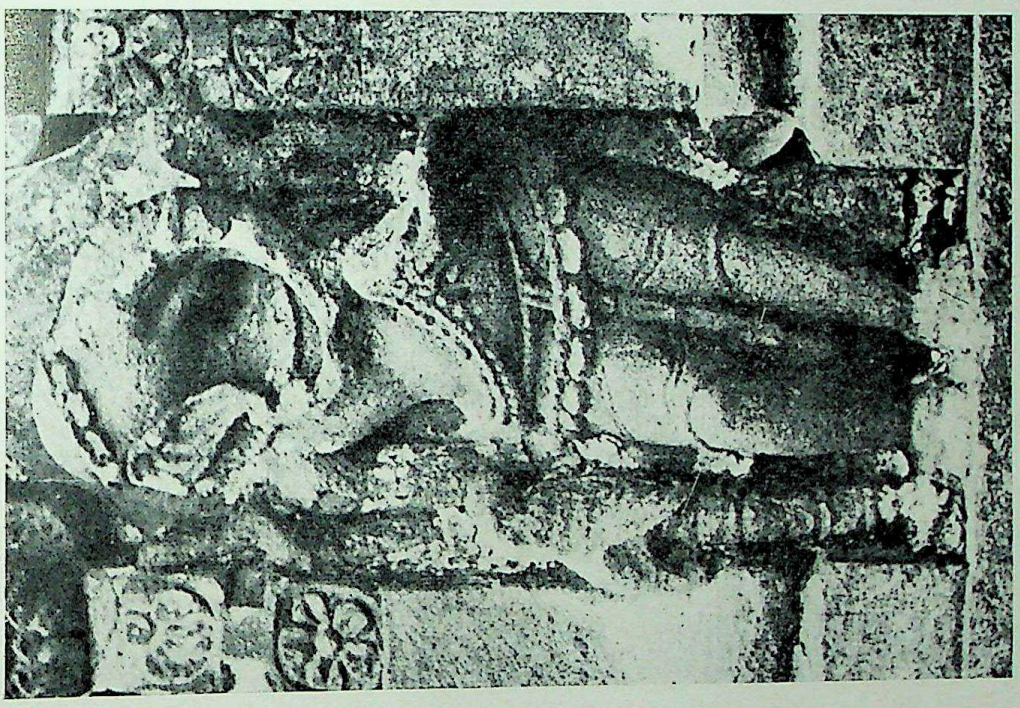

Plate 93. Sthānaka Gaṇeśa, HH-1

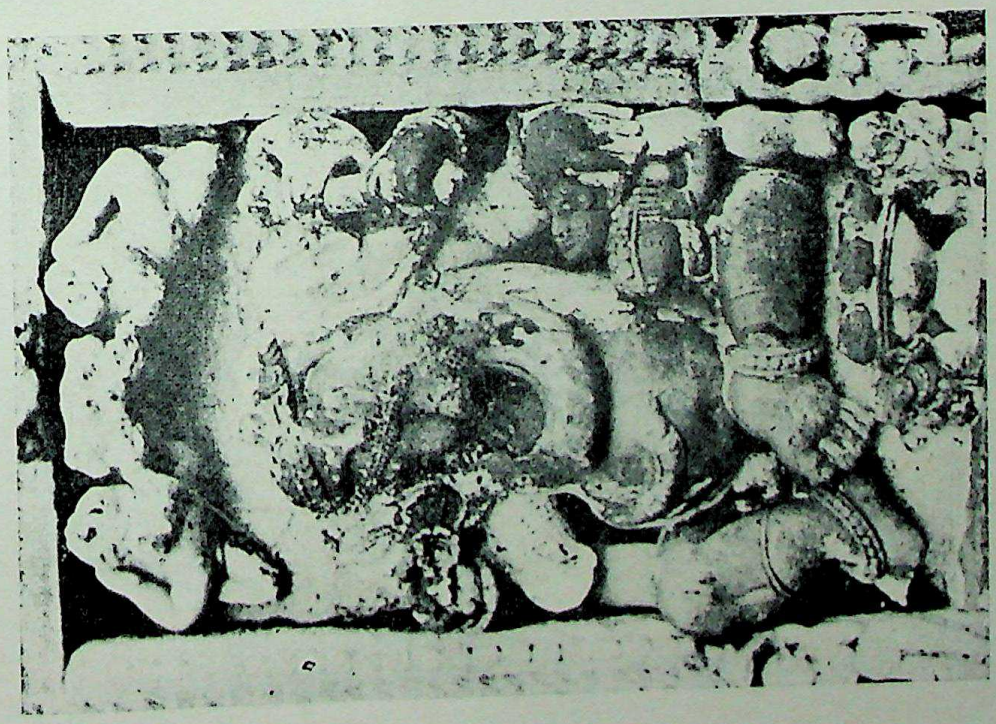

Plate 92. Asana Gaṇeśa, ST-3

Plate 94. Ardhanārīśvara, ST-3

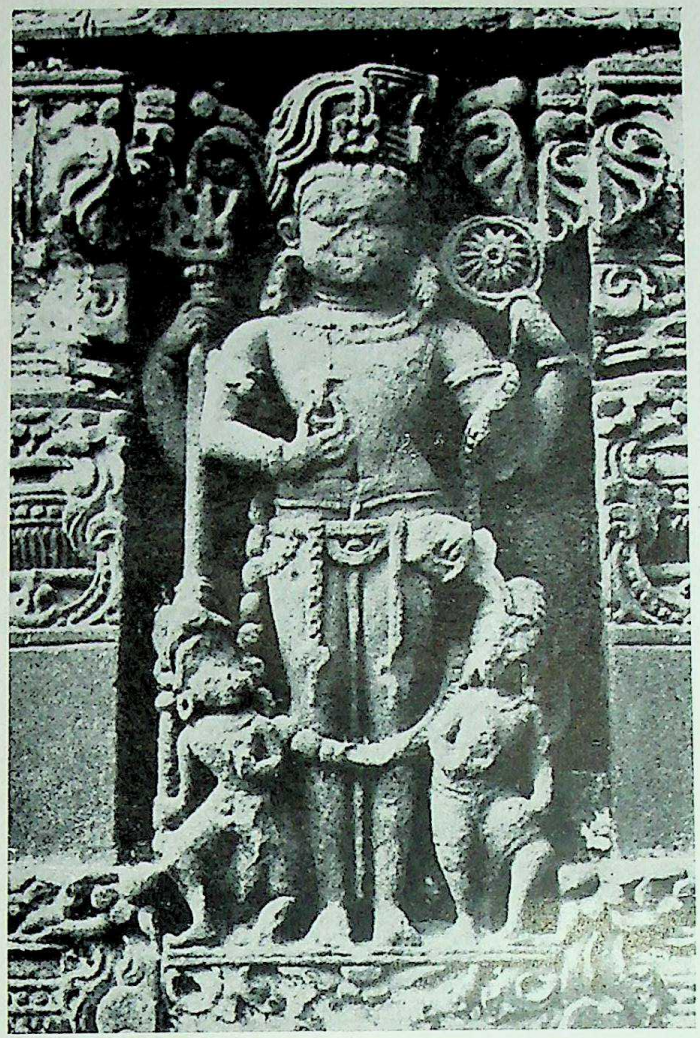

Plate 95. Hari-Hara, HH-3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

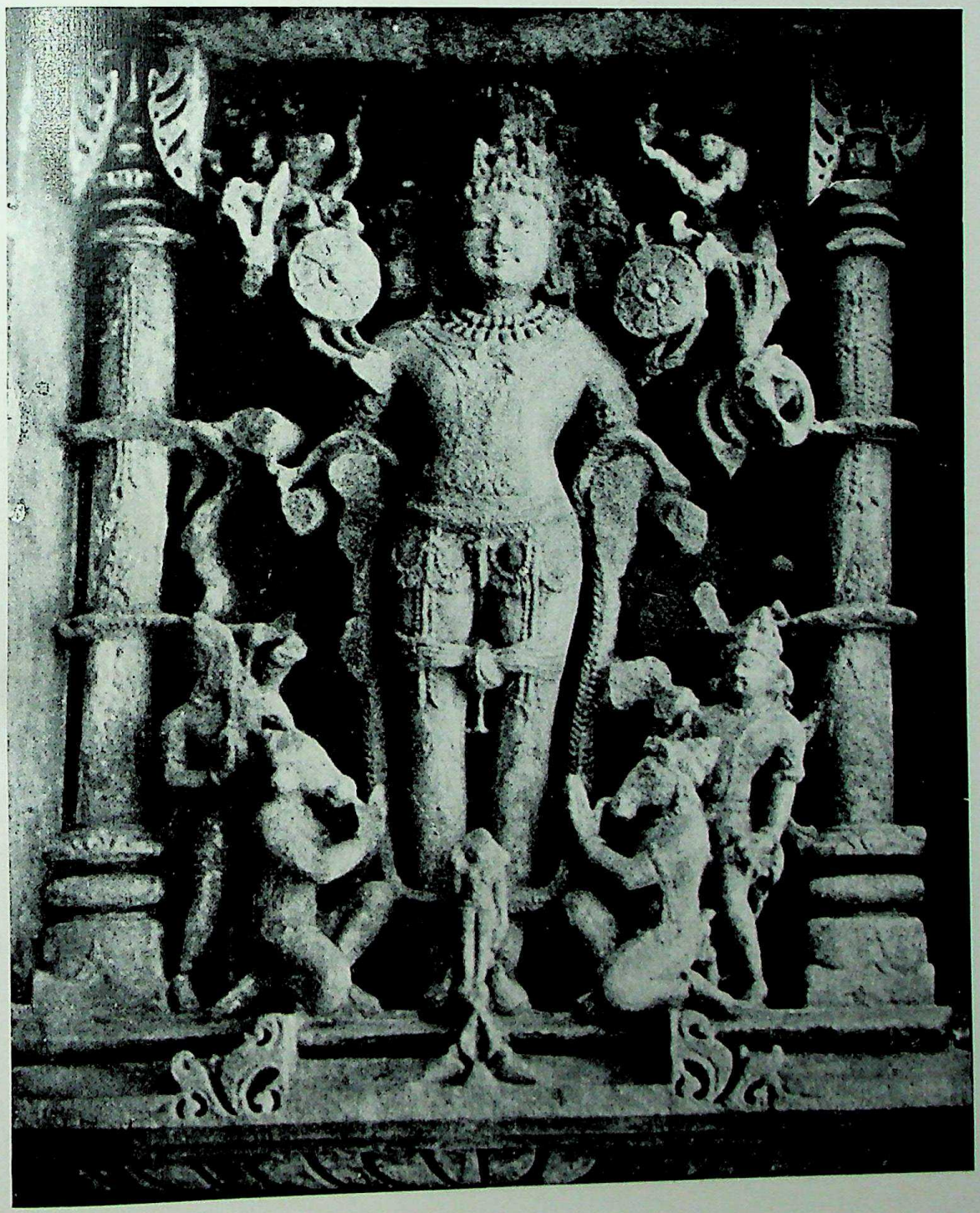

Plate 96. Hari-Hara-Hiranyagarbha, VT-5

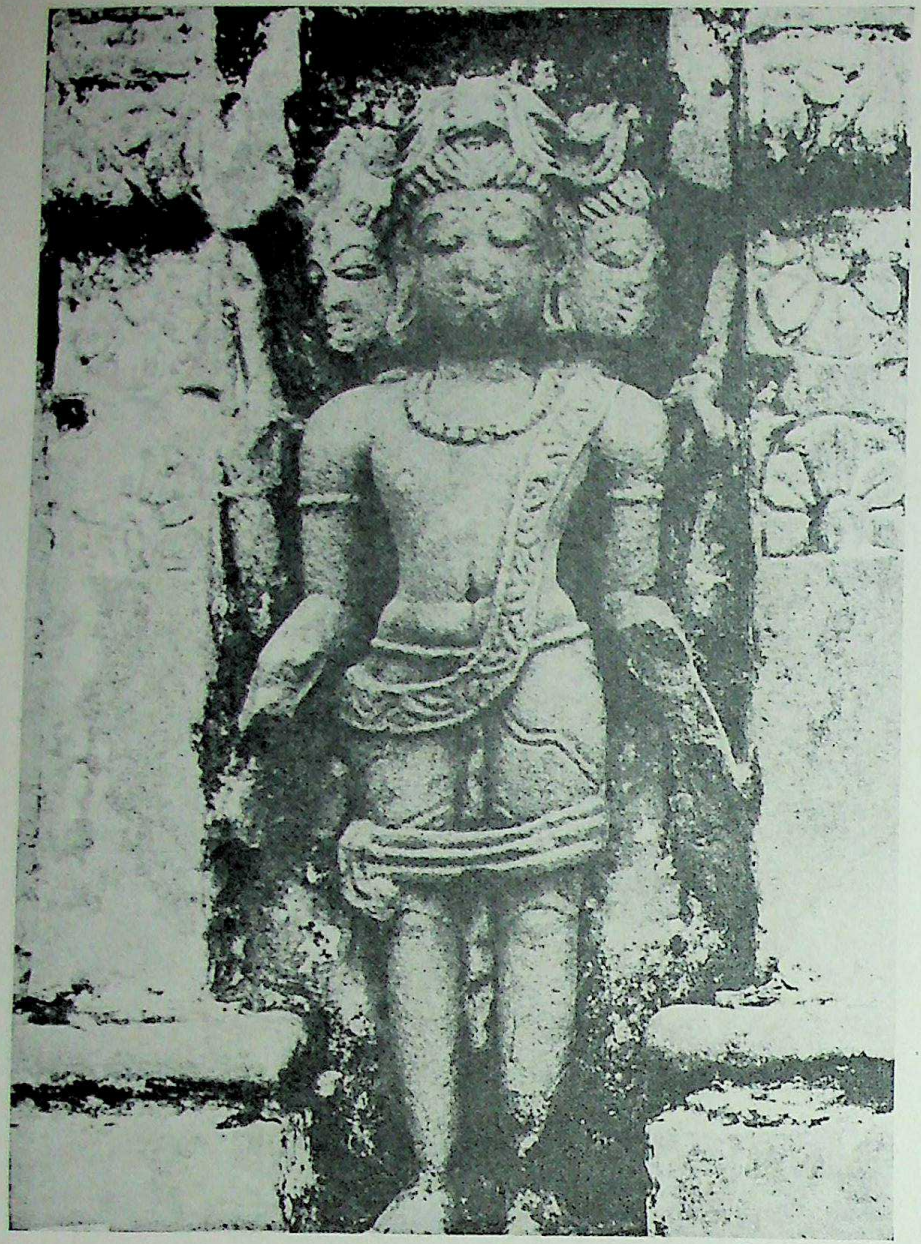

Plate 97. Brahmā, ST-1

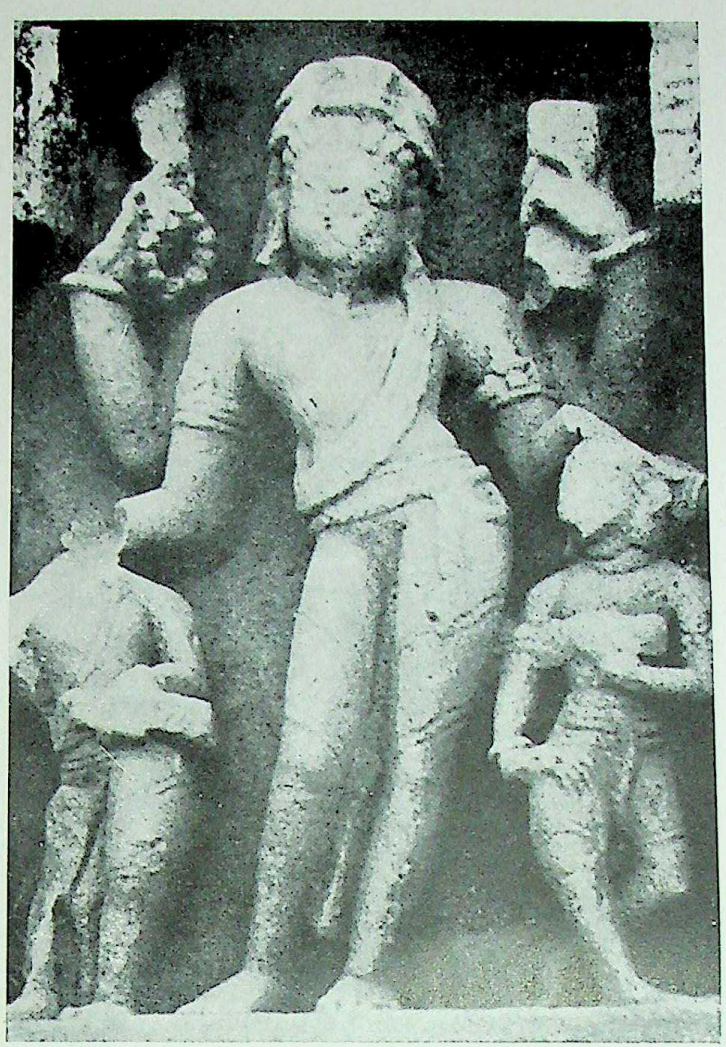

Plate 98. Brahmā, ST-2

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

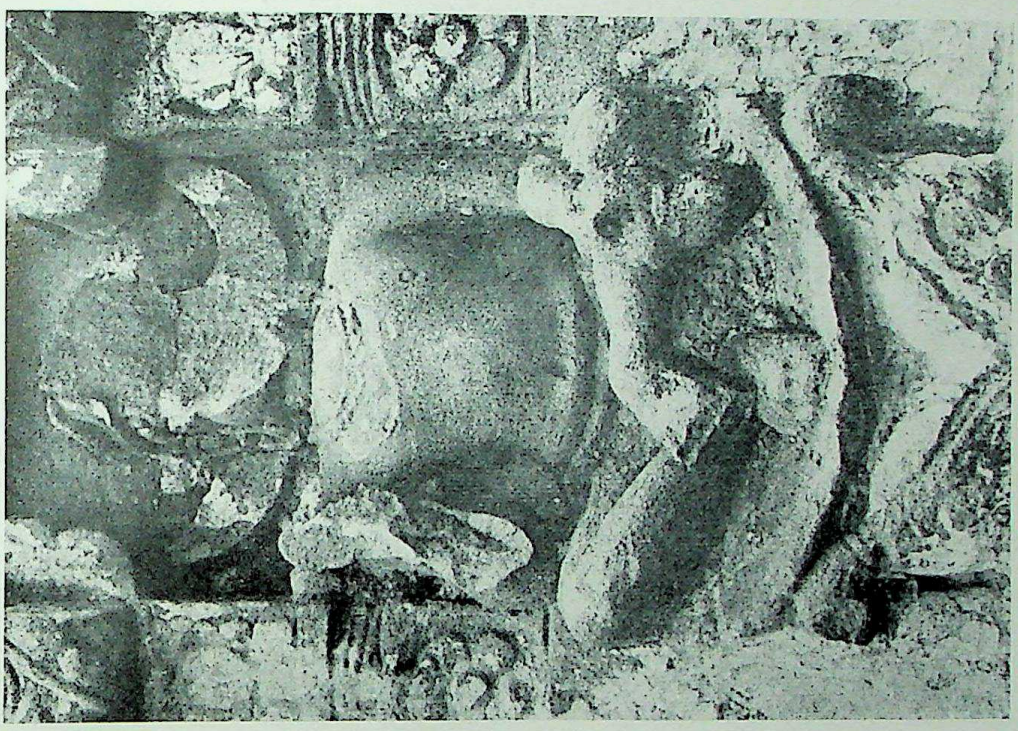

Plate 100. Candra, HH-1

Plate 99. Kārttikeya, ST-3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

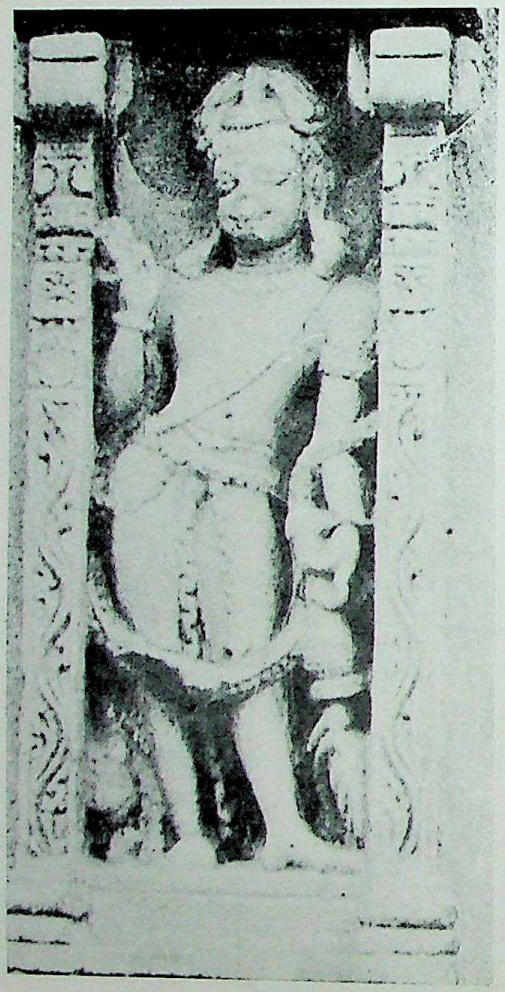

Plate 101. Candra, HH-2

Plate 102. Candra, HH-3

Plate 103. Āśvins, VT-4

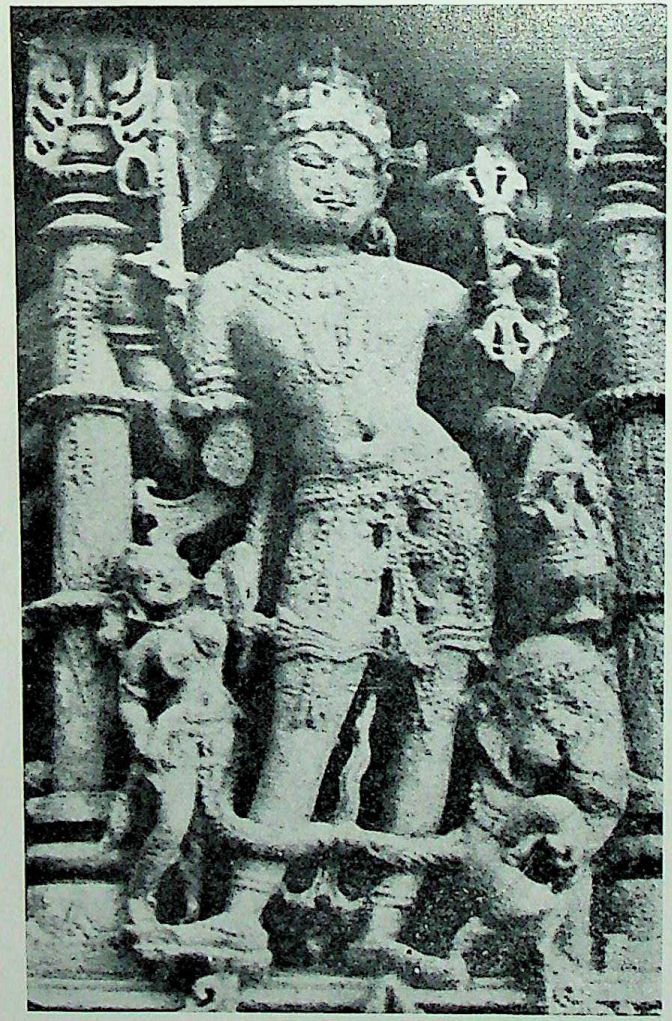

Plate 104. Indra, VT-5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 105. Agni, HH-1

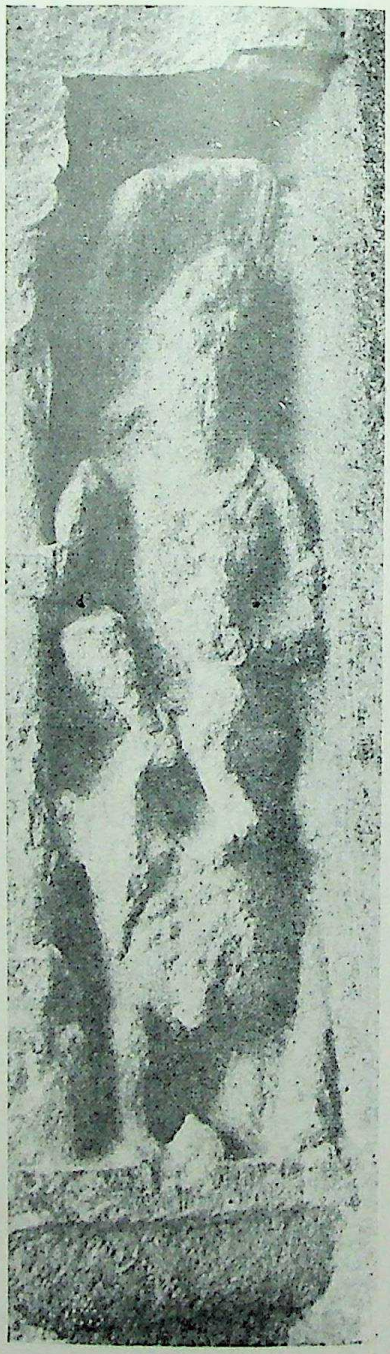

Plate 106. Agni, VT-2

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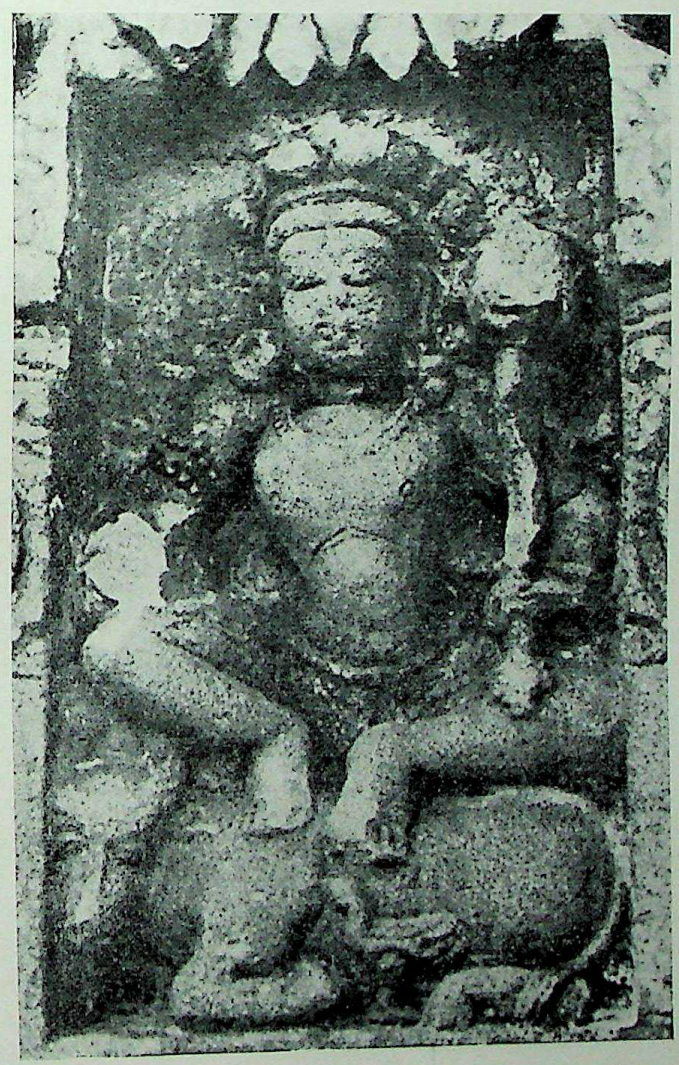

Plate 107. Yama, HH-1

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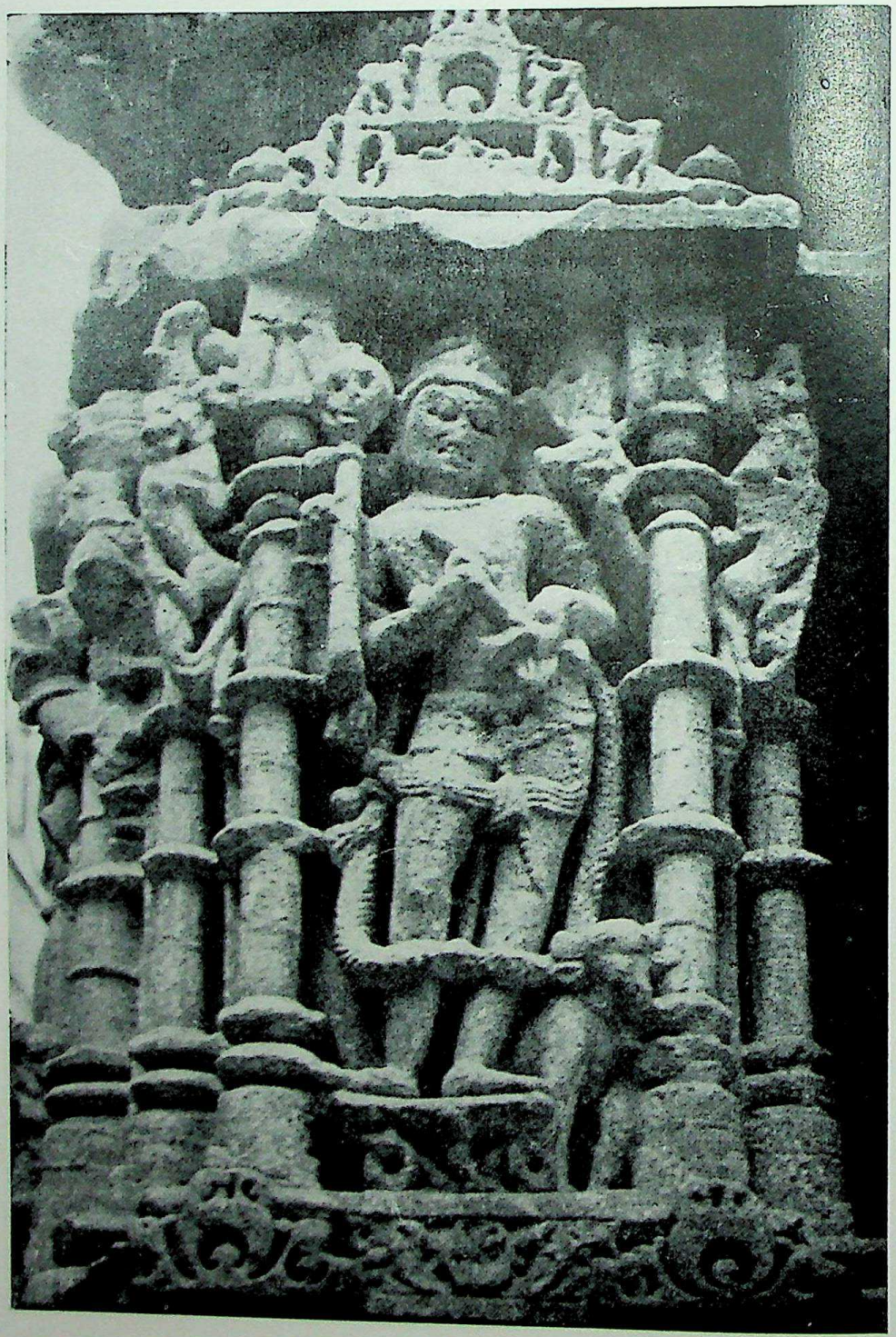

Plate 108. Yama, DK-2

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 109. Nirṛti, HH-1

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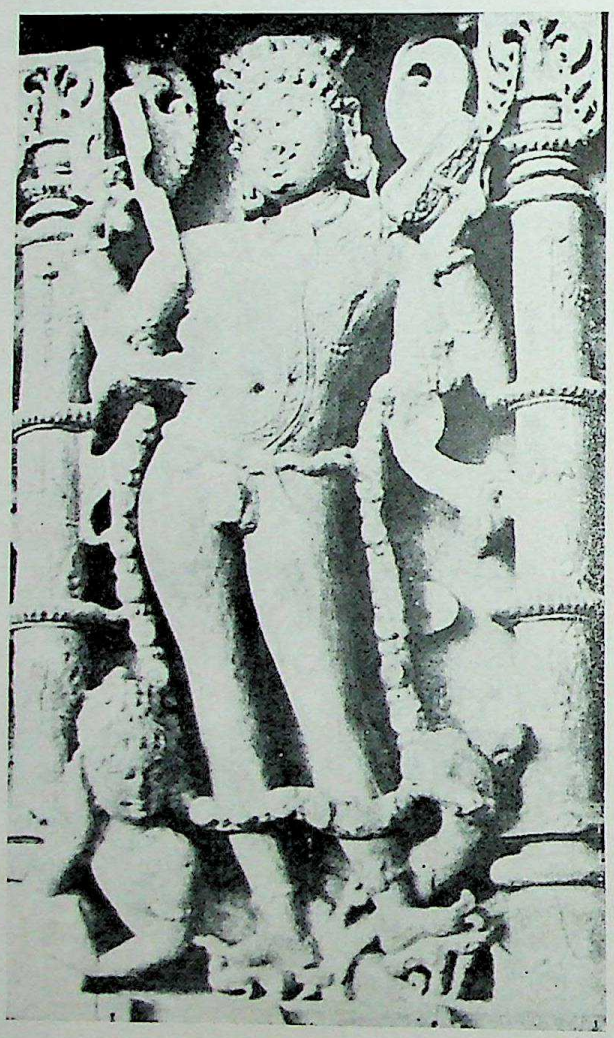

Plate 110. Nirṛti, VT-5

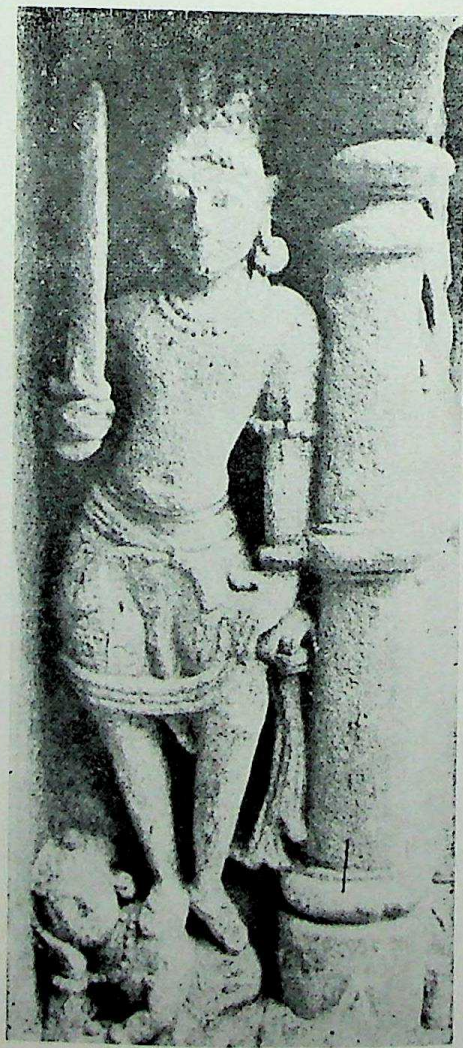

Plate 111. Nirṛti, DK-5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Preservation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 112. Varuṇa, HH-1

Plate 113. Varuṇa, DK-5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

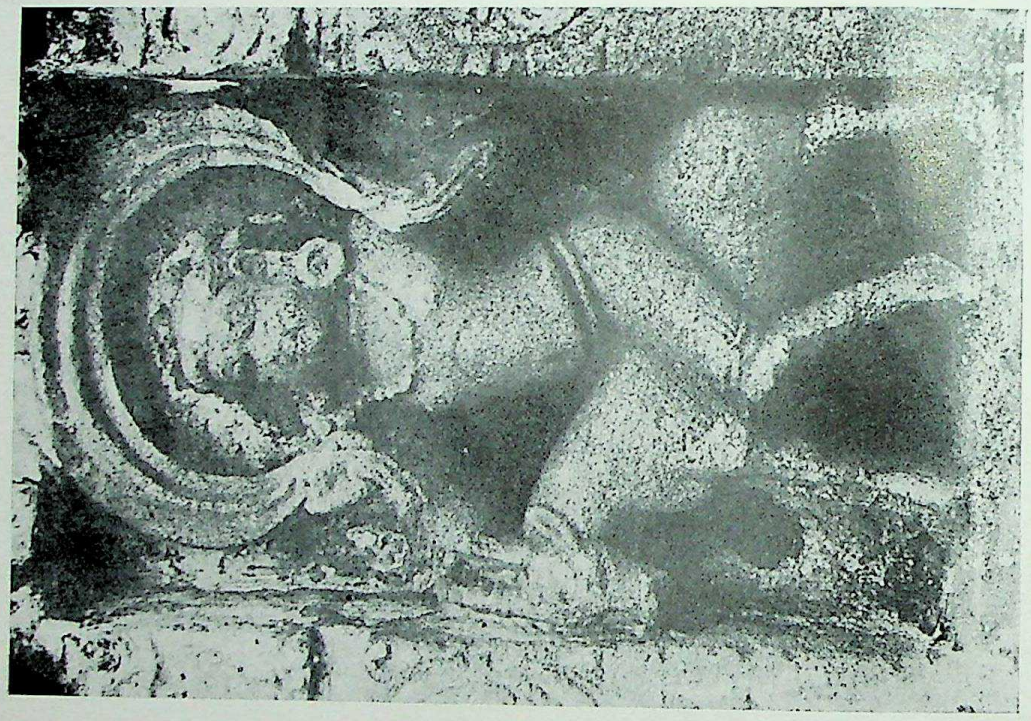

Plate 115. Vāyu, HH-1

Plate 114. Varuṇa, VT-4

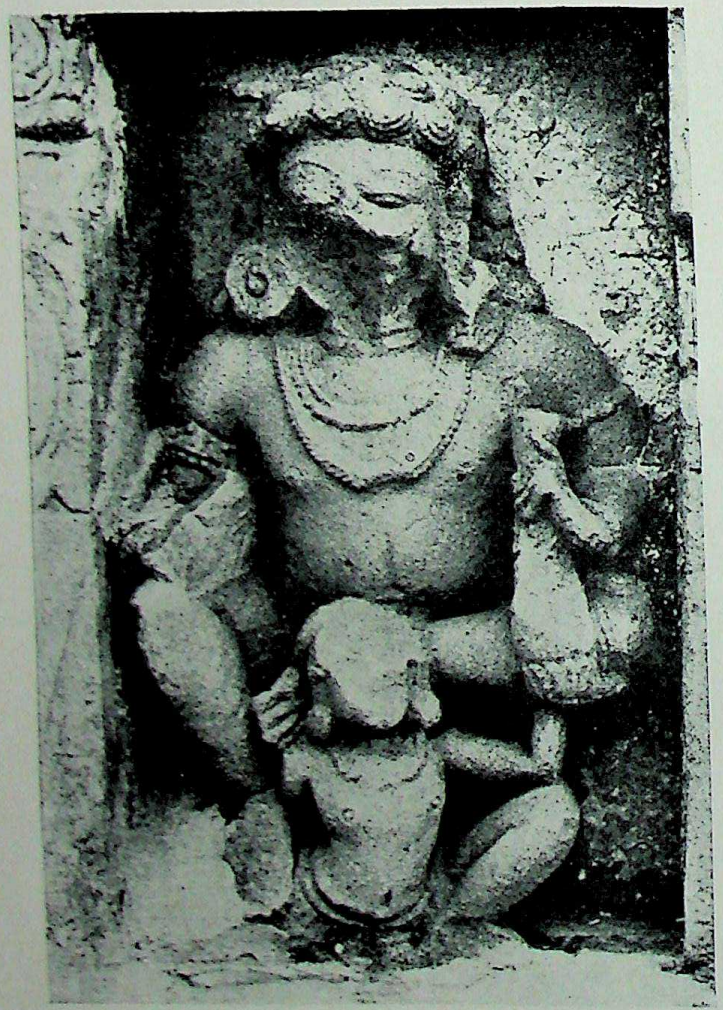

Plate 116. Kubera; HH-1

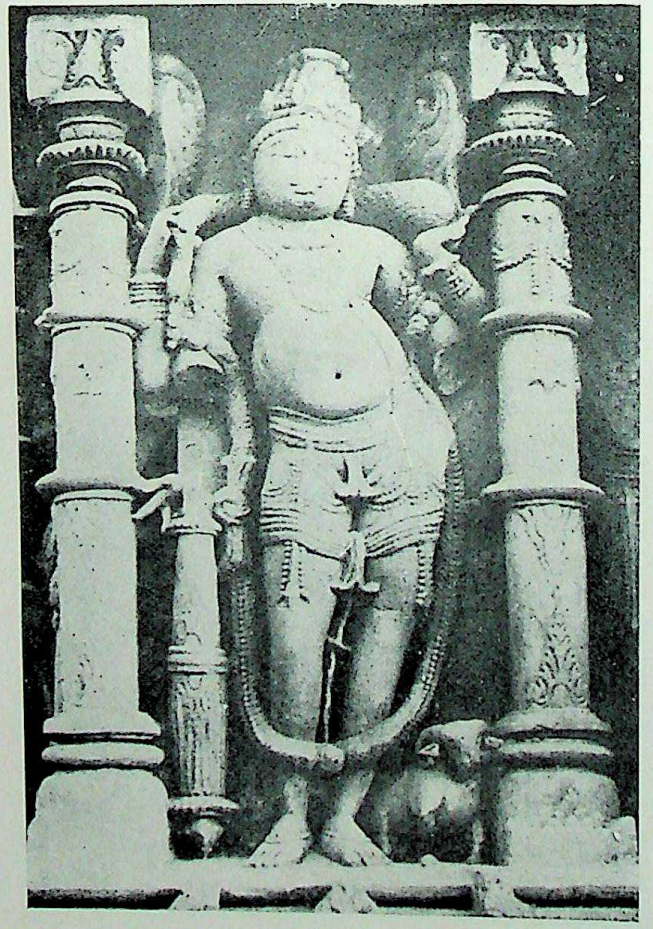

Plate 117. Kubera, VT-4

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 118. Īśāna, HH-1

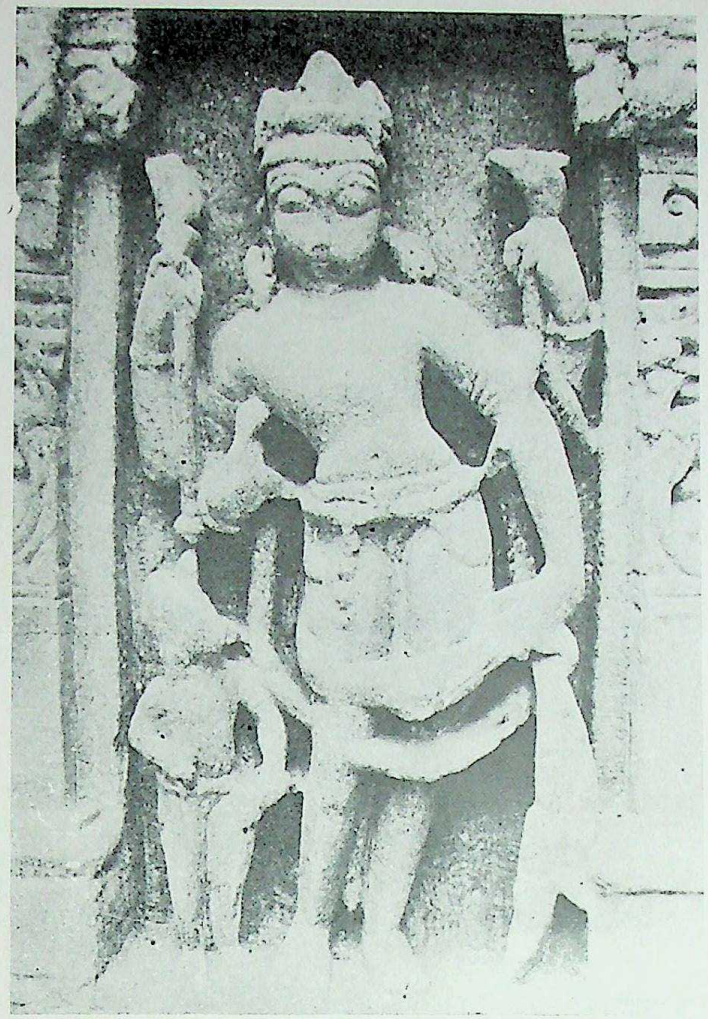

Plate 119. Īśāna, MT

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 120. *Gandharva* couple, Step Well No. 2

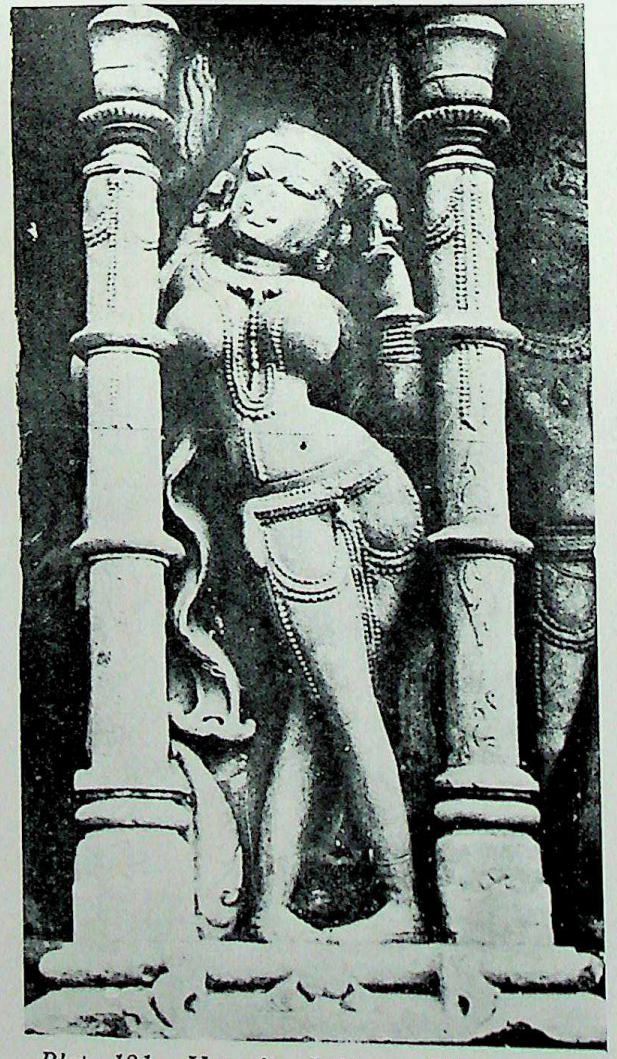

Plate 121. Yawning Līlāvatī, VT-4

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

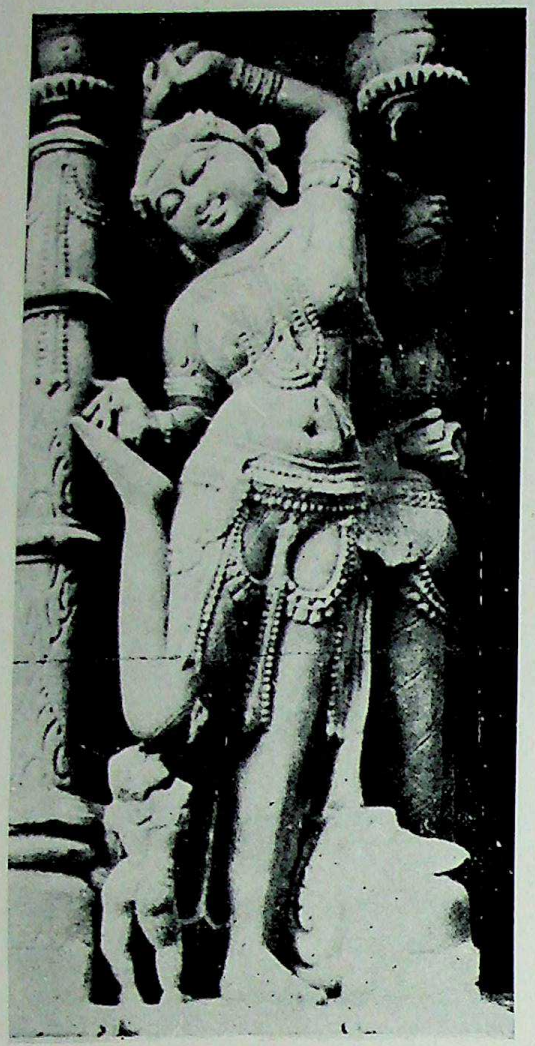

Plate 122. Śubhāṅginī, VT-5

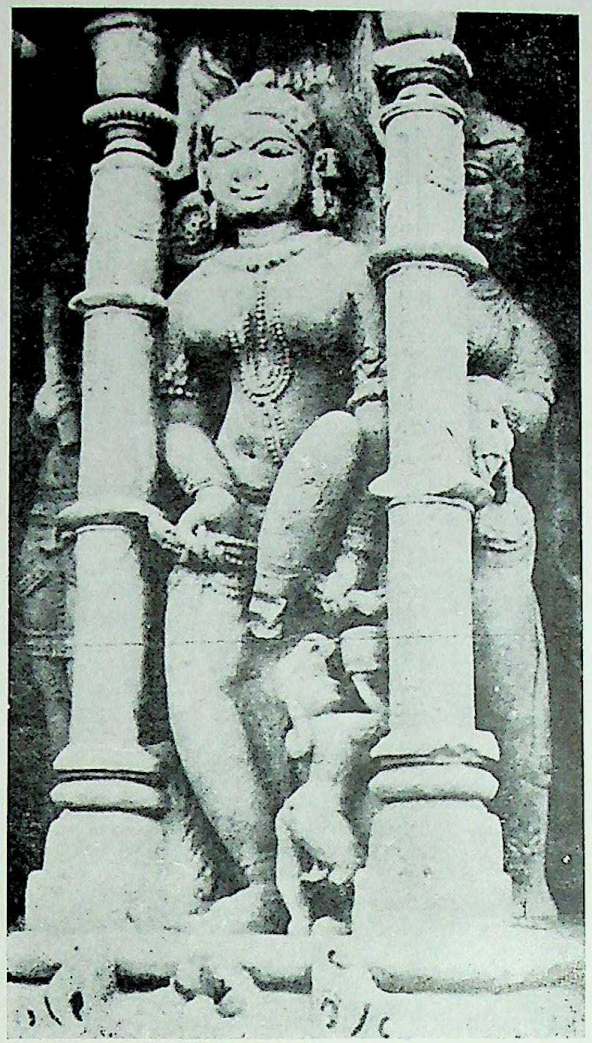

Plate 123. Nūpuravādikā, VT-4

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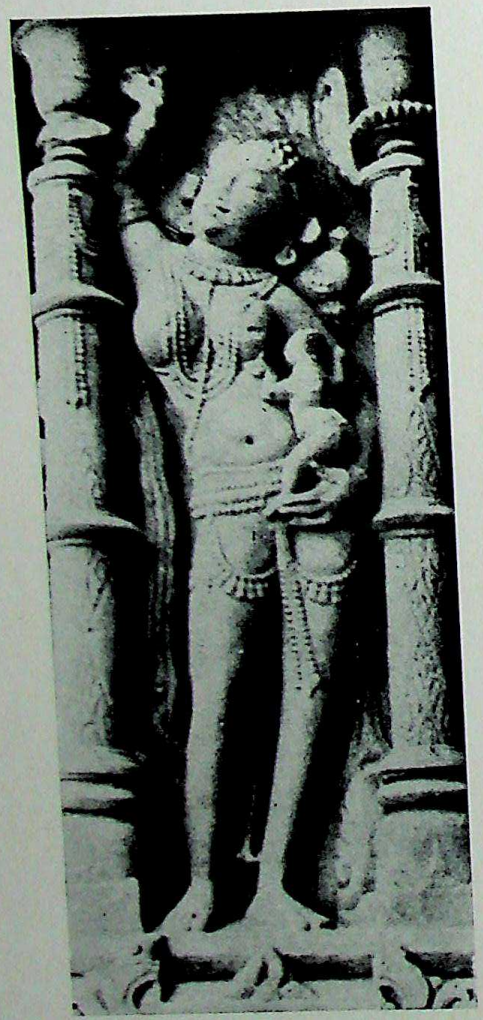

Plate 124. Putravallabhā, VT-4

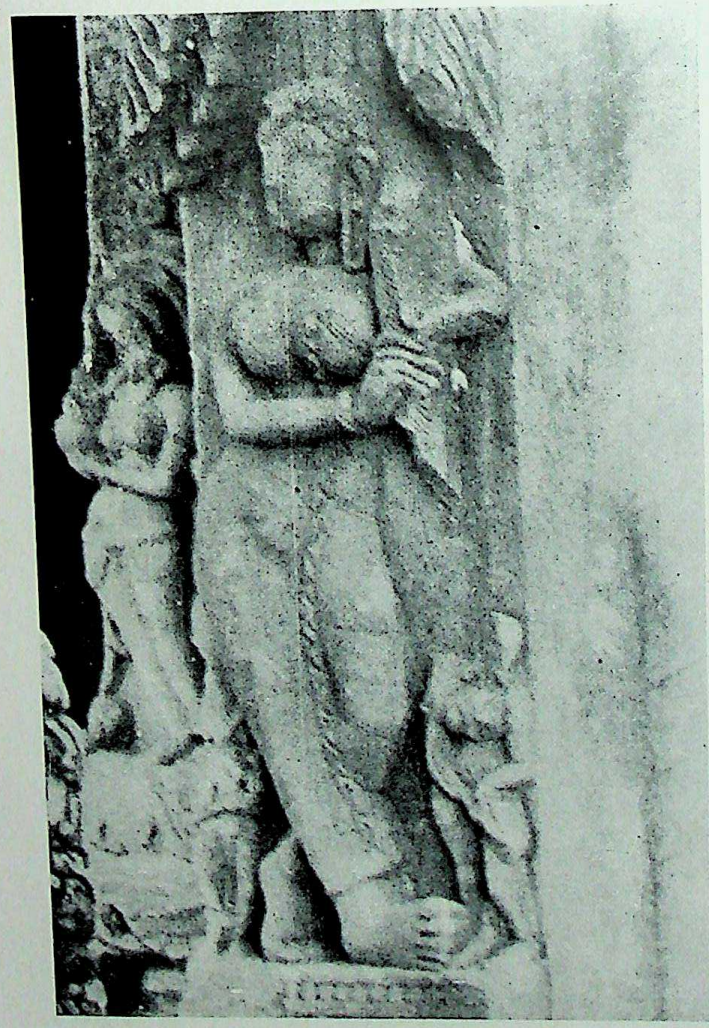

Plate 125. Keśagumphinī, HH-1

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 126. Śukasārikā, DK–1

Plate 127. Māninī, VT-5

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

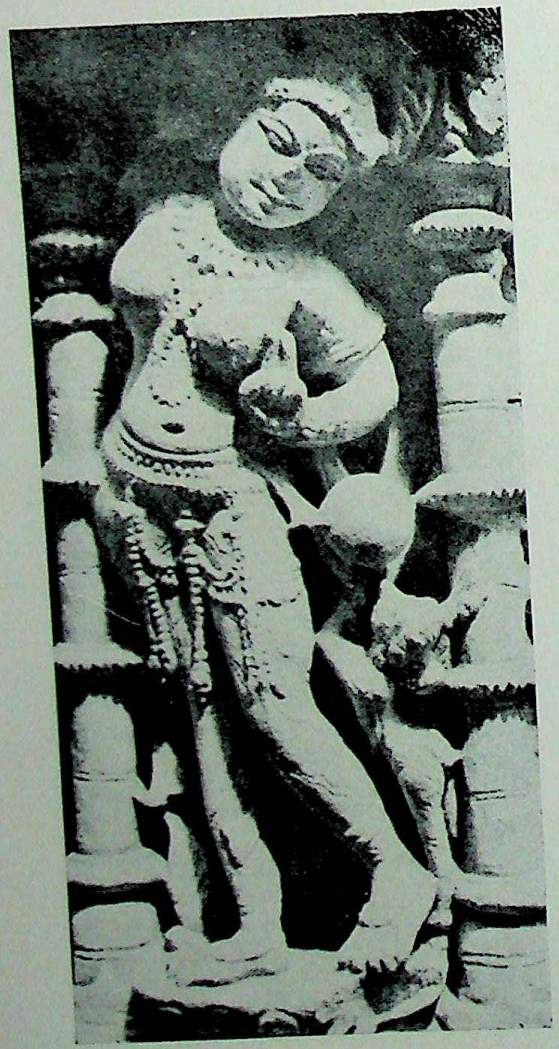

Plate 128. Kandukī, DK-2

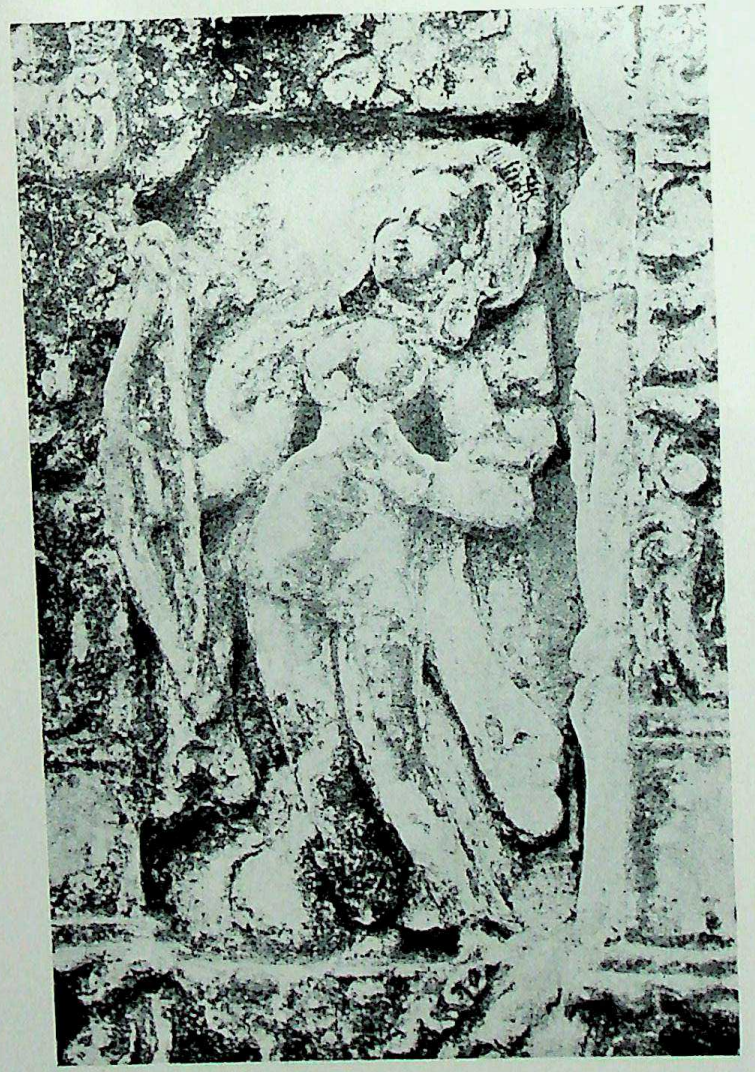

Plate 129. Cāpavatī (or Rati ?), HH-1

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

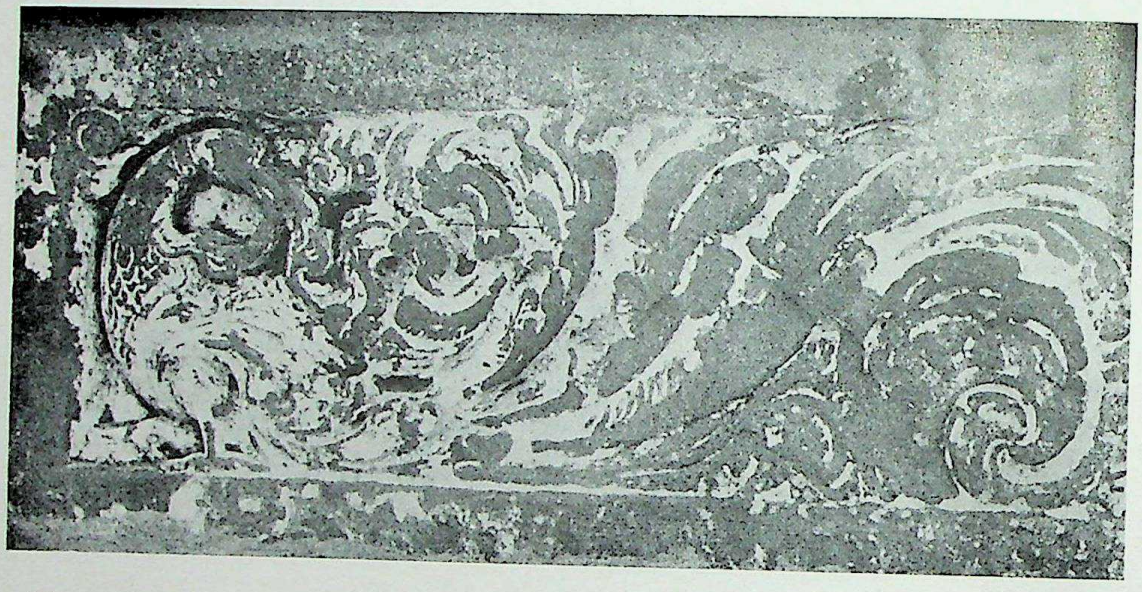

Plate 130. Peacock motif, HH-1

Plate 131. Mythical motif, HH-1

Plate 132. Bestiality, ST-2

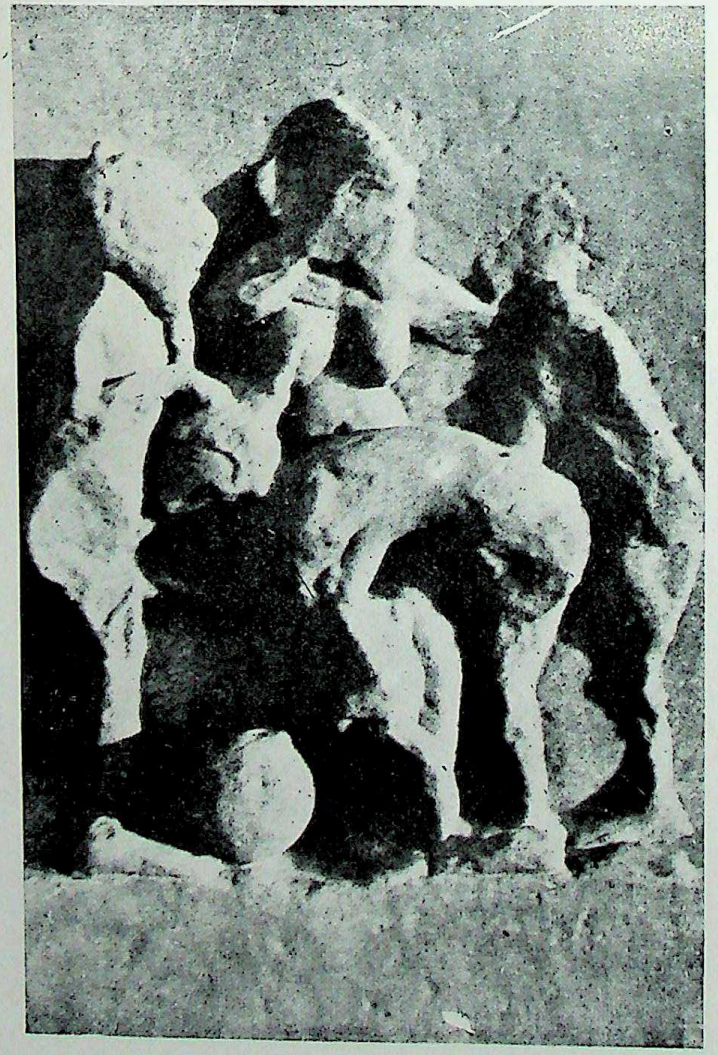

Plate 133. Orgiastic Group, VT-4

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 134. Plural Intercourse, VT-5

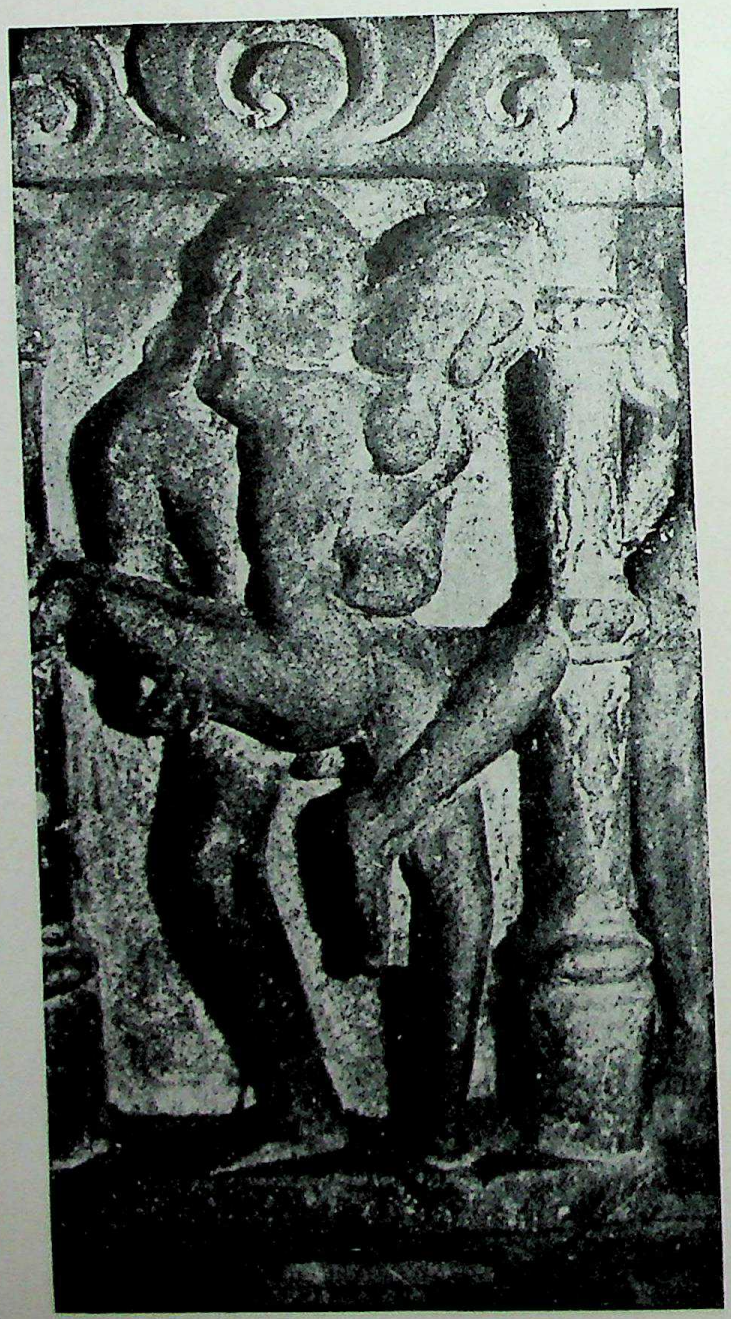

Plate 135. Amorous couple, VT-4

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

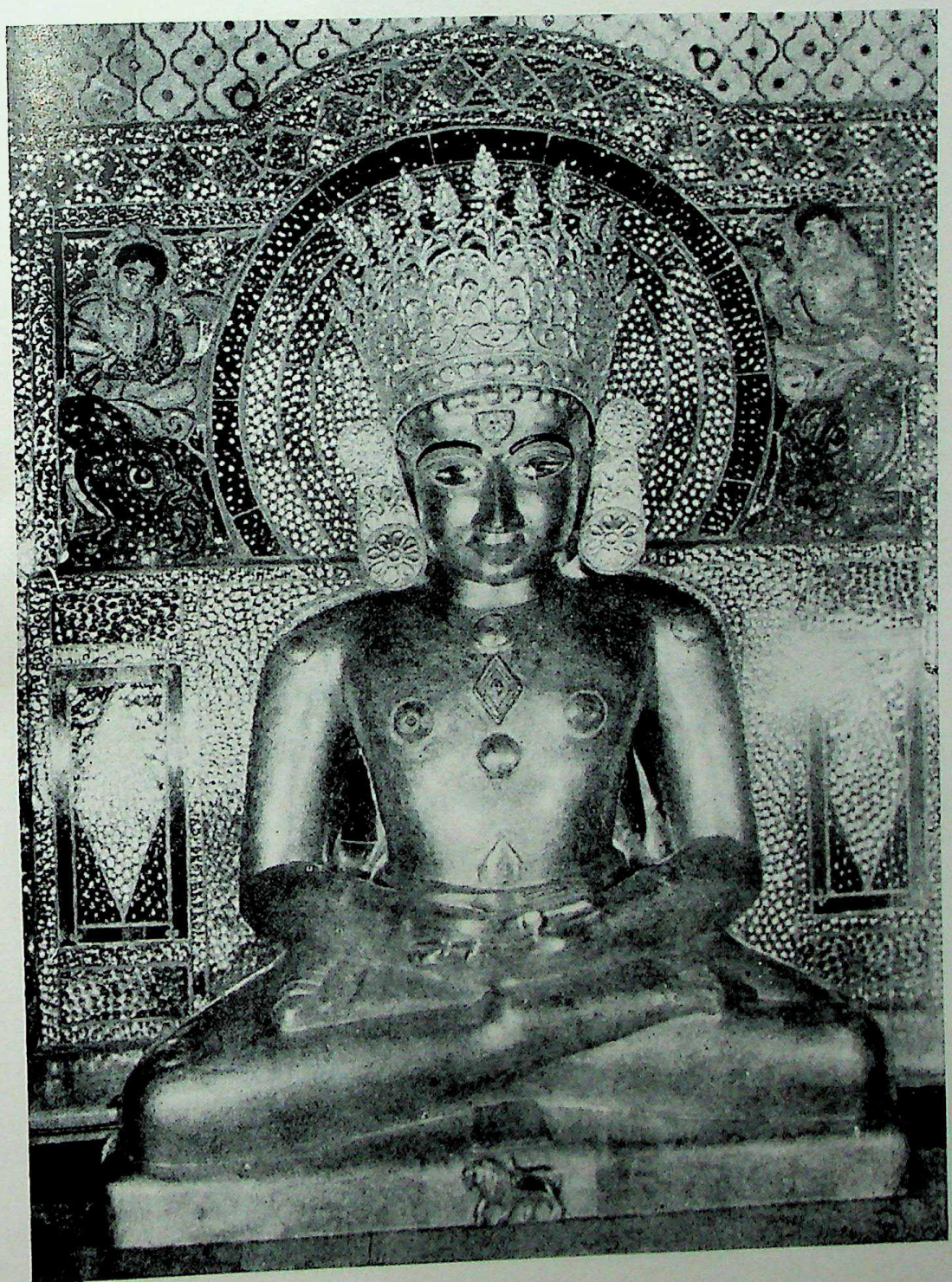

Plate 136. Mahāvīra, MT, sanctum sanctorum

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 137. Jina Head, Jodhpur Museum

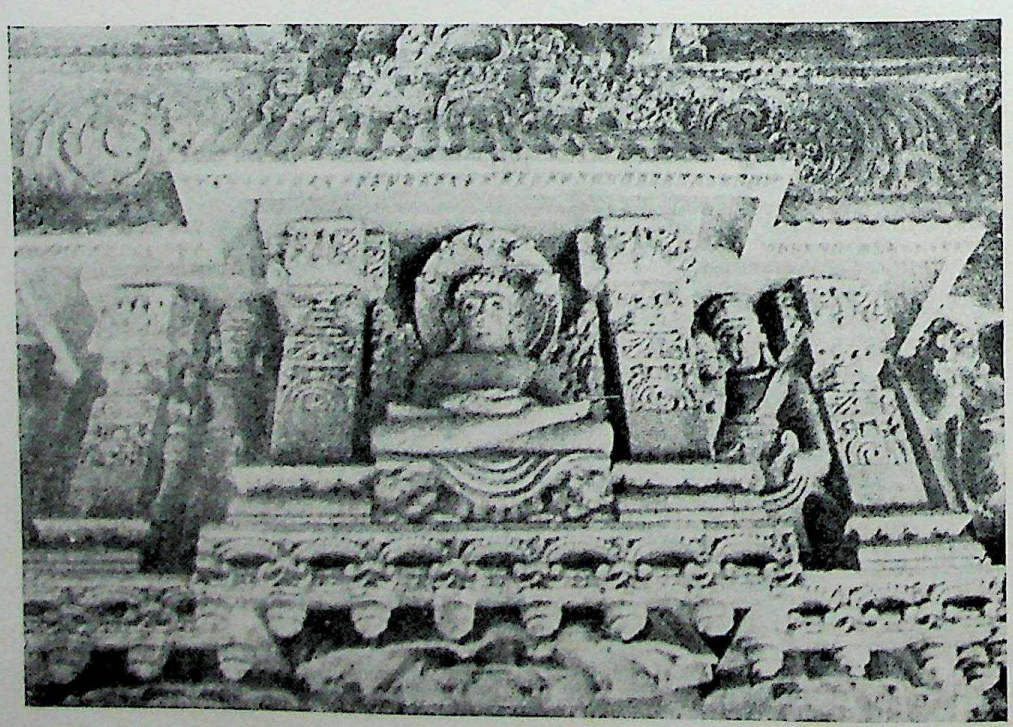

Plate 138. Pārśvanātha, MT, architrave

Plate 139. Pārśvanātha, Jodhpur Museum

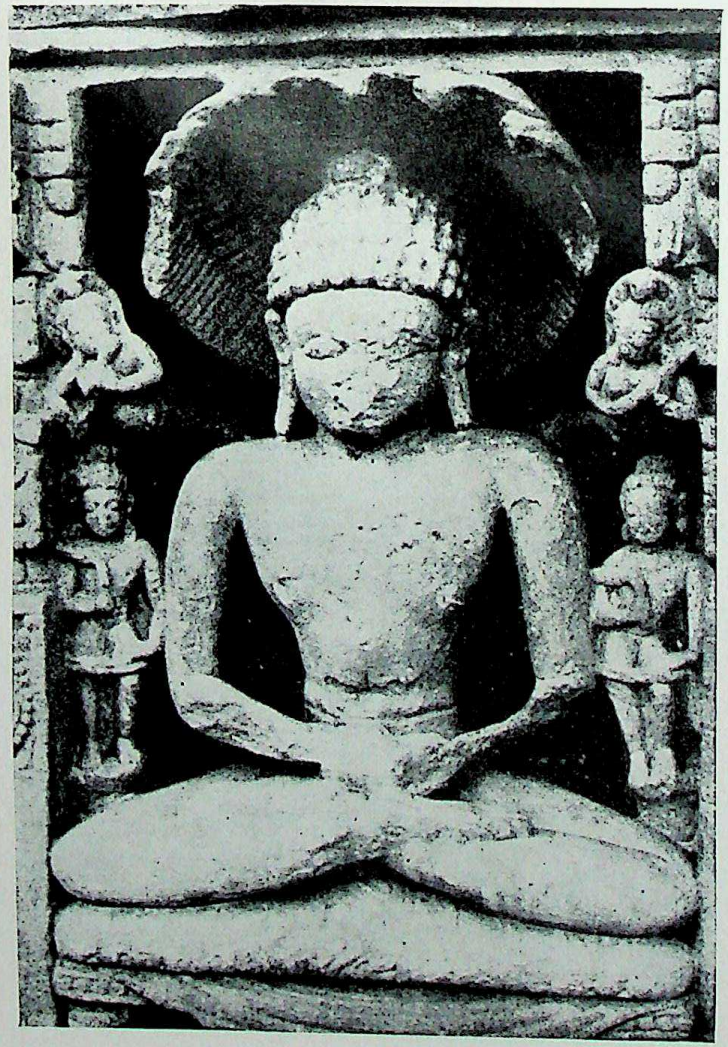

Plate 140. Pārśvanātha, ST-3

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

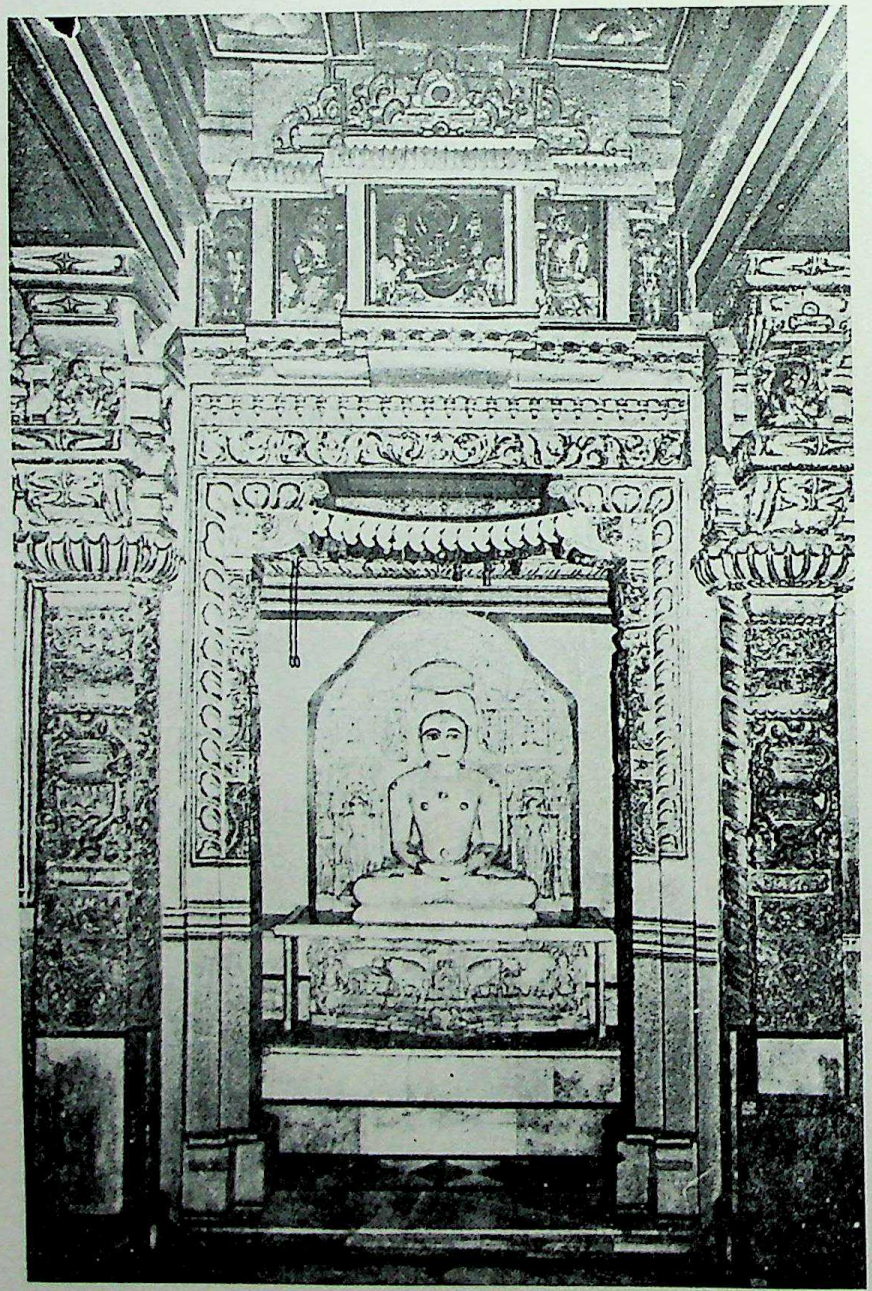

Plate 141. Ādinātha, MT, *bhadra*-balcony of the sanctum

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

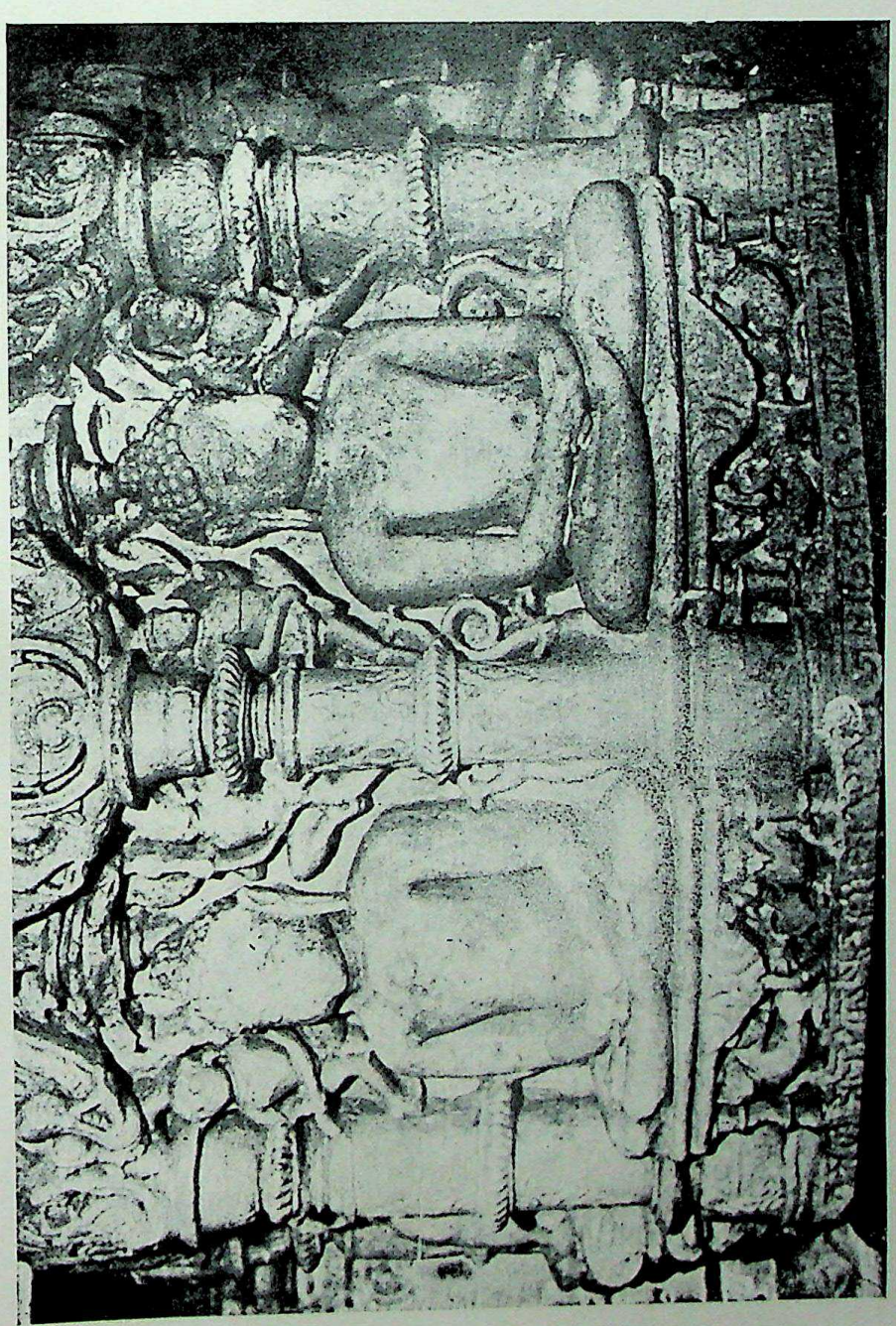

Plate 142. Jina Images on *toraṇa*, MT

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 143. Caturviṁśati Jina-Paṭa, MT complex

Plate 144. Pārśva *Yakṣa*, MT

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

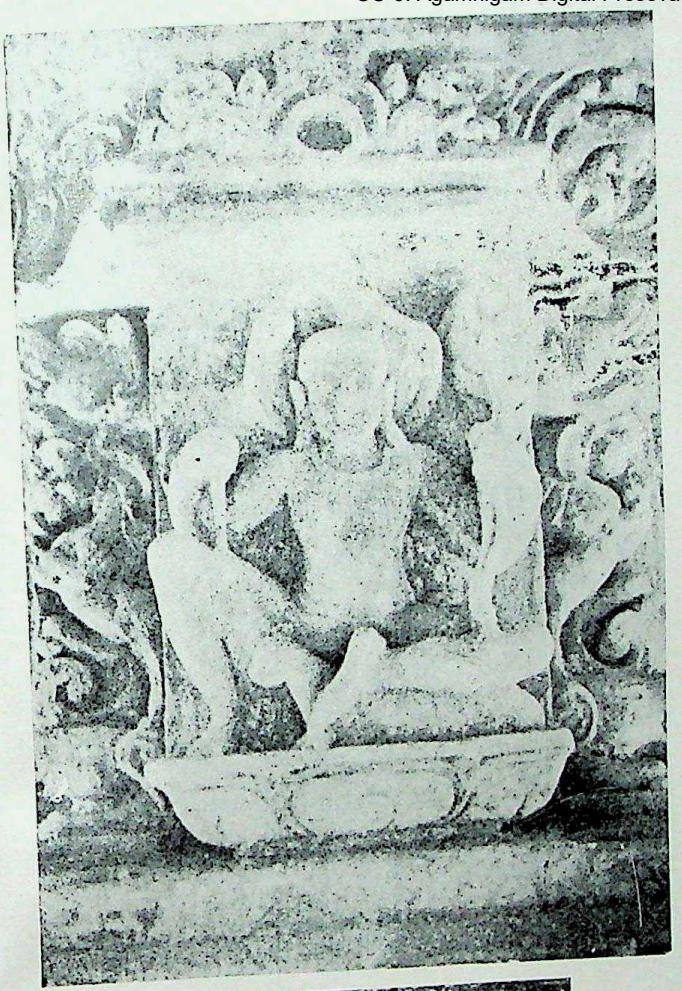

Plate 145. Pātāla *Yakṣa*, MT

Plate 146. Sarasvatī, MT

Plate 147. Acchuptā, MT

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

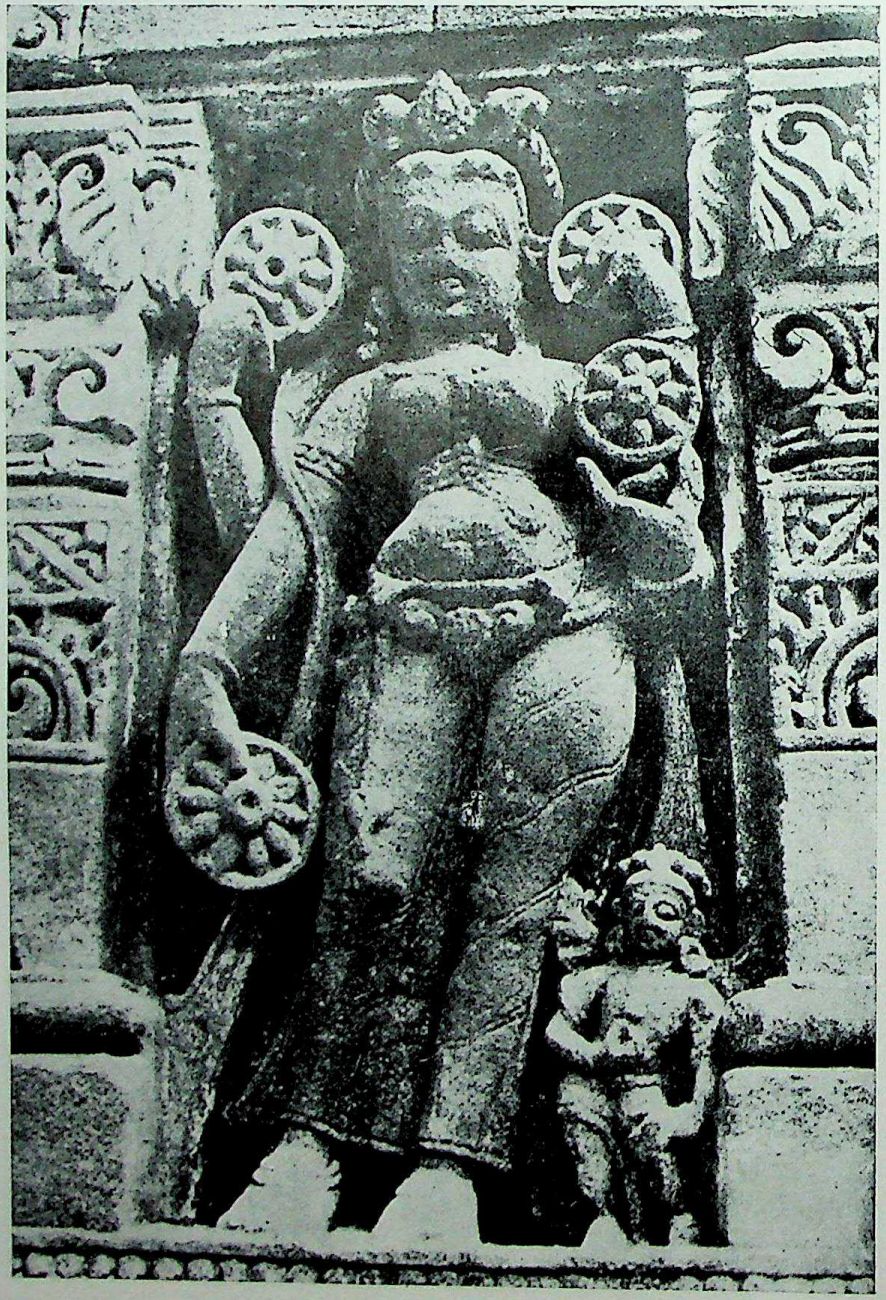

Plate 148. Cakreśvarī, MT

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

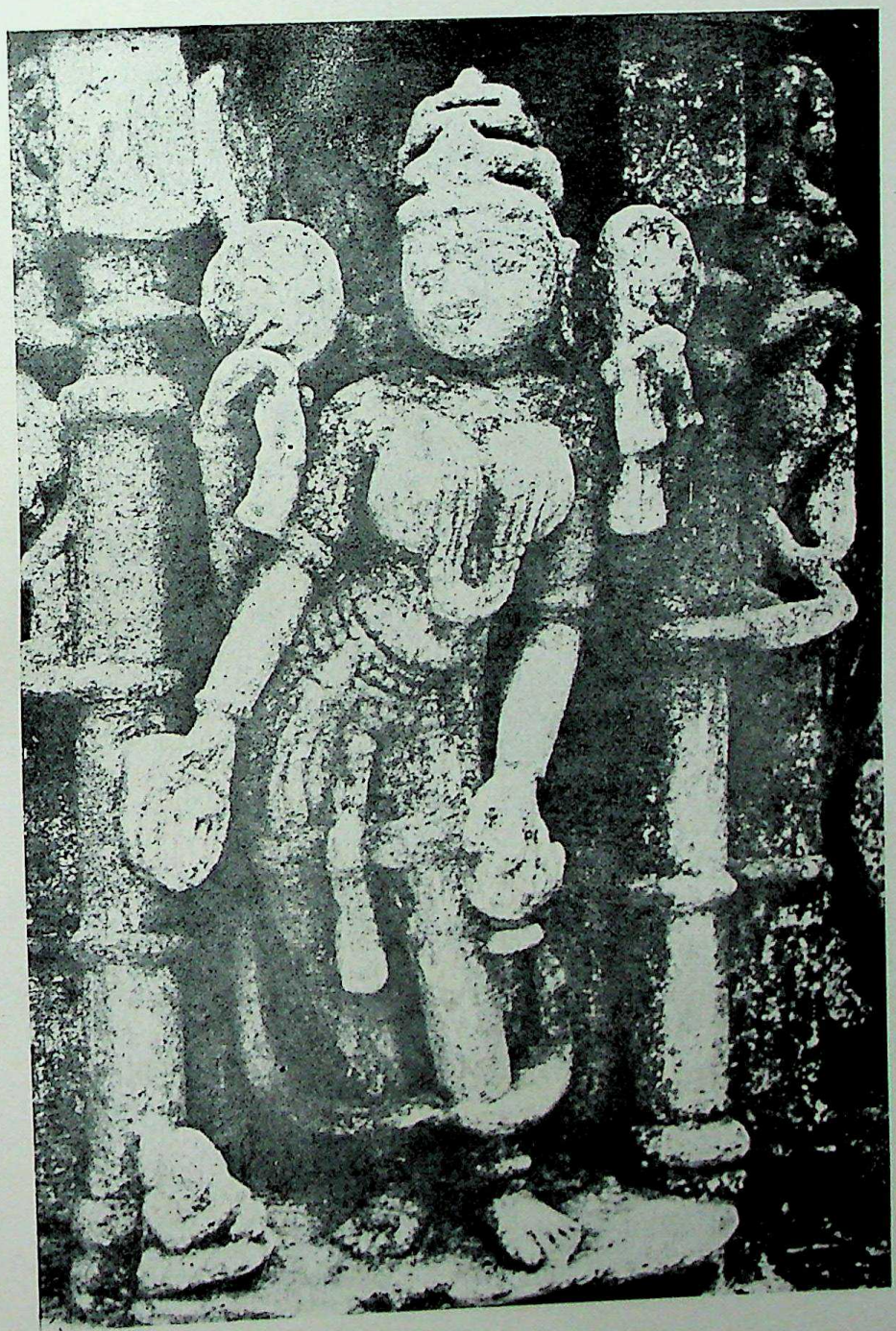

Plate 149. Cakreśvarī, DK-4

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

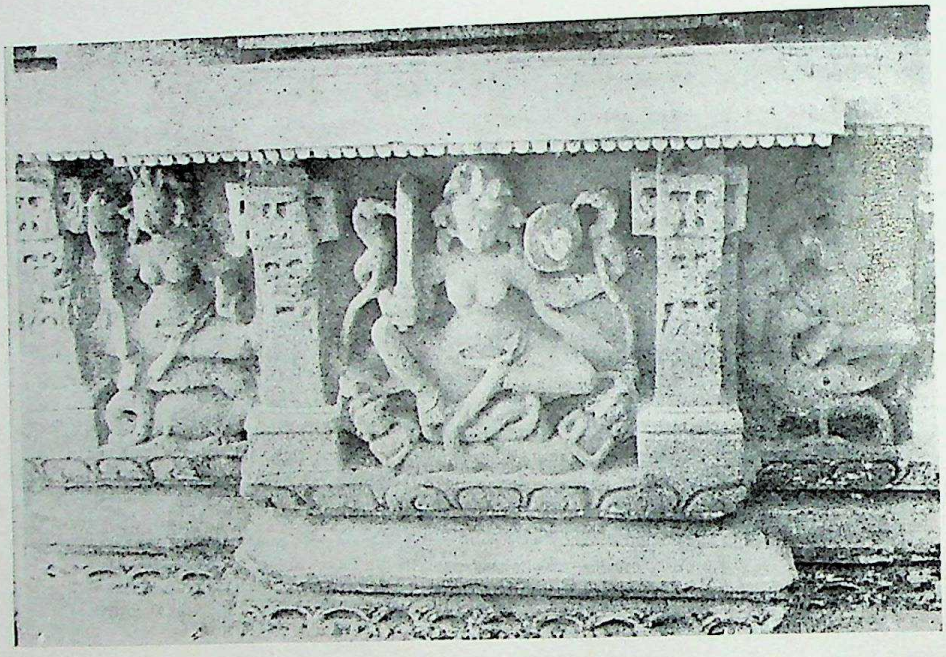

Plate 150. Gaurī, Vairoṭyā and Mānasī, MT, *Mukhamaṇḍapa-phāṁsanā*

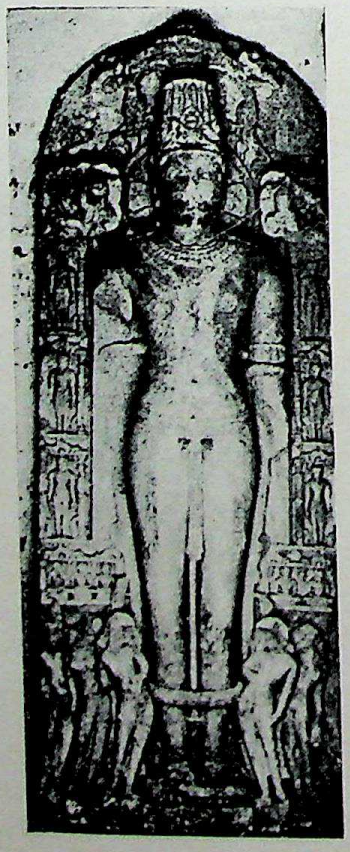

Plate 151. Jīvantasvāmi, MT complex

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

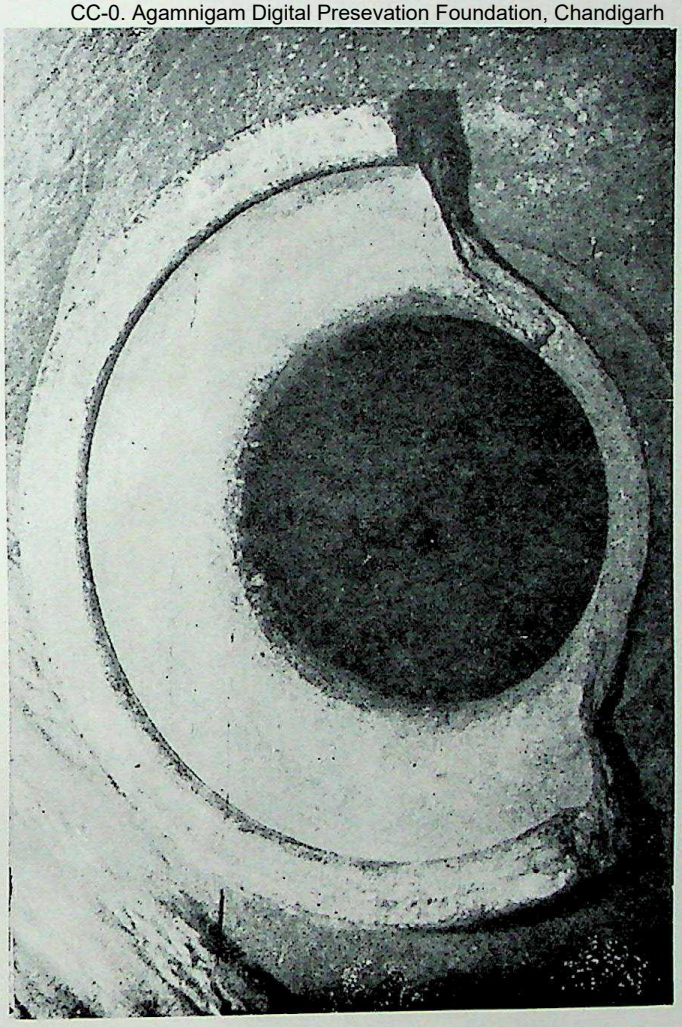

Plate 152. Storage Jar Inscription, MT complex

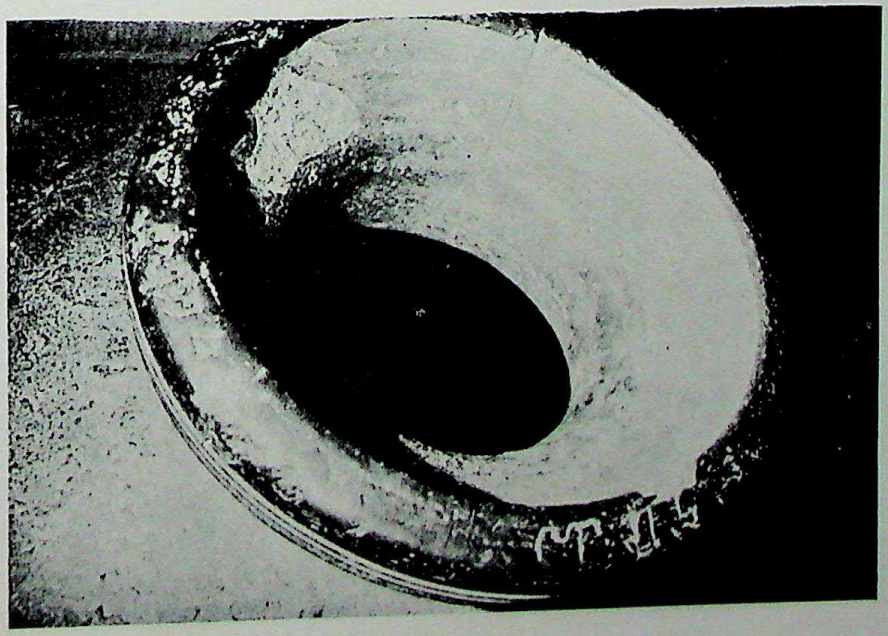

Plate 153. Storage Jar Inscription, Jodhpur Museum

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 154. Inscription dated V.S. 812

Plate 155. Inscription dated V.S. 885

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

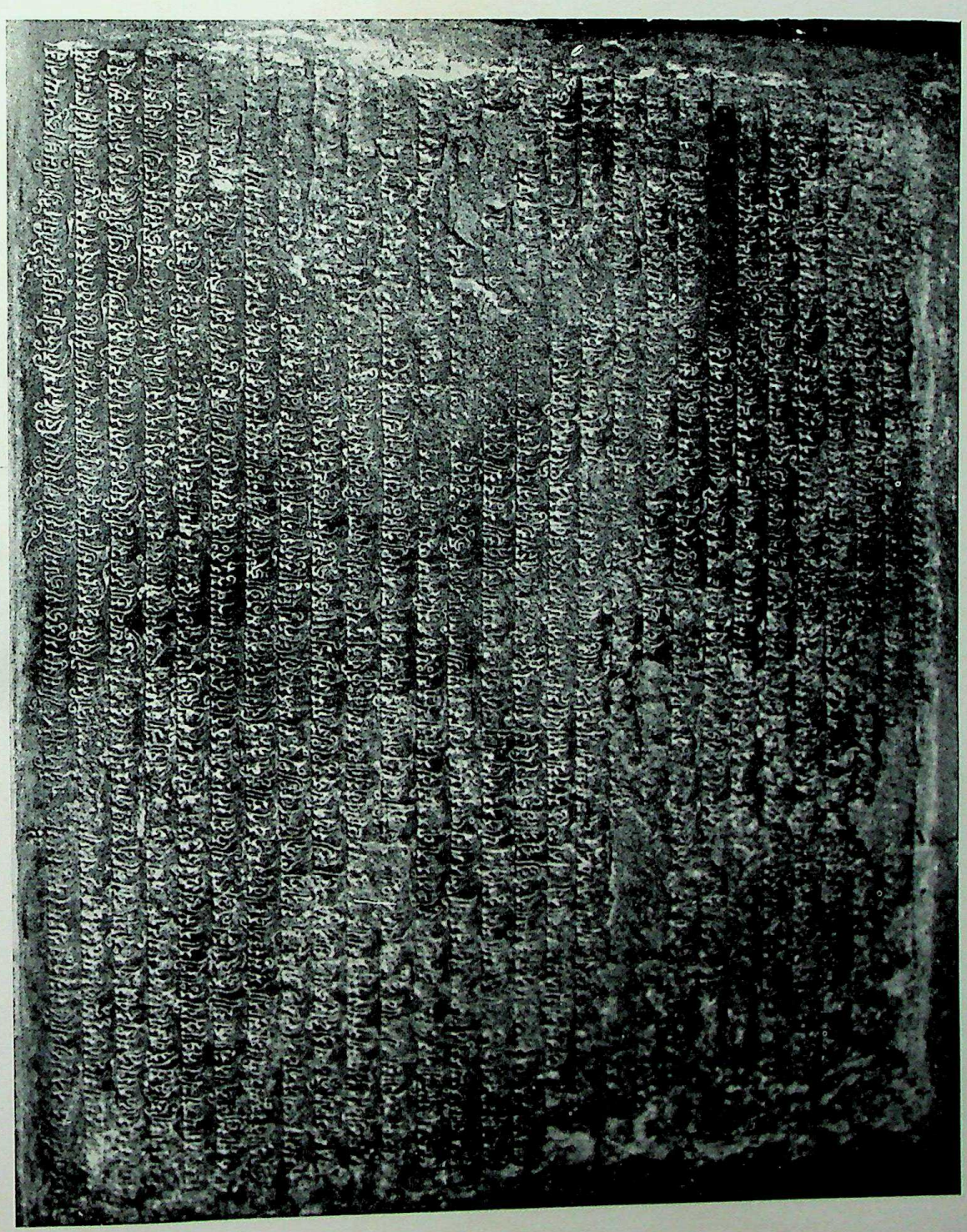

Plate 156. MT *Prasasti* of V.S. 1013

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

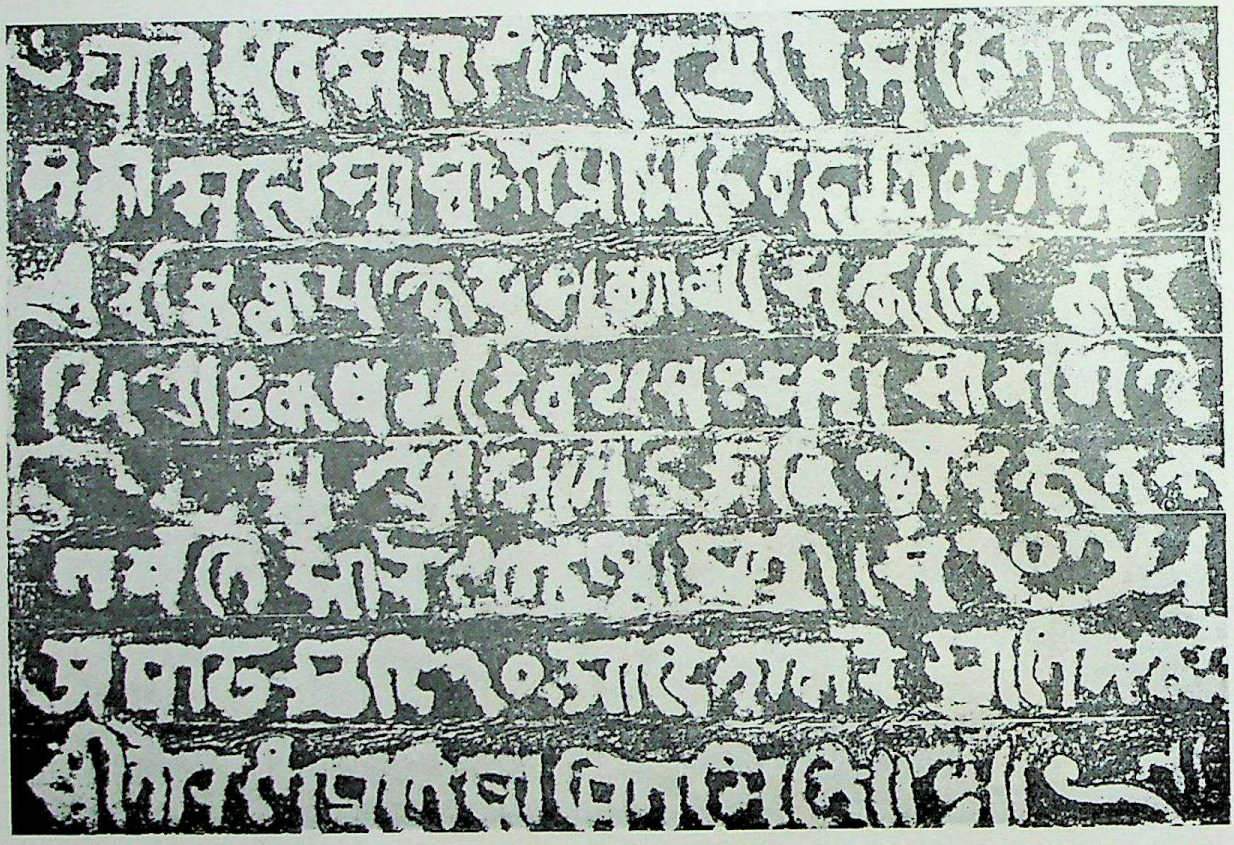

Plate 157. *Toraṇa* Pillar Inscription of V.S. 1035

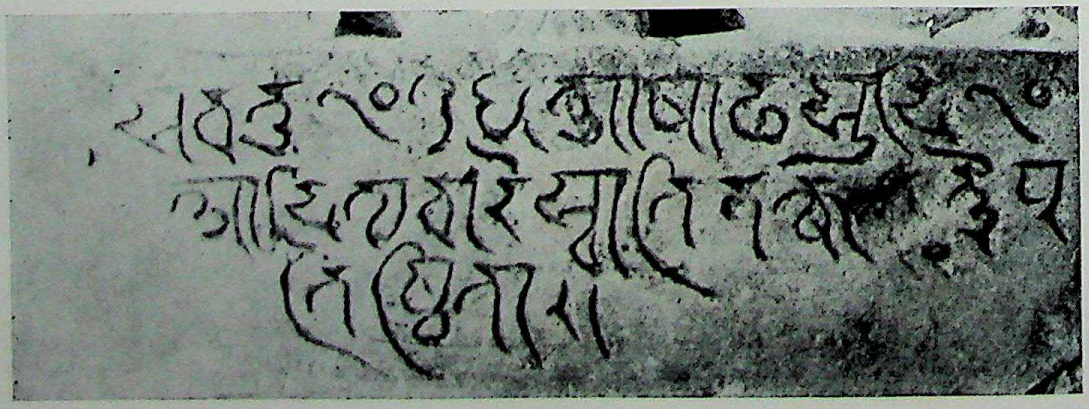

Plate 158. Pārśvanātha Image Inscription of V.S. 1035

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

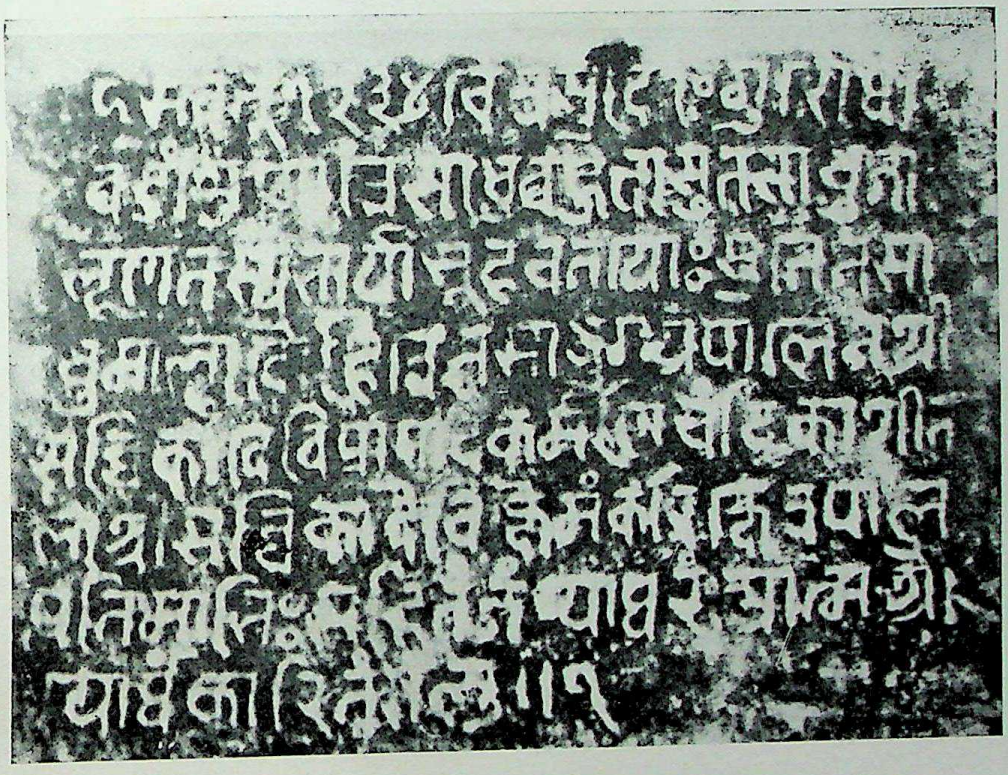

Plate 159. SMT Inscription of V.S. 1234

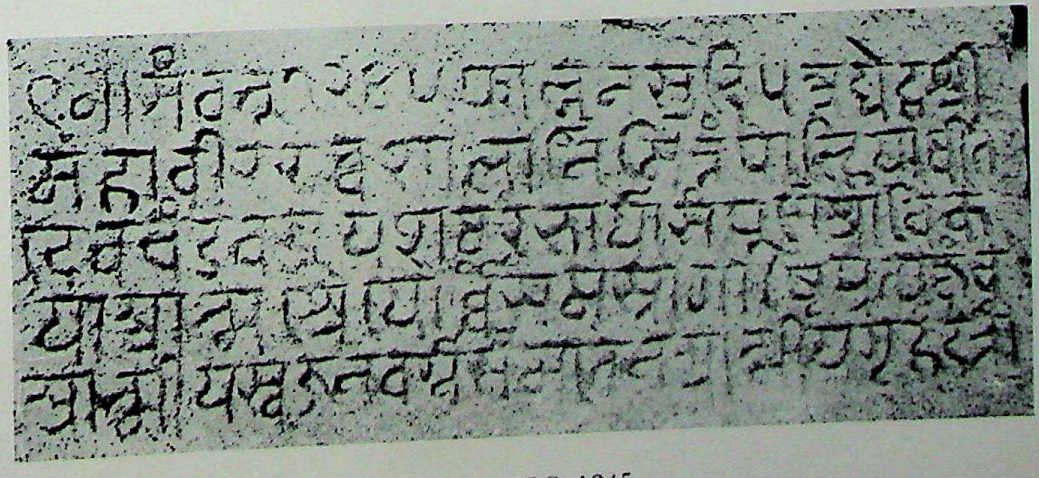

Plate 160. SMT Pillar Inscription of V.S. 1245

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

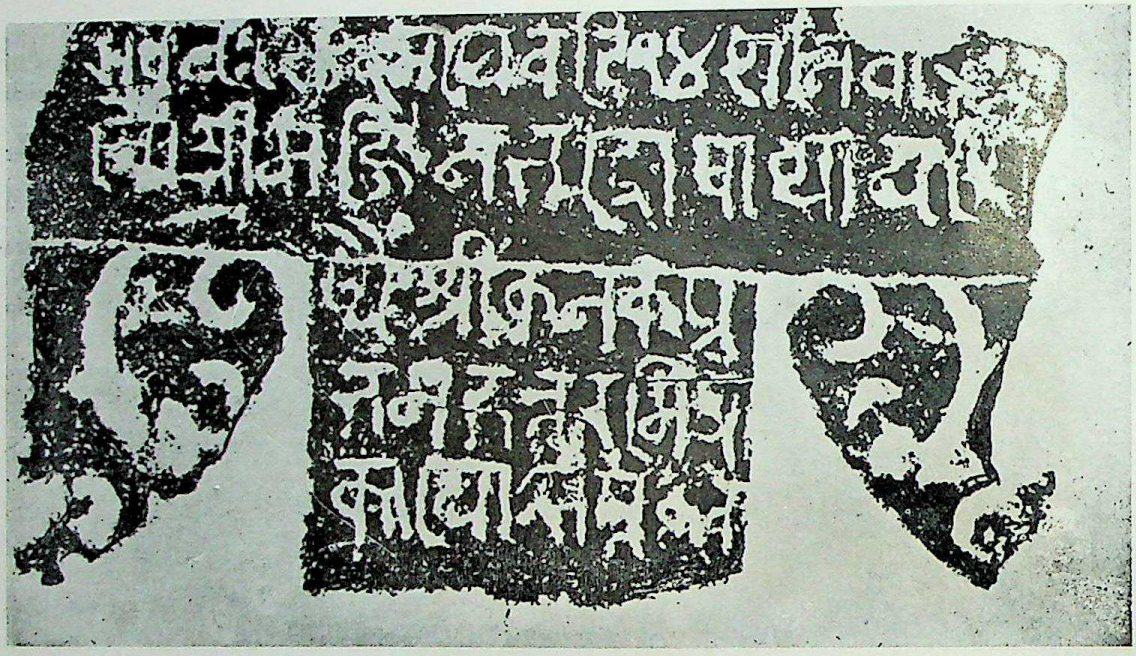

Plate 161. Dadabari Foot-Prints Inscription of V.S. 1246

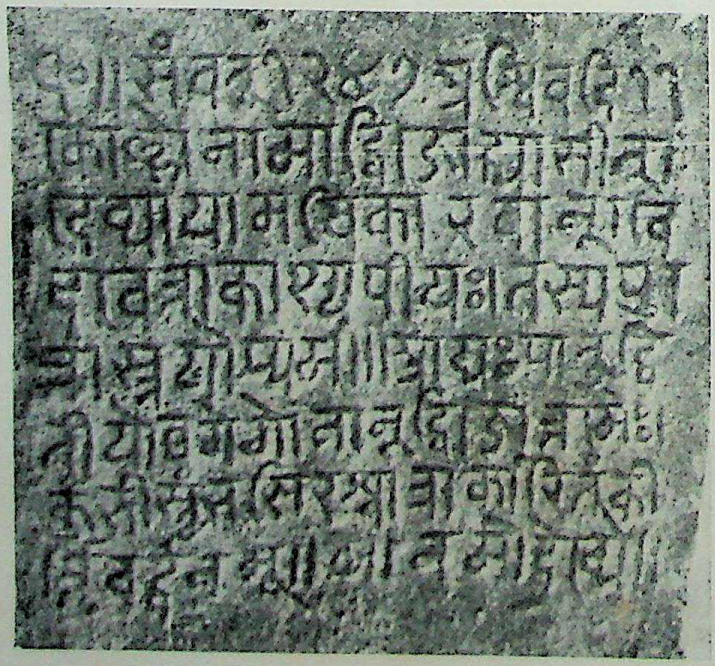

Plate 162. SMT Pillar Inscription of V.S. 1247

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

Plate 163. MT Inscription of V.S. 1734

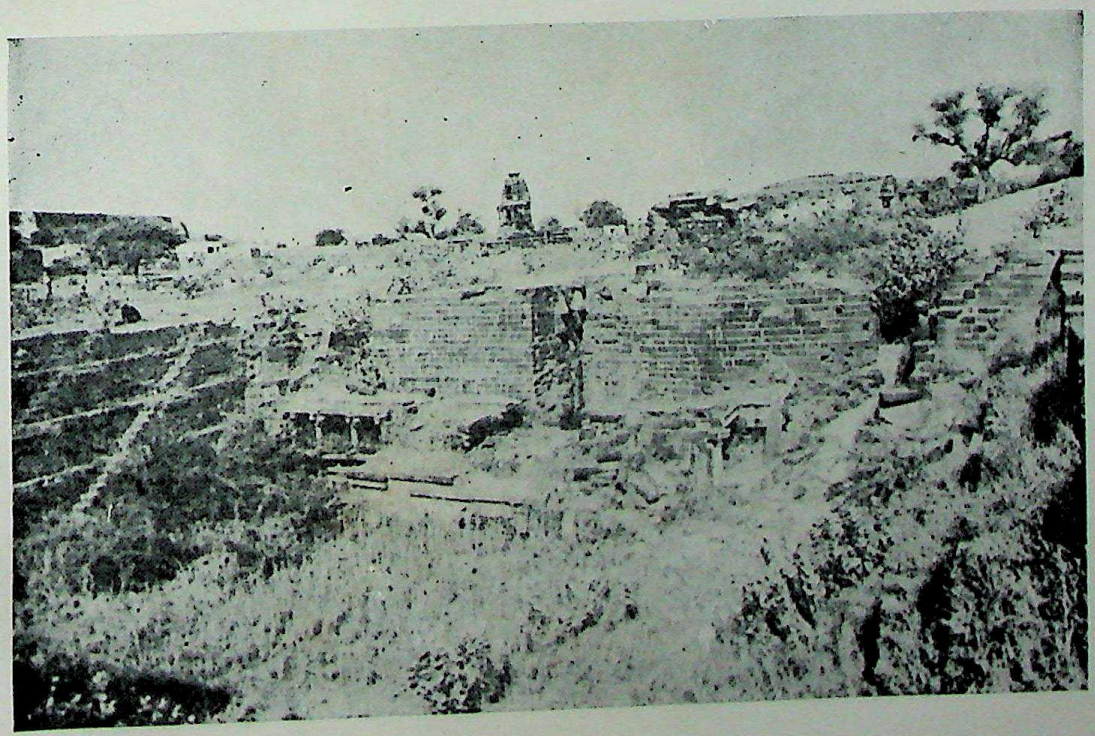

Plate 164. Step Well No. 2

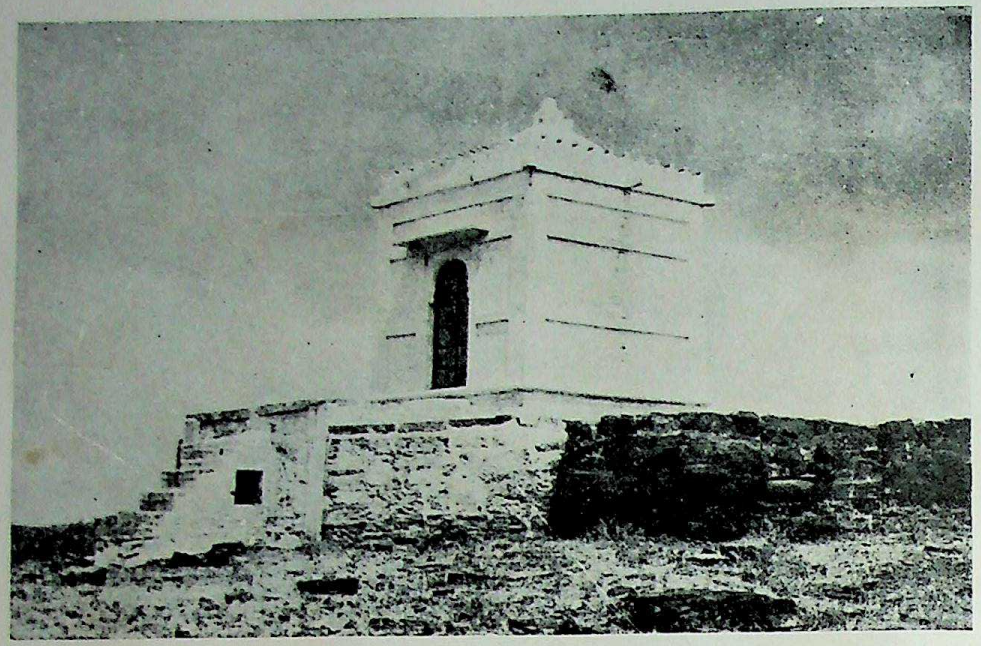

Plate 165. Dadabari

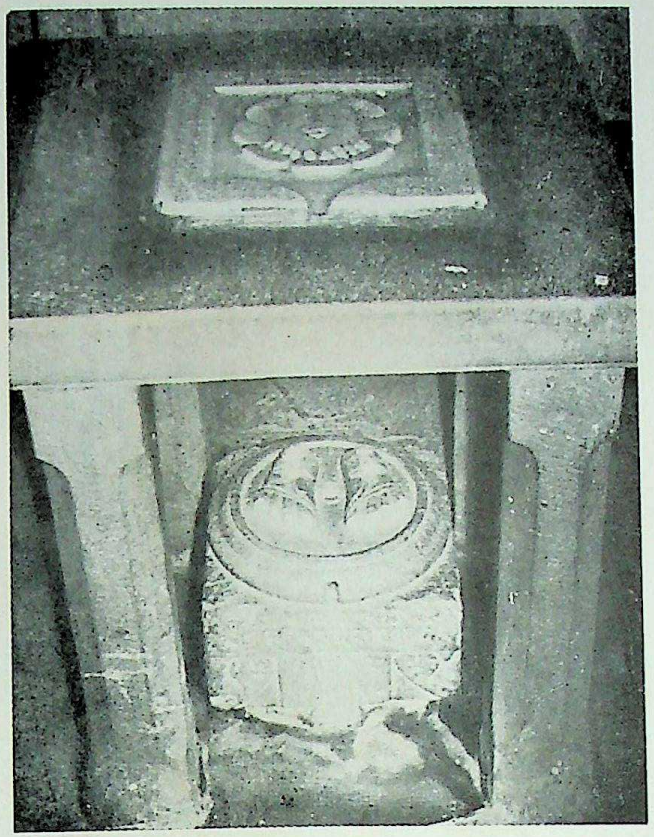

Plate 166. Dadabari Foot-Prints and Inscriptions

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CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

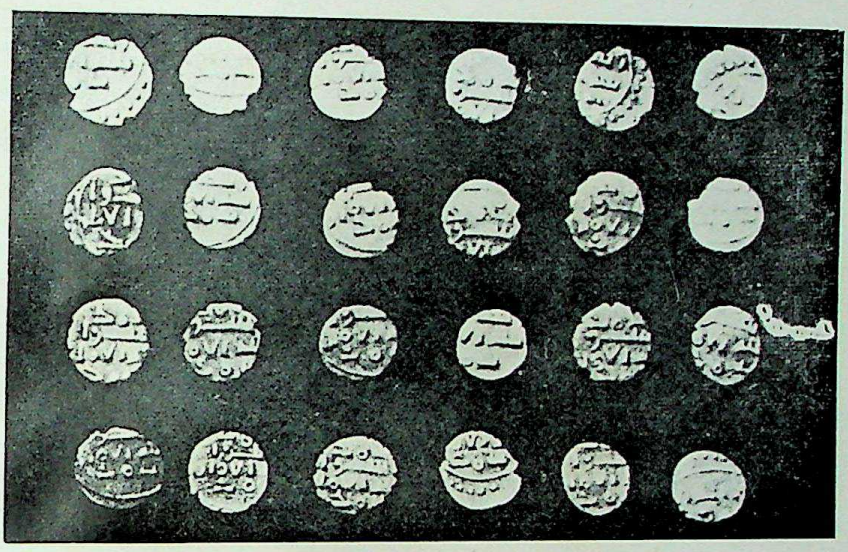

Plate 167. Coins of the Arab Governor Ahmad

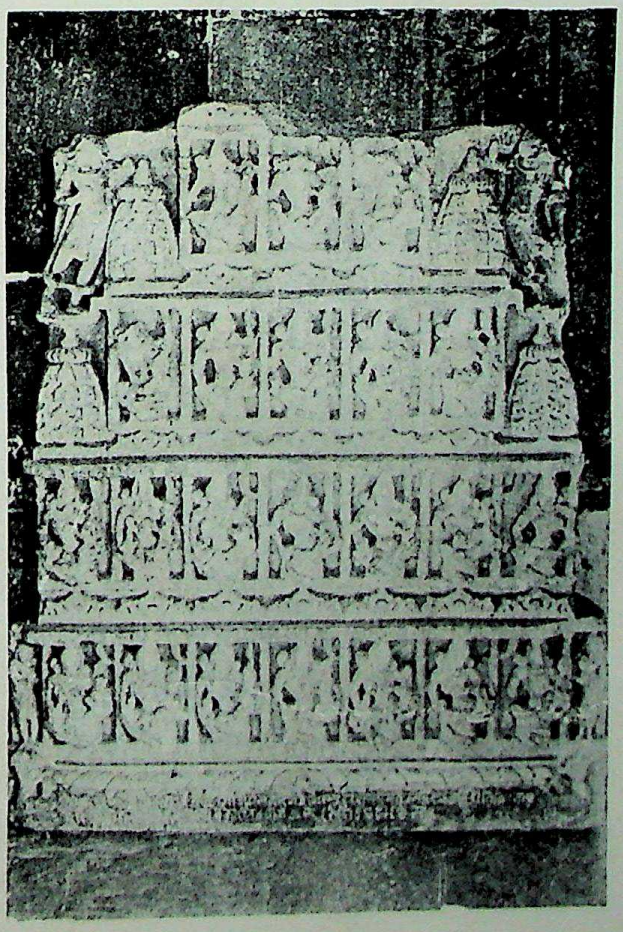

Plate 168. *Mātṛpaṭṭa*, MT

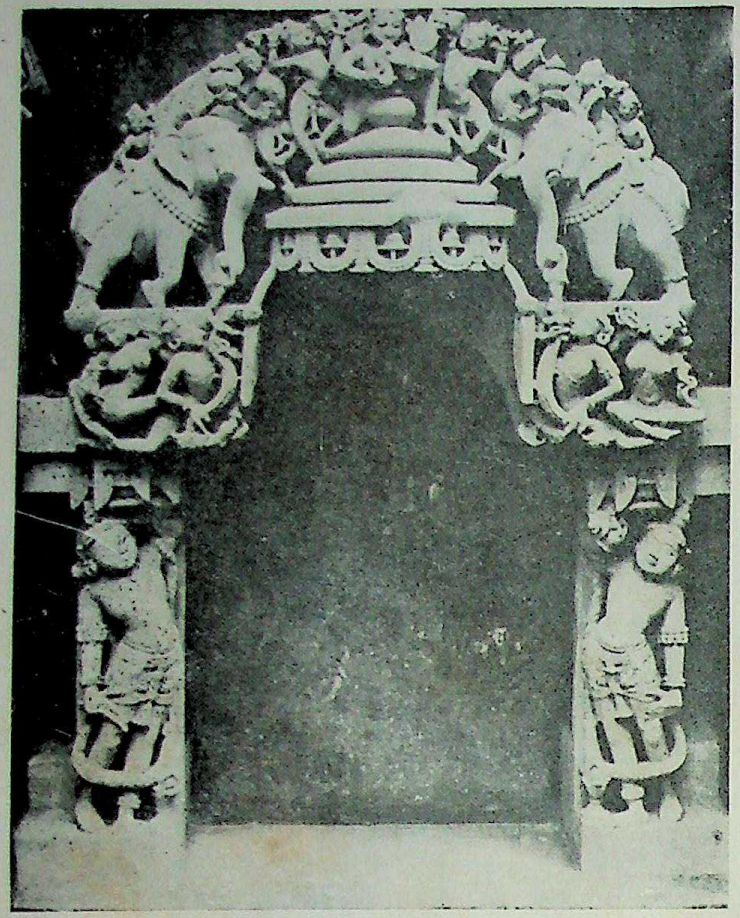

Plate 169. *Parikara*, MT

Plate 170. Bust of a Śālabhañjikā, MT

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Plate 171. Govardhana Pillar

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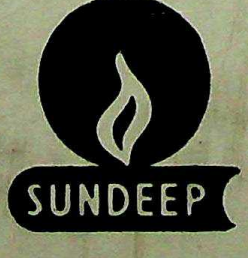
CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh



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